

J U S T I N I

Historiæ Philippicæ:

C U M

VERSIONE ANGLICA,

Ad Verbum, quantum fieri potuit, facta,

O R, T H E

HISTORY *of* JUSTIN;

W I T H

An ENGLISH TRANSLATION,

As LITERAL as possible.

Trogus Pompeius.

By JOHN CLARKE, X

Author of the ESSAYS upon EDUCATION and STUDY.

The SEVENTH EDITION.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.



HOEVER duly considers the vulgar Management of Youth in our Grammar-Schools, will see Cause to wonder, that amidst the noble Endeavours for the Advancement of Learning, a right Method of Education hath been in a Manner wholly overlooked. Whilst the Great Men in the Commonwealth of Letters have been busily and successfully employed in improving and carrying on the several Arts and Sciences, they have neglected what was equally necessary, the Care of Youth. For had but this been as duly attended to, as the Importance of the Matter required, their Labours would have been of vastly more Use to the World. Grammars and Notes upon Authors we have indeed in Abundance, and more by far than are good for any Thing; yet these, where they are useful, are only so to such as have made a considerable progress in the *Latin* Tongue. But Beginners have been left wholly without any proper Helps, till of late some few have been provided for them, by one engaged in the laborious and troublesome Employment of teaching School, who consequently had both less Time, and less Ease of Mind for that Work, than many others better qualified to promote a rational Method of Education amongst us, had they been pleased to turn their Thoughts upon the Subject, and push the Matter, by supplying our Schools with proper Books for the Purpose. But the Learned, it seems, have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice. There was more Credit and Fame to be got by writing for Men than Children; and therefore the latter have been strangely neglected.

As the Course of Life I was several Years engaged in, obliged me to turn my Thoughts this Way, I have long since published a Dissertation on the Subject, in a Treatise under the Title of

An Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools. What I have there said, and elsewhere, upon the Usefulness of Translations for the easy expeditious Attainment of the *Latin Tongue*, I have thought fit to draw together under one View, but much enlarged with further Thoughts upon the Subject, in order to turn more effectually the Attention of the Public upon a Matter of such great and general Concern.

TRANSLATIONS are of two Kinds, or there are two Ways of translating Authors for the Use of Schools; the one *Literal* or *Verbal*, in which the Latin is rendered into English Word for Word, or the Sense and Meaning of every Word in the Original is given in the Translation: The other *Free* and *Proper*, wherein Regard is only had to the Sense, which the Translator endeavours to express in the most just and handsome Manner, without pretending to give the precise Meaning of every individual Word, as in the *Literal* or *Verbal* Way. Now both these Sorts of Translations are so highly and apparently useful, for the ready Attainment of the *Latin Tongue*, that it is really amazing the World should not long since have been sensible of it: And it is yet more amazing, that after so much has been said on the Subject, and Translations too of several Authors provided for the Use of Schools, to which no Exception has been taken, as ill done, that ever I could hear; yet a great many of our Masters should shew so strong an Aversion to what is so manifestly calculated for their Ease, at the same Time it is fitted for the greater Improvement of Youth under their Care. In order to open the Eyes of such, if possible, upon a Matter so much for their Quiet, Interest, and Credit, I have thought fit to present them with this Dissertation. I shall therefore speak distinctly to the Usefulness of TRANSLATIONS both *Literal* and *Free*. And first of the *Literal*.

WHEN Boys set forward in the reading of Authors, there are but three several Ways for them to proceed in. 1. By the Help of a Master to construe their Lessons to them. 2. By the Help of a Dictionary. Or, 3. By that of *Literal* Translations.

I. As to the first, our Schools are very few of them provided with any more than two Masters; in which Case it is impossible for a Man that has three or four Classes to take care of, to give that Attendance to them all, in the Way of construing their Lessons to them, as to keep them employed a third Part of their Time they have to spend in the School. For it is not sufficient for a Master to construe to Boys a Lesson once over from Beginning to End, in a Hurry, (as is usual, I believe) and so clear his Hands of them, in Expectation that that should serve the Turn, by keeping them properly employed, and he be no more troubled with them for his Assistance upon that Lesson. Alas! this will signify just nothing at all. If he would assist them to any Purpose, he should

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go over every Period of a Lesson distinctly and slowly by itself, more than once; and then try the Boys in it one after another, helping them out, where he finds them falter, or at a Stand; and not advancing farther, 'till the slowest of them are pretty perfect in what they are upon. But then, whilst he is thus engaged with one Class, the rest, for want of Help, will have little or nothing to do, but gape and stare about them, if they be not worse employed. Besides, this is such a Piece of Drudgery, as few Masters, I believe, will care to undergo. For where the Use of Translations is rejected, and the Master's Lungs are to supply the Want of them, he, in Regard to his own Ease, and to save his Breath, is apt to make very short Work of it, by setting the Boys very short Lessons, not a third, or not a fourth Part of what they might easily get, and to greater Perfection, by the Help of a Literal Translation, without giving him any Trouble at all. Two Thirds then of their Time at least must be spent in Sauntering, or Trifling; and therefore this Way of Proceeding will not answer the Design proposed, or produce the desired Effect, the speedy Progress of Youth in their Business.

I may add too, that perhaps not very many Masters are qualified to furnish their Scholars, in construing their Lessons to them, with Words so fit and proper for their Purpose, as Literal Translations will, done by a Person qualified with a competent Skill in the Language for the Work. If any one wants to be convinced of this, let him make a Trial upon some of the Classick Authors already published with Literal Translations, *Justin* or *Florus* for Instance, by translating three or four Chapters together, and comparing what he does with what is already done, and I doubt not, but he will receive ample Satisfaction of the Truth of what I have said. For tho' he may find his Performance to have the Advantage upon the Comparison; yet he will certainly find it cost him some Thought and Trouble here and there to work it up to that Perfection. For the Latin Idiom differs so widely from the English, that it is no such easy Business, as some may perhaps imagine, to translate the Classicks literally, and at the same Time with tolerable Justness and Propriety of Language, so as the English may bear a Reading, without appearing absolutely barbarous and ridiculous. It was this Difficulty of the Work, I guess, which deterred those whose proper Business it was from attempting it, and so has been the principal, if not the sole Occasion, that our Schools have not long since been provided with that admirable and obvious Help of Literal Translations, so obviously such, that many could not but be sensible of it, who yet being deterred by the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Fear of Censure, would not engage in the Task of supplying our Schools with any Thing in that Way. Now, if this be the Case, if it be no such easy Matter to translate the Classick Authors literally, with any tolerable:

tolerable Justness or Propriety of Language, must it not be a vast Advantage to many School-Masters, to be delivered from the Vexation of hunting for proper Words, and oftentimes to no Purpose, by being provided with good Translations, just and exact in their Kind? In short, I shall be bold to say, that not only Boys, but Masters themselves may, many of them, receive great Improvement in their Business, from Literal Translations of Classick Authors.

II. As to the Use of a Dictionary. That Way is yet more improper than the former. Young Boys are but very awkward at finding Words in a Dictionary, which Work will consequently make a sad Consumption of their Time, a single Word requiring as much as will suffice them for the getting two or three Lines perfectly to construe by the Help of a Literal Translation. And then what a tedious while must they be in getting so many Lines to construe by the Use of a Dictionary, where they may have Occasion, as must often happen, to look out half a Dozen Words or more for that Purpose? Does not the Absurdity of such a Method of Proceeding stare the Reader in the Face? And how can Gentlemen be easy in having their Sons carried on in a Way so manifestly trifling? Which will appear yet more so, when it is considered, that young Boys can indeed make but little Use of a Dictionary, for want of Sense to distinguish, amongst the various Significations many Words have, such as are proper for their Purpose; not to say too, that the best Dictionaries will in this Case frequently fail them. But suppose all this was otherwise, yet by what Kind of Conjurament must young Lads, betwixt Ten and Fourteen, unravel that perplexed Order of Words in the Latin Tongue? This they can never do, give them what Instructions you will for it, 'till they come to have a pretty general Knowledge of Words; so as that upon reading a Sentence once or twice slowly and attentively over, they either discover the Sense, or come pretty near it. That alone, and not any Directions you can give Boys so young, will enable them to unravel the intricate Order Words usually have in the Latin Tongue. Now Literal Translations direct them immediately to the Order in which Words are to be taken, and at the same Time immediately supply them with the Meaning of such Words as they want to know the Meaning of. All that has been said upon this Head appears to me so very evident and incontestable, that for my Part I see not how it can be disputed by any one.

III. THERE is then no other proper Help left for young Lads in the Reading of Authors, for the first three or four Years at least of their being at School, but that of *Literal Translations*. If Boys, who cannot conjure to come at the Meaning of Words, must be helped to the Meaning of them some Way or other, is not the most easy expeditious Way the best? And supposing a
Master

Master could assist them to keep them constantly employed, (which every one must see to be utterly impossible) or supposing they might make a hard Shift to do their Business in a poor blundering Manner by a Dictionary (which is the utmost any one of the least Knowledge in these Matters can suppose) yet what Occasion can there be for either? When it is to the last Degree visible, their Business may be more easily and effectually done by the Help of Literal Translations. Is it not vastly more eligible for a Boy, when he is at a Stand for want of the proper Order or Meaning of Words, to be set a going immediately by one single Cast of his Eye, than to be obliged to spend Time in tumbling and tossing the Leaves of a Dictionary backward and forward, or trotting perpetually up and down the School to the Master or his Schoolfellows for their Help? Is it not as absurd to deny this, as it would be to affirm that the best Way for a Workman to go on easily and expeditiously with a Piece of Work, is not to have his Tools or Implements in the Shop or Work-House about him, all ready at Hand, but to have them all to seek, some in the Kitchen, others in the Garret, others in the Yard, or the furthest Part of the Town; to be all carefully hid again every Night, that he may be sure to have them all to seek again the next Day when he wants them? Just like this is the common Way of proceeding in our Schools, where the Use of Literal Translations is rejected. Help of the best Kind is provided for Boys, by virtue whereof they may proceed easily, chearfully, and expeditiously in their Business; and yet a great many Masters will not let them make Use of it; but instead thereof, will oblige the poor Children to waste two Thirds at least of their Time in Sauntering and Play, or thumbing the Leaves of a Dictionary to Pieces, for the Benefit of the Booksellers, who alone reap any Benefit from this Piece of Wisdom, whilst the poor Boys only lose their Time, and the Parents their Money by it.

But perhaps it may be alledged, (for some I have known weak enough to make the Allegation) 'That the getting their Lessons by a Dictionary fixes the Meaning of Words better in the Memory of Boys, than the Use of Translations.' To which I answer, supposing it practicable for young Boys to get their Lessons by the Help of a Dictionary, which I have shewn it is not, yet does the tossing over the Leaves of a Dictionary to find a Word, contribute to fix the Meaning of it, when found, in the Memory? If so, the longer Boys are in finding a Word, that is, the longer they are before they come at the Sense of a Word, the better they will remember it. Which is as much as to say, that the less Business they do, the greater Progress they will make; which I fear is too ridiculous to pass with any Body. The turning over the Leaves of a Dictionary, 'tis evident, can signify no more to the Purpose, than the tossing of a Ball, or the knocking down of Nine-pins. What is it then that is of Use for fixing the Meaning of a Word

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in the Memory? 'Tis plainly nothing but seeing it in the Dictionary, and repeating it over and over again. And is there any Thing of Charm in the Name of a Dictionary, that the seeing the Meaning of a Word in a Translation running in a Column along with the Original, joined with the like Repetition of it, should not produce the same Effect, and conduce as much to fix it in the Memory? The reading a Word three or four Times over in a Dictionary, you say, will make a strong Impression upon the Mind. Will not reading the same Word as often over in any other Book, under any other Denomination, produce the like Impression? If not, it must be because the Leaf of a Dictionary, as such, has some strange bewitching Virtue in it, a Power of operating upon the Mind, and affecting it, which the Leaf of no other Book can possibly have.—*Risum teneatis.*

I HAVE likewise heard it alledged, 'That the Use of Translations will make Boys idle;' an Allegation more ridiculous, if possible, than the former. As Boys Business is by the Use of Translations rendered vastly more easy to them, if their Task or Lesson is increased in Proportion, as it ought to be, how is there any Encouragement given, or Allowance made, for Idleness? Translations are designed to assist Boys in getting their Lessons only, not in saying them to the Master. In this latter Case the Translations are to be under close Cover, that, by the Manner of the Boys acquitting themselves, the Master may have Proof of their Diligence, or the contrary. And if the same Methods are taken to encourage Industry, and discourage Idleness, where Boys are helped by a Translation, as where they have the Help of a Master, or are left to the Use of a Dictionary, why should they not have the same Effect? If Sugar-Plumbs, Fruit, Play-things, or Half-pence, will make Boys attend diligently to the Instructions of a Master, or thumb their Dictionary heartily, will they not operate as strongly to make Boys diligent in the Use of a Translation? Or, if Correction be necessary, why should it not work up a Lad to Industry, as well where he has the Assistance of a Translation, as where he has not? Will a Translation make him thicker-skinned, or less sensible of Pain? *O rem ridiculam, Cato, & jocosam?* It is therefore a very senseless Thing to pretend, that Translations will make Boys idle. One Way to encourage them to Industry is, to make their Business easy and pleasant to them; which Translations certainly do: And therefore are a visible Means, not to make them idle, but industrious. Whereas in the vulgar Method of our Schools, Boys find it impracticable to do their Business to Content, and so are oftentimes rendered desperately idle, as being convinced by frequent and woeful Experience, that no Pains, no Industry they can use, will avail to secure them effectually from the Lash.

THESE Objections against the Use of Translations have not, however, hindred that Translations have been thought so necessary

cessary for the easy and speedy Attainment of the Greek Tongue, that, for above these hundred and fifty Years last past, no Authors in that Language have been published without them. This might, one would think, have naturally led the World to the Pursuit of the same Method, at least with the easier Authors of the Latin Tongue, for the Use of Schools. For must it not needs appear to any considerate Man a little unaccountable, that Translations should be thought useful and necessary for Men and elder Boys, in order to their more easy and speedy Progress in the Greek Tongue, but neither necessary nor useful for younger Boys in the Attainment of the Latin? Is it agreeable to Reason or common Sense, to suppose a Boy of sixteen or seventeen Years of Age stands in need of a Translation to assist him in reading of Greek, but that a Boy of ten or twelve may do his Business in the Latin Tongue easily and expeditiously enough without any such Help? Has a Child of that Age more Sense for the consulting and using a Latin Dictionary, than he has for making Use of a Greek Lexicon when he is arrived almost at the Years of Manhood? And what sorry Work would Boys make of it, if, upon entering the Greek Testament, they should be denied the Use of the Latin Testament, to help them in getting their Lessons, and be obliged to pick the Meaning of their Words out of a Lexicon? Every Body can see the Absurdity of such a Manner of Proceeding in this Instance, and would be forward enough to cry out against any Master that should be guilty of it. And yet the like Absurdity, committed in the Teaching of the Latin Tongue, goes glibly down, and passes for the most proper Way of Proceeding. Now what is it that disposes Men to make so wide a Difference, where there is none at all in the Nature of Things? Nothing, but Custom, the great Rule that most Men usually go by in the most important Affairs of Life without consulting their Reason at all. Very few have the noble Freedom of Mind to examine Things strictly and impartially, in order to make the Result of such Examination the Rule of their Conduct. The Generality chuse to save themselves that Trouble, by going with the Herd, *qua itur, non qua eundum est*, as a great Man among the Antients words himself upon Occasion of making the same Remark, if my Memory fails me not.

As for the Hebrew Tongue, to facilitate the Learning of that, *Arius Montanus* long since published the Hebrew Bible with an interlineary Version, for which, I doubt not, such as apply themselves to the Study of the Hebrew Language, are thankful to his Memory; at least they have a good deal of Reason, I am sure, having received myself a great deal of Benefit from the Use of it in learning that Language. And Mr. *Locke* was so sensible of the vast Help to be had from Literal Translations, that he did not think it below him to publish *Aesop's Fables* in the same Form as *Montanus* did the Hebrew Bible, with an interlineary Version. I

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grant indeed that Way of publishing Authors with the Translation so intermix'd with the Original is not proper for Schools. But, however, what those two Gentlemen did in that Way shews sufficiently their Opinion of the Usefulness of Literal Translations. And the latter, Mr. *Locke*, thought so well of them, that he declares in his *Book of Education*, Mothers may, by the Help of them, teach their sons the Latin Tongue themselves, if they please. *Whatever Stir*, says he, *there is made about getting of Latin*, his (a young Gentleman's) Mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend three or four Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the *Evangelists* in Latin to her. For she need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got some body to mark the last Syllable but one, in Words of above two Syllables (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation) read daily in the Gospels, and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin, if she can. And when she understands the *Evangelists* in Latin, let her in the same Manner read *Æsop's Fables*, and so proceed on to *Eutropius*, *Justin*, and other such Books. I do not mention this as an Imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a Thing I have known done, and the Latin Tongue with Ease got this Way.

To conclude, the Use of *Literal Translations* has no Difficulty in it, employs nothing but Memory. The Boys have proper Words all ready at Hand, without the tedious and oftentimes fruitless Labour of hunting and poring in a Dictionary, or that of troubling their Masters or School-fellows for them; and so go smoothly forward, without any Rubs in their Way, or Loss of Time, and with a great deal of Satisfaction to find their Business so very easy. And I shall venture to say, what I believe few Men of Sense, that will but duly consider what has been said above, will gainsay, That a Boy by the Help of *Literal Translations* would make a better Progress in the Language in one Year, than without he could do in three or four.

NOR are *Literal Translations* of Latin Authors useful only for the lower Forms of a School, but likewise for the higher, or such as can read them pretty well, without any such Help, as well to bring them to a more complete Acquaintance with them, in the most expeditious Manner, as likewise to a Readiness in the writing and speaking of proper Latin, by reading the Translation into the original Latin of the Author. Constant Conversation in Latin with such as talk it well, would indeed be of great Use for that Purpose. But then very little can be done in that Way at School. For to confine Boys to the talking of Latin among themselves, before they have attained any tolerable Skill in the Language, is absurd, and a Means to prevent their ever speaking or writing it well. If Boys are to be so confined, they ought to be constantly attended by a good Master, to help them out upon all Occasions, by furnishing them with proper Language. But this is manifestly

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impracticable, where there are but two Masters in a School, or, as is oftentimes the Case, but one. A ready and proper Use of the Latin Tongue is a Matter of very great Difficulty, and never to be attained by Boys talking barbarously among themselves; if it is at all attainable at School. For my Part, I never yet knew so much as one Instance of its being attained there, in any School that has come within the Reach of my observation, or indeed any Thing like it. Nay, I have talked with very ingenious Men, of uncommon Learning, and besides Persons of considerable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing Boys at School to any thing of a true and genuine Latin Stile, wholly impracticable. Now, tho' I will not affirm this, yet I must be allowed to say, it is a Matter of very great Difficulty, insomuch that I greatly question, whether any Method that can be taken with them, will be found generally successful, in any reasonable Time, besides this I here recommend. All the Grammar indeed necessary for the Purpose may easily be taught them: But when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is still behind, as every one must be sensible; that knows much of the Latin Tongue. A ready Use of proper Terms, and of proper Phrases, or Forms of Expression upon all Occasions, seems hardly attainable in any reasonable Time, or the longest Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar-Schools, but in the Method I propose. This, I say, will be the most ready expeditious Method that can be taken, at School however, to furnish the Mind with a Plenty of Words, and a Variety of Phrases and Expressions for the same Sense, and that without any Danger of Error, which the Use of Dictionaries and Phrase-Books would be attended with. For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them for that Purpose, but such as are good Judges in the Latin Tongue, and are well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.

LITERAL Translations Boys are to begin with; and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of reading such Translations into the very original Latin of the Author's, they are to be advanced to *Free and Elegant Translations*. Two or three of the finest *Classick* Historians, with *Terence* and some of the *Epistles*, and other Pieces of *Tully*, published with such Translations, would, in Conjunction with the *Classick* Historians I have already published with *Literal Translations*, be sufficient for the Purpose of attaining a ready Use of a good Latin Stile, perhaps equal to Conversation itself, if not preferable to it; at least in one Respect more advantageous, by furnishing the *Tyro* with better Latin for his English, as oft as he wants it, than any, even the greatest Masters of the Latin Tongue, could help him to, in the Way of Conversation. For the great Advantage of constant Conversation for the Attainment of any Language, lies in the perpetual Exercise of the Invention, in what a Man says himself, and the

the like perpetual Assistance given to his Invention, in the constant Suggestion of proper Language by those he converses with. Now both these Advantages are to be had from the Method of Proceeding here advised, and the latter of them to a greater Degree of Perfection, than can be had in the Way of Conversation. For in conversing to attain the Use of a Language, the Learner employs his Invention to express his Thoughts properly; he hunts and casts about continually for Words and Phrases that may suit his Design. If he delivers himself improperly, or sticks and flammers for want of Language, those he converses with correct his Improperities, and help him to what is proper, which he carefully attends to, and repeats it two or three Times to himself, to make it stick by him against another Occasion. Just so too in attempting to read Translation into Latin, the Learner stretches his Invention, and studies for proper Words and Phraseology, viz. that of the Original, which he has carefully perused over, comparing it Period by Period with the Translation, to prepare him for the Work he is upon. If he cannot satisfy himself therein, or is at a Stop, one single Cast of his Eye upon the Latin Column informs him in what he wants, which he reads with close Attention over and over, in order to remember it against a repeated Perusal of the Paragraph or Chapter. Thus the Invention is as much exercised and assisted in this Way of using Translations, as in Conversation; in which Exercise and Assistance given to the Invention lies the whole Advantage of Conversation for the attaining of a Language. Nay, the Invention is more substantially assisted in the former Case. For the Classick Authors were Men of the most eminent Parts, who writ in their native Language, writ at Leisure and upon Deliberation, reviewed and corrected their Works over and over, thereby reducing them to such an Accuracy and Exactness, as no modern Speaker of Latin must pretend to in an Extempore Effusion, or the Swiftneſs and Hurry of Conversation. So that I think I need not scruple to pronounce, that the Way of using Translations for the attaining to speak Latin, which I here advise, is even preferable to the best Conversation that is to be had in that Language.

BUT *Literal Translations* of Latin Authors are not only very useful for Boys at School, but Men too, especially such as having got a pretty good Insight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Disuse forgot it in a great Measure, are desirous to recover it; which may be done with a great deal of Ease, by the Help of such Books as I have published, viz. *Cordery, Erasmus, Eutropius, Florus, G. Nepos, Suetonius, Salust, Introduction to the Making of Latin, A New Grammar of the Latin Tongue*. One Hour or two employed in reading Classick Authors with such Translations as the above, every Day, for a Year together, will bring Gentlemen that are ignorant of the Latin Tongue to read


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Prose with Ease and Pleasure, after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to understand; by the Help of such Notes as they are published with, especially now the way is paved for them, by my Literal Translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. So that I am not wholly without Hopes I may, by the Books I have published to facilitate the Learning of the Latin Tongue, have done a Piece of acceptable Service to such Gentlemen, as are desirous of regaining or improving the Skill they had acquired at School. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out such a language as the Latin by the Help of a Dictionary: That would require more Time than any one in a Thousand can or will spare. But in this Way of Proceeding, the regaining, or improving in the Latin Tongue, will but be a new King of Diversion, which the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time Gentlemen need to employ that Way, is less than those, who are most taken up with Business, usually spend upon their Pleasures.

I HAVE, in my *Essay upon Education*, advised Boys reading only the Twelve first Books of *JUSTIN*; but now that they are provided with a Literal Translation, they will read the whole sooner, and with more Ease, than they could before read those Twelve Books; and accordingly I judge it proper they should be made to read the whole.



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PRÆFATIO
JUSTINI.

JUSTIN'S
PREFACE.

QUUM multi ex Romanis, etiam Consularis dignitatis, viri, res Romanas Græco peregrinoque sermone in Historiam contulissent: sive æmulatione gloriæ, sive varietate & novitate operis delectatus, vir priscae eloquentiæ Trogus Pompeius Græcas, & totius orbis Historias, Latino sermone composuit; ut, cum nostra Græce, Græca quoque nostra lingua legi possent; prorsus rem magni & animi & operis aggressus. Nam cum plerisque auctoribus singulorum regum vel populorum res gestas scribentibus opus suum ardui laboris videatur: nonne nobis Pompeius Herculeæ audaciæ orbem terrarum aggressus videri debet; cujus libris omnium seculorum, regum, nationum, populorumque res gestæ continentur? Et quæ historici Græcorum, prout commodum cuique fuit, inter sese gregatim occupaverunt, omissis quæ sine fructu erant, ea omnia Pompeius divisa temporibus & serie rerum digesta composuit. Horum igitur quatuor & quadraginta voluminum (nam totidem edidit) per otium, quo in urbe versabar, cognitione quæque dignissima excerpti; & omissis his, quæ nec cognoscendi voluptate jucunda, nec exemplo erant necessaria, breve

AS many of the Romans, even persons of Consular dignity, had writ the history of the Roman affairs in Greek, a foreign language, Trogus Pompeius, a gentleman of a vein of eloquence equal to that of the Antients, whether from an emulation of their glory, or charmed with the variety and novelty of the work, compiled the History of Greece, and the whole world, in the Latin tongue; that as our history might be read in Greek, so the affairs of Greece might be read too in our language; attempting therein a matter that required no small resolution and pains. For when to most authors, that write but the exploits of single princes or nations, their work appears a matter of huge difficulty; ought not Pompey to be thought to have attempted the whole world, with a boldness equal to that of Hercules, in whose books the transactions of all ages, kings, nations, and people, are contained? And what the historians of the Greeks, as was most convenient for each, had parcelled out amongst them, all that, dropping only what was without any use, Pompey has put together, every thing assigned to its proper time, and in a regular series. Wherefore of these forty-four volumes (for so many he published) during the leisure time that I was in town, I have extracted every thing best worth the knowing; and omitting those things, which were neither agree-
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veluti florum corpusculum feci; ut haberent & qui Græca didicissent, quo admonerentur; & qui non didicissent, quo instruerentur. Quod ad te, non tam cognoscendi, quam emendandi causa transmissi; simul ut & otii mei, cujus & Cato reddendam operam putat, apud te ratio constaret. Sufficit enim mihi in hoc tempore judicium tuum, apud posteris, cum obtreccionis invidia decesserit, industriæ testimonium habituro.

For your *favourable* judgement suffices me at this time, likely to have with posterity, when the envy of detraction is gone, an *ample* testimony for my diligence.

able for the pleasure of reading, nor necessary by *way of example*, I have formed as it were a little posy of flowers; that those, who were *already* acquainted with the Græcian affairs, might have wherewith to rub up their memories, and those who are not acquainted therewith, whereby to be informed. Which I have transmitted to you, not so much for the sake of your information, as your correction; and that at the same time too, that the account of my leisure time, of which Cato too thinks some product oughr to be exhibited, might stand duly adjusted with you.



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J U S T I N I

H I S T O R I A.

L I B E R I.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Affyriorum prima Monarchia sub Nino.*
2. *Semiramidis a filio tandem interfectæ imperium.*
3. *Postremus Affyriorum Rex Sardanapalus.*
4. *Medorum Monarchia sub Astyge Cyri avo.*
5. *Cyri pueritia, adolescentia; & Harpago ad Cyrum admonitio.*
6. *Sybarem belli comitem Cyrus nobili præmio donat, & Astygem regno spoliât.*
7. *Cræsum vincit, & Lydos debellat, ac sub jugo astute retinet. Candaulis tragœdia.*
8. *Bellum Scythicum, in quo initia Cyro felicia, finis autem luctuosissimus.*
9. *Cambyfes Cyro succedit, & suomet gladio conficitur. Legitimo hærede Mergide sublato, Magi rerum petiuntur. Osthanes, aliorum principum opera adjutus, Magos de medio tollit.*
10. *Darius ex equi hinnitu servuli industria, fit tertius Persarum Rex. Cyri filiam in matrimonium recipit. Babyloniam obsidet, &c.*

C A P U T I.

PRINCIPIO rerum, gentium nationumq; imperium penes reges erat; quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant. Fines imperii tueri magis, quam proferre, mos erat: intra suam cuique patriam regna finiebantur. Primus omnium Ninus rex Af-

IN the beginning of the world, the government of countries and nations was in the hands of kings; whom not their courting of the people, but their moderation approved amongst good men, advanced to the height of this majesty. The people were confined by no laws: the determinations of their princes were for laws. It was the custom to defend the borders of their kingdom, rather than to advance them. Every one's kingdom was bounded within his own country. Ninus king of the Affyrians, first of all changed
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syriorum veterem, & quasi avitum gentibus morem, nova imperii cupiditate mutavit. Hic primus intulit bella finitimis, & rudes adhuc ad resistendum populos, terminos usque Lybiæ, perdomuit. Fuere quidem temporibus antiquiores, Sesostris Ægypti, & Scythiæ rex Tanais; quorum alter in Pontum, alter usque Ægyptum excessit. Sed longinqua, non finitima bella gerebant: nec imperium sibi, sed populis suis gloriam quærebant; contentique victoriâ, imperio abstinebant. Ninus magnitudinem quæsitæ dominationis continua possessione firmavit. Domitis igitur proximis, cum accessione virium fortior ad alios transfret & proxima quaque victoriâ instrumentum sequentis esset, totius Orientis populos subegit. Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, & mundi principia, syderumque motus, diligentissime spectasse. Hoc occiso, ipse decessit, relicto impubere adhuc filio Ninya, & uxore Semiramide.

CAP. II. Hæc nec immaturo ausa tradere imperium, nec ipsa palam tractare, tot ac tantis gentibus vix patienter uni viro, nedum feminæ parituris, simulat se, pro uxore Nini, filium, pro semine, puerum. Nam & statura utriusque mediocris, & vox pariter gracilis, & lineamentorum qualitas matri ac filio similis. Igitur brachia ac crura velamentis, caput tiara tegit: & ne novo habitu aliquid occultare videretur, eodem ornatu & populum vestiri jubet: quem morem vestis exinde gens universa tenet. Sic primis initiis sexum mentita puer esse cre-

this ancient, and as it were traditional custom of nations, out of a new desire of empire. He first made war upon his neighbours, and conquered the nations as yet too ignorant to resist him, as far as the borders of Lybia. There were indeed in times more ancient, Sesostris king of Egypt, and Tanais king of Scythia, one of which marched as far as Pontus, the other as far as Egypt. But they carried on remote, not neighbouring wars: nor did they seek dominion for themselves, but glory for their people; and, content with victory, declined the government of their conquests. Ninus established the greatness of the dominion he affected by an immediate taking possession. Wherefore having conquered his neighbours, as he proceeded on to others, fortified with an addition of strength, and each foregoing victory was an instrument of the following, he subdued the nations of all the East country. His last war was with Zoroastres king of the Bactrians, who is said to have first invented magick arts, and studied very carefully the original of the world, and the motion of the stars. Having slain him, he died also himself, his son Ninyas, as yet a minor, being left behind him, and his wife Semiramis.

CHAP. II. She neither daring to deliver up the government to a minor, nor openly take it upon herself, so many and such great nations being scarce likely to obey one man patiently, much less a woman, pretends herself to be the son of Ninus, instead of his wife, a boy instead of a woman. For both had a mean stature, and a voice equally small, and the quality of their lineaments was alike in mother and son. Wherefore she covers her arms and legs with cloaths, her head with a turban: and lest she should seem to conceal something by this new dress, she orders the people to be clad in the same habit, which fashion of cloathing the whole nation keeps from that time. Thus at her first beginning dissembling her sex, she was

dita

dita est. Magnas deinde res gessit; quarum amplitudine ubi invidiam superatam putat, quæ sit fatetur, quemque simulasset. Nec hoc illi dignitatem regni ademit sed admirationem auxit, quod mulier non fœminas modo virtute, sed etiam viros anteiret. Hæc Babyloniam condidit, murumque urbi cincto latere circumdedit, arenæ vice bitumine interstrato: quæ materia in illis locis passim e terra exæstuat. Multa & alia præclara hujus reginæ fuere. Siquidem non contenta acquisitos viro regni terminos tueri, Æthiopiam quoque imperio adjecit. Sed & Indiæ bellum intulit; quo præter illam & Alexandrum Magnum nemo intravit. Ad postremum, cum concubitus filii petiisset, ab eodem interfec-ta est, XLII. annos post Ninum regno potita. Filius ejus Ninyas contentus elaborato a parentibus imperio belli studia deposuit, & veluti sexum cum matre mutasset, raro a viris visus in fœminarum turba consenuit. Posterius quoque ejus id exemplum secuti responsa gentibus per internuncios dabant. Imperium Assyrii, qui postea Syri dicti sunt, annis MCCC retinere.

CAP. III. Postremus apud eos regnavit Sardanapalus, vir muliere corruptior. Ad hunc videndum (quod nemini ante eum permissum fuerat) præfectus ipsius Medis præpositus, nomine Arbactus, cum admitti magna ambitione ægre obtinisset; invenit eum inter scortorum greges purpuram colorem, & muliebri habitu, cum mollitia corporis & oculorum lascivia omnes fœminas anteiret, pensa inter virgines partientem. Quibus visis indignatus tali fœminæ

believed to be a boy. After that she performed great things, by the greatness of which, when she thought envy overcome, she confesses who she was, and whom she had personated. Nor did this take from her her royal dignity, but increased the admiration of her; because she a woman excelled not only women in her conduct, but men too. She built Babylon, and raised a wall round the City of brick, a pitchy matter being laid betwixt the bricks for sand, which matter springs up out of the earth every where in those places. There were likewise a great many other famous acts of this queen: for, not content to defend the borders of her kingdom got by her husband, she added Æthiopia too to her empire. But she made war likewise upon India; which none entered besides her and Alexander the Great. At last, desiring to lie with her son, she was slain by the same, having held the kingdom two and forty years after Ninus. Her son Ninyas, content with the empire procured by his parents, laid aside all thoughts of war; and, as if he had changed sex with his mother, grew old in the company of his women, being seldom seen by men. His posterity likewise following his example, gave answers to the nations by messengers. The Assyrians, who afterwards were called Syrians, held their empire a thousand three hundred years.

CHAP. III. Sardanapalus reigned last amongst them, a man more corrupt than a woman. A lord lieutenant of his set over the Medes, by name Arbactus, having hardly obtained by great request to be admitted to see him, (which had never been granted to any before him) found him spinning scarlet wool upon a distaff, amongst companies of whores, and in a woman's habit, exceeding all the women in the softness of his body, and the wantonness of his eyes, dividing their tasks amongst the girls. Which having seen, being angry that so many men should be subject to such a woman, and those who bore

tantum virorum subjectum, tractantique lanam ferrum & arma portantes parere: progressus ad focios, quod viderit refert: negat se ei parere posse, qui se foeminam malit esse quam virum. Fit igitur conjuratio, bellum Sardanapalo inferitur. Quo ille auditus, non ut vir regnum defensus, sed ut metu mortis mulieres solent, primo latebras circumspicit: mox deinde cum paucis & incompotis in bellum progreditur. Victus in regiam se recipit; ubi extructa incensaque pyra, & se & divitias suas in incendium mittit, hoc solo imitatus virum. Post hunc rex constituitur interfectore ejus Arbactus qui praefectus Medorum fuerat. Is imperium ab Assyriis ad Medos transfert.

CAP. IV. Post multos deinde reges per ordinem successionis regnum ad Astyagen descendit. Hic per somnum vidit ex naturalibus filiae, quam unicam habebat, vitem enatam, cujus palmitibus omnis Asia obumbraretur. Consulti harioli, ex eadem filia nepotem ei futurum, cujus magnitudo praenunciatur, regniue ei amissionem portendi, responderunt. Hoc responso exterritus, neque claro viro, neque civi filiam, ne paterna maternaue nobilitas nepoti animo extolleret; sed ex gente obscura tunc temporis Persarum, Cambyssi mediocri viro in matrimonium tradit. Ac ne sic quidem somnii metu deposito, gravidam ad se filiam arcessit, ut sub avi potissimum oculis partus necaretur. Natus infans datur occidendus Harpago regis amico & arcanorum participi. Is veritus, si ad filiam mortuo rege venisset imperium, quia nullum Astyages virilis sexus genuerat,

swords and arms should obey one that handled wool, going out to his companions, he tells them what he had seen. He denies that he was able to obey him, who had rather be a woman than a man. Wherefore a conspiracy is formed, war is made upon Sardanapalus. Which he having heard of, behaves not as a man that would defend his kingdom, but as women use to do in the fear of death, at first he looks for a hiding place; presently after he marches out to the war with a few ill-disciplined troops. Being conquered, he betakes himself to his palace, where, having raised and set fire to a pile of wood, he throws both himself and his riches into the fire, in this only thing imitating a man. After him the killer of him Arbactus, who had been governor of the Medes, is made king. He transfers the empire from the Assyrians to the Medes.

CHAP. IV. Then after many kings, the kingdom descended by order of succession to Astyages. He saw in a dream a vine spring out of the womb of his daughter, the only child that he had, with the branches of which all Asia was overshadowed. The soothsayers being consulted, answered, that he should have a grandson by the same daughter, whose greatness was foretold, and that the loss of his kingdom was signified to him. Being affrighted at this answer, he gave his daughter in marriage neither to a famous man, nor one of that country, lest father and mother's quality should raise the spirit of his grandson; but to Cambyses, a mean man, of the nation of the Persians, at that time obscure. And the fear of his dream being not laid aside, even thus, he sends for his daughter big with child to him, that the infant might be slain, even under the eye of his grandfather. The child when born is delivered to be slain to Harpagus the king's friend and privy councillor. He fearing, if the kingdom should come to the daughter when the king was dead, because Astyages had no male issue, lest she should take her revenge for the killing her child, which

ne illa necati infantis ultionem, quam a patre non potuisset, a ministro exigeret; pastori regii pecoris puerum expopendum tradit. Forte eodem tempore & ipsi pastori filius natus erat. Ejus igitur uxor audita regii infantis expositione, summis precibus rogat sibi afferri ostendique puerum: Cujus precibus fatigatus pastor reversus in sylvam, invenit juxta infantem canem fœminam, parvulo ubera præbentem, & a feris alitibusque defendentem. Motus & ipse misericordia qua motam etiam canem viderat, puerum desert ad stabula, eadem cane anxie prosequente. Quem ubi in manum mulier accepit, veluti ad notam puer allusit: tantusque in illo vigor, & dulcis quidam blandientis infantis risus apparuit, ut pastorem uxor ultro rogaret, quo suum partum pro illo exponeret, permetteret que sibi, sive fortunæ ipsius, sive spei suæ, puerum nutrire. Atque ita permutata sorte parvulorum, hic pro filio pastoris educatur, ille pronepote regis exponitur. Nutrici Spacos postea nomen fuit, quia canem Persæ sic vocant.

CAP. V. Puer deinde cum inter pastores esset, Cyri nomen accepit. Mox rex inter ludentes forte delectus, cum per lasciviam contumaces flagellis cecidisset, a parentibus puerorum querela est regi delata, indignantibus a servo regio ingenuos homines servilibus verberibus affectos. Ille arcesso puero & interrogato, cum nihil mutato vultu fecisse se ut regem respondisset; admiratus constantiam, in memoriam somnii responsique revocatur. Atque ita cum & vultus similitudo, & expositionis tempora & pastoris confessio convenirent, nepotem agnovit.

she could not do of her father, of his minister, delivered the child to the keeper of the king's cattle to be exposed. By chance at the same time the shepherd had too a son born. His wife therefore having heard of the exposing of the royal infant, begs with the utmost importunity to have the child brought and shewn her; with whose entreaties the shepherd being tired out, returned into the wood, he found a bitch by the infant, giving her paps to the little one, and defending it from the wild beasts and birds of prey. Being moved himself too with pity, with which he had seen even the bitch to be moved, he carries the child to his folds, the same bitch anxiously following him. Which when the woman received into her hand, he smiled upon her as upon one he knew, and there appeared so much vigour in him, and a certain pleasant smirk of the fawning creature, that the wife of her own accord entreated the shepherd, that she might expose her own child for him, and that he would permit her to educate the child, either for his fortune or her own hopes. And thus the lot of the little ones being changed, he is brought up for the shepherd's son, the other was exposed for the king's grandson. The nurse's name was afterwards Spacos, because the Persians so call a bitch.

CHAP. V. The boy afterwards, when he was amongst the shepherds, received the name of Cyrus. By and by being chosen by lot king amongst his play-jellows, having beaten with scourges the disobedient out of wantonness, a complaint was carried to the king by the parents of the boys, being angry that men free born should be lashed with servile stripes by the king's slave. He having sent for, and questioned the boy, and he answering him, his countenance not being at all changed, that he had done as a king; admiring his courage, is put in mind of his dream, and the answer. And so as both the likeness of his countenance, and the time of exposing him, and the shepherd's confession agreed, he knew him to be his grandson. And because he seemed to have fulfilled his dream,

Et quoniam defunctus sibi somnio videretur, agitato inter pastores regno, animum minacem duntaxat in illo fregit. Cæterum Harpago amico suo infestus, in ultionem servati nepotis, filium ejus interfecit, epulandumque patri tradidit. Sed Harpagus ad præsens tempus dissimulato dolore, odium regis in vindictæ occasionem distulit. Interjecto deinde tempore, cum adolevisset Cyrus, dolore orbitatis admonitus, scribit ei, ut *ablegatus in Persas ab avo fuerit: ut occidit eum parvulum avus jussit: ut beneficio suo servatus sit: ut regem offenderit: ut filium amisit.* Hortatur, exercitum parat & pronam ad regnum viam ingrediatur, Medorum transitionem pollicitus. Epistola, quia palam ferri nequibat, regis custodibus omnes aditus obsidentibus, exenterato lepori inferitur, lepusque in Persas Cyro ferendus, fido servo traditur; addita retia, ut sub specie venationis dolus lateret.

CAP. VI. Lectis ille epistolis eadem somnio aggredi jussus est; sed præmonitus ut quem primum postera die obvium habuisset, socium cœptis assumeret. Igitur antelucano tempore ruri iter ingressus, obvium habuit servum de egastulo cujusdam Medi, nomine Sybarem: hujus requisita origine, ut in Persis genitum audivit, demptis compedibus, assumptoque comite, Persepolim regreditur. Ibi convocato populo, jubet omnes præsto cum securibus esse, & sylvam viæ circumdatam excidere. Quod cum strenue fecissent, eosdem postero die apparatis epulis invitat; deinde cum alacriores ipso convivio factos videret, rogat, *Si conditio*

he having had a kingdom among the shepherds, he broke his threatening spirit in him only. But being incensed against his friend Harpagus, in revenge for the saving of his grandson, he killed his son, and delivered him to his father to feast upon. But Harpagus dissimbling his resentment, deferred shewing his hatred to the king, 'till an opportunity of revenge. Some time after, when Cyrus was grown up, instigated by his sorrow for the loss of his son, he writes to him, how he had been banished amongst the Persians by his grandfather; how his grandfather had ordered him, when a little one, to be slain; how he had been preserved by his kindness; how he had offended the king; and how he had lost his son. He advises him, to raise an army, and enter upon a march directly for the kingdom, promising the Medes should come over to him. The letter, because it could not be openly carried, the king's guards blocking up all the roads, is put into a paunched hare, and the hare is delivered to a trusty servant to be carried to Cyrus in Persia. Nets were given him too, that the plot might be concealed under a shew of hunting.

CHAP. VI. He having read the letter, was ordered in a dream to attempt the same, but warned to take as his assistant in his enterprizes him whom he should meet first the next day. Wherefore beginning a journey before it was light, he met in the country a slave from the workhouse of a certain Mede, by name Sybaris. Having enquired into his original, when he heard that he was born in Persia, taking off his fetters, and carrying him along with him as his companion, he returns to Persepolis. There having called the people together, he orders them all to attend with hatchets, and cut down a wood on each side the road. Which when they had readily done, he invites them all the day following to a feast prepared for them. And then when he saw them made merry with the entertainment, he asks them, If any offer should be made them, which

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proponatur, utrius vitæ sortem legant, hesterni laboris, an præsentium epularum? præsentium, ut acclamavere omnes; ait, Hesterni similem labori omnem vitam acturos, quoad Medis pareant: se secutos, hodiernis epulis. Lætis omnibus, Medis bellum infert. Astyages meriti sui in Harpagum oblitus summam belli eidem committit: qui exercitum acceptum statim Cyro per deditiōnem tradidit, regisque crudelitatem perfidia defectionis ulciscitur. Quod ubi Astyages audiuit, contractis undique auxiliis, ipse in Persas proficiscitur; & repetito alacrius certamine, pugnantibus suis partem exercitus a tergo ponit & tergiversantes ferro agi in hostes jubet; ac denunciat suis ni vincerent, non minus fortes etiam post terga inventuros, quam a frontibus viros: proinde videant, fugientibus hæc, an illa pugnantibus acies rumpenda sit. Ingens post necessitatem pugnandi animus exercitui & vis accessit. Pulsa itaque cum Persarum acies paulatim cederet, matres & uxores earum obviam occurrunt, orant in prælium revertantur: cunctantibus sublata veste obscæna corporis ostendunt, rogantes num in uteros matrum vel uxorum velint refugere? Hac repressi castigatione in prælium redeunt; & facta impressione, quos fugiebant, fugere compellunt. In eo prælio Astyages capitur; cui Cyrus nihil aliud quam regnum abstulit; nepotemque in illo magis, quam victorem egit; eumque maximæ genti Hyrcanorum præposuit. Nam in Medos reverti ipse noluit. Hic finis Medorum imperii fuit. Regnaverunt annos CCCL.

condition of life they would choose, that of yesterday's labour, or of the present feast? *As they all cried out, that of the present feast; he tells them, that they would lead all their life like yesterday's labour, as long as they obeyed the Medes; if they followed him, like that day's feast. All being glad of that, he makes war upon the Medes. Astyages forgetting his behaviour towards Harpagus, commits the management of the war to him, who by a surrender delivered up the army he had received to Cyrus, and revenges himself for the king's cruelty by the perfidiousness of a revolt. Which when Astyages heard, having got together troops from all parts, he marches against the Persians, and the fight being renewed very briskly, he places a part of his army on the rear of his men that were engaged, and orders those that gave back to be driven by the sword upon the enemies; and declares to his men unless they conquered, they would find men in their rear not less stout than those in the front; wherefore they ought to consider, whether this army was to be broken by them flying, or that by them fighting. After a necessity of fighting, great courage and mettle was thereby infused into his army. Wherefore when the army of the Persians being repulsed gave way by little and little, their mothers and wives run to meet them, and beg of them to return to the battle. Upon their delaying, taking up their cloaths, they shew them the obscene parts of the body, asking them, whether they would fly into the womb of their mothers or wives. Being stopped by this reprimand, they return to battle, and having made an attack, oblige those to fly whom they had fled from before. In this battle Astyages is taken, from whom Cyrus took nothing else but his kingdom, and behaved like a grandson towards him rather than a conqueror, and set him over the great nation of the Hyrcanians: for he would not return amongst the Medes. This was the end of the empire of the Medes. They ruled 350 years.*

CAP. VII. Initio regni, Cyrus Sybarem cœptorum socium, quem juxta nocturnum visum ergastulo liberaverat, comitemq; in omnibus rebus habuerat, Persis præposuit, sororemque suam ei in matrimonium dedit. Sed civitates, quæ Medorum tributariæ fuerant, mutato imperio, etiam conditionem suam mutatam arbitantes, a Cyro defece- runt: quæ res multorum bellorum Cyro causa & origo fuit. Domitis demum plerisque, cum adversus Babylonios bellum gereret, Babylonis rex Lydorum Cræsus, cujus opes & divitiæ insignes ea tempestate erant, in auxilium venit: victusque jam ac desolatus, in regnum refugit. Cyrus quoque post victoriam, compositis in Babylonia rebus, bellum transfert in Lydiam. Ibi fortuna prioris prælii perculsum jam Cræsi exercitum nullo negotio fundit: Cræsus ipse capitur. Sed quanto bellum minoris periculi, tanto & mitior victoria fuit. Cræso & vita, & patrimonii partes, & urbs Barce concessa sunt: in qua etsi non regiam vitam, proximam tamen majestati regis degeret. Hæc clementia non minus victori quam victo utilis fuit. Quippe ex universa Græcia, cognito quod illatum Cræso bellum esset, auxilia velut ad commune extinguendum incendium confluebant. Tantus Cræsi amor apud omnes urbes erat: passurusque Cyrus grave bellum Græciæ fuerit, si quid in Cræsum crudelius consuluisset. Interjecto deinde tempore, occupato in aliis bellis Cyro, Lydi rebellare: quibus iterum victis arma & equi adempti, jussique cauponias, & ludicras artes & lenocinia exercere. Et sic gens in-

CHAP. VII. In the beginning of his reign Cyrus set over the Persians Sybaris, whom, according to his dream in the night, he had delivered from the work-house, and had kept as his companion in all things, and gave him his sister in marriage. But the cities which had been tributary to the Medes, the government being changed, thinking their condition was changed to, revolted from Cyrus: which thing was the cause and original of many wars to Cyrus. At last most of them being conquered, when he was carrying on the war against the Babylonians, Cræsus king of the Lydians, whose power and riches were famous at that time, came to the assistance of the Babylonians; and being presently conquered and forsaken, he fled back into his kingdom. Cyrus likewise after the victory having settled affairs in Babylon, removes the war into Lydia. There he routs with no difficulty Cræsus's army, already discouraged by the fortune of the former battle: Cræsus himself is taken. But by how much the less dangerous this war was, by so much the milder was the victory. Both his life, and part of his estate, and the city Barce were granted Cræsus, in which tho' he did not live the life of a king, yet he led a life next to royal majesty. This clemency was not less useful to the conqueror than the conquered. For when it was known that war was made upon Cræsus, auxiliaries flocked in from all Greece, as it were to put out a common fire; so great was the love of Cræsus amongst all the cities: and Cyrus would have suffered a grievous war of Greece, if he had determined any thing very cruel against Cræsus. Some time after, whilst Cyrus was busy in other wars, the Lydians rebelled; from whom, being again conquered, their arms and horses were taken, and they ordered to follow the trades of wine-selling, gaming, and bawdry. And thus a nation, of old powerful by industry, and brave, being effeminated by softness and luxury, lost its former virtue: and idleness and sloth conquered them when sunk in luxury, whom

dustria

dustria quondam potens, & manu strenua, effeminata mollitie luxuriaque virtutem pristinam perdidit; & quos ante Cyrum invictos bella præstiterant, in luxuriam lapsos otium ac desidiosa superavit. Fuere Lydis multi ante Cræsum reges variis casibus memorabiles; nullus tamen fortunæ Candauli comparandus. Hic uxorem, quem propter formæ pulchritudinem deperibat, prædicare omnibus solebat, non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia, nisi etiam matrimonii reticenda publicaret; prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset. Ad postremum, ut affirmationi suæ fidem faceret, nudam sodali suo Gygi ostendit. Quo factò, & amicum in adulterium uxoris sollicitatum hostem sibi fecit; & uxorem, veluti tradito alii amore, a se alienavit. Namque brevi post tempore cædes Candauli nuptiarum pretium fuit, & uxor mariti sanguine dotata, regnum viri, & se pariter adultero tradidit.

CAP. VIII. Cyrus subacta Asia, & universo Oriente in potestatem redactò, Scythis bellum infert. Erat eo tempore Scythiarum regina Tomyris, quæ non muliebriter adventu hostium territa, cum prohibere eos transitu Araxis fluminis posset, transire permisit, & sibi faciliorem pugnam intra regni sui terminos rata & hostibus objectu fluminis fugam difficiliorem. Itaque Cyrus trajectis copiis, cum aliquantisper in Scythiam processisset, castra metatus est. Dein postera die, cum simulato metu, quasi refugiens castra deseruisset, vini affratum, & ea quæ epulis erant necessaria, reliquit. Quod cum nunciatum reginæ esset, adolescentulum filium ad insequendum eum cum tertia parte copiarum mittit. Cum ventum ad Cyri castra esset, ignarus rei militaris adolescens, veluti ad epulas, non

was had shewn to be invincible before Cyrus. The Lydians had many kings before Cræsus memorable for their various chances; but none to be compared for odd fortune to Candaulus. He used to commend his wife to every body, whom he entirely loved for her beauty; not content with the tacit consciousness of his own pleasures, unless he discovered likewise the secrets of matrimony, just as if silence had been an injury to her beauty. At last, to gain credit to his assertion, he shewed her naked to his friend Gygis. By which action he both made his friend, thus tempted to the debauching of his wife, his enemy; and alienated his wife from him, by delivering up, as it were, her love to another. For a short time after, the murder of Candaulus was the price of her marrying him, and the wife, endowed with the blood of her husband, delivered up her husband's kingdom and herself together to her gallant.

CHAP. VIII. Cyrus having subdued Asia, and reduced all the East under his power, makes war upon the Scythians. Tomyris was queen of the Scythians at that time, who not being affrighted, like a woman, at the coming of the enemy, tho' she was able to hinder them from passing of the river Araxes, she suffered them to pass, supposing both that an engagement would be more easy for her within the bounds of her own kingdom, and flight more difficult for the enemy, by having the river in their rear. Wherefore Cyrus having drawn over his forces, after he had advanced a little into Scythia, pitched his camp. After that, the day following, having forsaken his camp, flying back as it were under a pretence of fear, he left plenty of wine, and those things which were necessary for a feast. Which when it was told the queen, she sends her son, a young man, with a third part of her forces to pursue him. When they were come to Cyrus's camp, the young man, ignorant of military affairs, as if

ad prælium venisset, omisissis hostibus, insuetos barbaros vino se onerare patitur; priusq; Scythæ ebrietate quam bello vincuntur. Nam cognitis his, Cyrus reversus per noctem faucios opprimit, omnesque Scythas cum reginæ filio interficit. Amisso tanto exercitu, & quod gravius dolendum, unico filio, Tomyris orbitatis dolorem non in lacrymas effudit, sed in ultionis solatia intendit; hostesque recenti victoria exultantes pari insidiarum fraude circumvenit. Quippe simulata diffidentia propter vulnus acceptum refugiens Cyrus ad angustias usque perduxit. Ibi compositis in montibus insidiis, ducenta millia Persarum cum ipso rege trucidavit. In qua victoria etiam illud memorabile fuit, quod ne nuncius quidem tantæ cladis superfuit. Caput Cyri amputatum in utrem humano sanguine repletum conjici regina jubet, cum hac exprobratione crudelitatis; *Satia te, inquit, sanguine quem sitiisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.* Cyrus regnavit annos xxx; non initio tantum regni, sed continuo totius temporis successu admirabiliter insignis.

CAP. IX. Huic successit filius Cambyfes qui imperio patris Ægyptum adjecit; sed offensus superstitionibus Ægyptiorum, Apis cæterorumq; deorum ædes dirui jubet. Ad Ammonis quoq; nobilissimum templum expugnandum exercitum mittit; qui tempestatibus & arenarum molibus oppressus interiit. Post hæc per quietem vidit fratrem suum Smerdim regnaturum. Quo somnio exterritus non dubitavit post sacrilegia etiam parricidium facere. Erat enim difficile, ut parceret suis, qui cum contemptu religionis, grassatus etiam ad-

he was come to a feast, not to a battle, letting the enemy alone suffers the Barbarians to load themselves with wine, who were unused to that liquor; and the Scythians are conquered by drunkenness before they are conquered in the war. For Cyrus having known this, returning in the night, comes upon them when drunk, and kills all the Scythians, with the queen's son. Having lost so great an army, and, what afflicted more grievously, an only son, Tomyris did not pour out her sorrow for the loss of her son in tears, but turns her mind to the comforts of revenge, and trepanns the enemy rejoicing for their late victory with the like trick also of an ambush. For pretending a distrust of herself, because of the loss she had received, flying back, she drew Cyrus into a narrow pass. There having laid an ambush in the mountains, she slew two hundred thousand Persians, with the king himself. In which victory that also was remarkable, that not so much as a messenger of so great a slaughter survived. The queen orders the head of Cyrus, being cut off, to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, with this upbraiding of his cruelty: Glut thyself, said she, with blood, which thou thirstedst after, and with which thou wast never to be satisfied. Cyrus reigned 30 years, admirably famous not only for the beginning of his reign, but for the continual success of his whole time.

CHAP. IX. His son Cambyfes succeeded him, who added Egypt to the empire of his father; but being offended with the superstition of the Egyptians, he ordered the temples of Apis and the other gods to be pulled down. He sends an army likewise to demolish the most famous temple of Hammon; which being overwhelmed by storms and heaps of sand, perished. After this he saw in a dream his brother Smerdis was to reign. By which dream being frightened, he scrupled not to commit parricide after his sacrilege. For it was hard for him to spare his own relations, who had proceeded against the gods with despite to religion. He chose out a certain Magian of his friends, by name Cometes, for this cruel
versus

versus deos fuerat. Ad hoc tam crudele ministerium, Magnum quendam ex amicis delegit nomine Cometem. Interim ipse gladio suo sponte evaginato, in femore graviter vulneratus occubuit pœnasque luit seu imperati paricidii seu sacrilegii perpetrati Quo nuntio accepto, Magus ante famam amissi regis occupat facinus; prostratoq; Smerde cui regnum debebatur, fratrem suum subjecit Oropastes. Erat enim & oris & corporis lineamentis per similis; ac nemine subesse dolum arbitrante, pro Smerde rex Oropastes constituitur. Quæ res eo occultior fuit, quod apud Persas persona regis sub specie maiestatis occultitur. Igitur Magi, ad favorem populi conciliandum, tributa & militiæ vocationem in triennium permittunt; ut regnum, quod fraude quæsierant, indulgentia & largitionibus confirmarent. Quæ res suspecta primo Oštani viro nobili & in conjecturis sagacissimo fuit. Itaque per internuncios quærit de filia, quæ inter regias pellices erat, an Cyri regis filius rex esset. Illam nec seipsam scire, ait, nec ex alia posse cognoscere, quia singulæ separatim recludantur. Tum perirectare dormienti caput jubet, nam Mago Cambyfes aures utrasque præciderat. Factus deinde per filiam certior, sine auribus esse regem, optimatibus Persarum rem indicat; & in cædem falsi regis impulsos sacramenti religione obstringit. Septem tantum conscii fuere hujus conjurationis, qui ex continenti, ne dato in pœnitentiam spatio, res per quenquam narraretur, occultato sub veste ferro ad regiam pergunt. Ibi obviis interceptis, ad Magos perveniunt; quibus ne ipsis quidem animus in auxilium tui defuit; siquidem stricto ferro duos de conjuratis interficiunt. Ipsi tamen corripiuntur

service. In the mean time, he being wounded grievously in the thigh by his sword unsheathed of itself, died, and suffered the punishment either of the parricide he had ordered, or of the sacrilege he had committed. Which news being received, the Magian goes on quick with his work, before the same was spread of the king's being dead; and having slain Smerdis, to whom the kingdom was owing, put in his stead his own brother Oropastes. For he was very like him, both for the lineaments of his face and body; and no body supposing any fraud to be in the case, Oropastes is made king for Smerdis. Which thing was the more private, because amongst the Persians, the person of the king is concealed under the pretence of majesty. Wherefore the Magians, to gain the favour of the people, remit the taxes, and grant them an immunity from serving in the war for three years; that they might secure by their indulgence and bounty the kingdom they had got by fraud. Which thing was first suspected by Oštanes a noble man, and very shrewd in his conjectures. Wherefore he enquires by messengers of his daughter, who was among the king's concubines, whether the son of king Cyrus was king. She tells him, that she neither knew herself, nor could learn from any others, because they were each of them shut up apart. Then he orders her to feel his head when asleep; for Cambyfes had cut off both the Magus's ears. Upon that, being made acquainted by his daughter that the king was without ears, he discovers the matter to some noblemen of the Persians; and being encouraged to the taking of this false king, he binds them by the religion of an oath. Seven only were privy to this conspiracy, who immediately, lest time being given for repentance, the thing should be told by any one, go to the palace with swords hid under their cloaths. There having slain those they met with, they came to the Magians, who themselves indeed did not want courage for their defence: for they kill two of the conspirators with their drawn swords. Yet they are seized by them, being more than themselves: one of which, Gobrias,

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tura pluribus: quorum alterum Gobrias medium amplexus, cunctantibus focis ne ipsum pro Mago transfoderent, quia res obscuro loco gerebatur, vel per suum corpus adigi Mago ferrum iussit: fortuna tamen ita regente, illo incolumi Magus interficitur.

CAP. X. Occisus Magis magna quidem gloria recepti regni principum fuit; sed multo major in eo, quod cum de regno ambigerent, concordare potuerunt. Erant enim virtute & nobilitate ita pares, ut difficilem ex his populo electionem æqualitas faceret. Ipsi igitur viam invenerunt, qua de se iudicium religioni & fortunæ committerent. Pactiq; inter se sunt, ut die statuta omnes equos ante regiam primo mane perducerent; & cuius equus inter solis ortum hinnitum primus edidisset, is rex esset. Nam & solem Persæ unum Deum esse credunt, & equos eidem Deo sacros ferunt. Erat inter conjuratos Hystaspis filius, cui de regno sollicito equi custos ait, Si ea res victoriam moraretur, nihil negotii superesse: per noctem deinde equum pridie constitutam diem ad eundem locum ducit, ibique equæ admittit, ratus ex voluptate veneris futurum, quod evenit. Postera die itaq; cum ad statutam horam omnes convenissent, Darii equus cognito loco ex desiderio feminae hinnitum statim edidit, & segnibus aliis, felix auspiciu domino primus emisit. Tanta moderatio cæteris fuit, audito auspicio, ut confestim equis desilierint, & Darium regem salutarerint. Populus quoq; universus secutus iudicium principum eundem regem constituit. Sic regnum Persarum septem nobilissimorum virorum virtute quæsitum tam levi momento in unum collatum est. Incredibile prorsus tantæ patientiæ cessisse eo, quod ut

having got about the waist, his companions forbearing to strike, lest they should slay him for the Magian, because the business was transacted in a dark place, he orders the sword to be run into the Magian, even thro' his own body: yet fortune ordering it so, the Magian is slain, the other remaining un hurt.

CHAP. X. The Magians being slain, great indeed was the glory of the Princes for the recovery of the kingdom: but much greater in that, that when they came to debate about the disposal of the kingdom, they could agree. For they were so equal in virtue and quality, that their equality would have made the choice out of them difficult to the people. They therefore found out a way to leave the judgement of themselves to religion and fortune: and agreed amongst themselves, that they should bring their horses on a day appointed, early in the morning, before the palace; and that he should be king, whose horse first set up a neighing, before the rising of the sun. For the Persians believe the sun to be only God, and they count horses sacred to the same God. There was among the conspirators Darius the son of Hystaspis, to whom being concerned about the kingdom, the keeper of his horse says, If that matter hindered his advancement, there was nothing of difficulty in it. After that he leads the horse by night, the day before the appointed day, to the same place, and there lets him cover a mare, thinking that would follow from the pleasure of his leap, which happened. Wherefore the day after, when they were all met at the hour appointed, Darius's horse knowing the place, set up a neighing immediately for want of his mare; and whilst the rest were dull, first gave the happy omen to his master. So great was the moderation of the rest upon hearing the omen, that immediately they alighted from their horses, and saluted Darius as their king. The whole people likewise following the judgement of the princes, appoint the same person to be king. Thus the kingdom of the Persians, recovered by the bravery of seven of the noblest men in it, was by so slight

eriperent

eriperent Magis, mori non recu-
saverint. Quanquam præter for-
mam, virtutemque hoc imperio
dignam, etiam cognatio Dario
iuncta cum pristinis regibus fuit.
Principio igitur regni Cyri regis
filiam in matrimonium recepit,
regalibus nuptiis regnum firma-
turus; ut non tam inextraneum
translatum, quam in familiam
Cyri reversum videretur. Inter-
jecto deinde tempore, cum As-
syrii descivissent, & Babyloniam
occupassent, difficilisque urbis
expugnatio esset; æstuante rege,
unus de interfectoribus Mago-
rum Zopyrus domi se verberibus
lacerari toto corpore jubet;
nasum, aures & labia sibi præ-
scidi, atque ita regi inopinanti
se offert. Attonitum et quæren-
tem Darium causas, auctoremque;
tam sædæ lacerations, tacitus,
quo proposito fecerit edocet;
formatoque in futura consilio,
transfugæ titulo Babyloniam
proficiscitur. Ibi ostendit po-
pulo laniatum corpus: queritur
crudelitatem regis, a quo in
regni petitione, non virtute, sed
auspicio, non iudicio hominum,
sed hinnitu equi superatus sit.
Jubet illos ex amicis exemplum
capere, quod hostibus caven-
dum sit. Hortatur non mœni-
bus magis quam armis confi-
dant, patianturque se commune
bellum recentiore ira gerere.
Nota nobilitas viri pariter & vir-
tus omnibus erat; nec de fide
timebant, cujus veluti pignora,
vulnera corporis & injuriæ notas
habebant. Constituitur ergo
dux omnium suffragio; & ac-
cepta parva manu, semel atque
iterum cedentibus consulto Per-
sis, secunda prælia facit. Ad
postremum universum sibi cre-
ditum exercitum Dario prodit,
urbemque ipsam in potestatem
ejus redigit. Post hæc Darius
bellum Scythis infert quod se-
quenti volumine referetur.

a matter conferred upon one of them. It
is altogether incredible, that they should
quit that with so much patience, to recover
which from the Magians they had not re-
fused to die. Altho' besides handsomeness of
person, and virtue worthy this empire,
Darius was related to the former kings.
Wherefore in the beginning of his reign, he
took the daughter of king Cyrus in mar-
riage, to secure the kingdom by this royal
match, that it might not seem so much trans-
ferred upon a stranger, as to be returned
into the family of Cyrus. Some time af-
ter, when the Assyrians had revolted, and
had seized Babylon, and the taking of the
town was difficult; the king chafing at it,
one of the killers of the Magians, Zopy-
rus, orders himself to be torn with scourges
all his body over; his nose, ears, and lips
to be cut off; and so offers himself to the
king unawares of him. He privately
informs Darius, that was astonished, and
enquired after the person guilty of this cruel
mangling of him, with what intent he
did it; and having formed his design for
the sequel, he goes to Babylon under the
notion of a deserter. There he shews the
people his mangled body: he complains of
the king's cruelty, by whom he was out-
reached in his suit for the kingdom, not
by his virtue, but by a lucky chance; not
by the judgment of men, but by the neigh-
ing of a horse. He bids them take ex-
ample by his friends what his enemies had
to beware of. He advises them not to trust
to their walls more than to their arms, and
to permit him to carry on the war in com-
mon with them, with fresher resentment.
The quality of the man, and likewise his
virtue, was known to them all; nor did
they doubt of his honesty, of which they
had the wounds of his body, and the marks
of his ill usage, as pledges. Wherefore he
is constituted general by the votes of them
all; and having received a small body of
troops, the Persians yielded once and again
on purpose, he fights some successful battles.
At last he betrays the whole army, which
was entrusted to him, to Darius, and re-
duces the city under his power. After this,
Darius makes war with the Scythians,
which shall be related in the following
volume.

L I B E R II.

B R E V I A R I U M C A P I T U M.

1. *Scytharum origo & antiquitas, de qua cum Ægyptiis contendunt.*
2. *Descriptio Scythiæ, & morum gentis, quæ in plaustris degens justitiam colit & continentiam.*
3. *Scytharum fortitudo bellica: Ægyptios fugant, Asiamque reddunt tributariam.*
4. *Amazonum a Scythis origo, reginæ res gestæ.*
5. *Bellum Scytharum adversus servos, quos lepidò stratagemate reprimunt. Darius Scythis, deinde Ionibus & Atheniensibus arma infert.*
6. *Atheniensium origo, gloriatio, industria, artes, opes.*
7. *Respublica Atheniensis Solonis legibus & politico stratagemate firmata.*
8. *Pisistratus post fortiter gesta in Megareses tyrannidem per 33 annos occupat.*
9. *Ejusdem filius Hippias, patria pulsus, Persarum exercitum in Græciam adduxit. Inde nobilis illa Marathonica pugna in qua victi Persæ, Athenienses victores duce Miltiade.*
10. *Disceptatio fraterna de regno inter Darii filios. Xerxes bellum adversus Græcos instaurat validissimo exercitu.*
11. *Fortitudine Spartanorum, quorum rex Leonidas, Persæ ad Thermopilas maxima clade afficiuntur.*
12. *Themistoclis industria Persarum classis ad Salaminium fretum navali prælio victa, post multam stragem fuga sibi consulit.*
13. *Mardonio terrestris exercitus commissus, Xerxes ægre evadit piscatoria scapha, ejusdem pedestris exercitus fame obruitur: unde nova clades.*
14. *Mardonius in Bæotia ad Platæas, cum Persis à Græcorum copiis victus cum paucis profugit. Eodem fere momento adversus Persas in Asia feliciter dimicatum est.*
15. *Athenienses, Spartanis delusis, urbem ex integro restaurant. Spartani Persarum fines depopulantur. Pausanias defectionis reus damnatur. Aristides proditoris consilia discutit. Xerxes iterum arma movet infeliciter, a Cymone navali prælio superatus.*

C A P U T I.

IN relatione rerum ab Scythis gestarum, quæ satis amplæ magnificæque fuerunt, principium ab origine repetendum est.

IN relating the things done by the Scythians, which were great and noble enough, we must take our beginning from their original. For they had a rise no less
Non

Non enim minus illustria initia, quam imperium habuere; nec virorum imperio magis quam sœminarum virtutibus claruere. Quippe cum ipsi Parthos Bactrianosque, sœminæ autem eorum Amazonum regna condiderint: prorsus ut res gestas virorum mulierumque; considerantibus incertum sit, uter apud eos sexus illustrior fuerit. Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habita; quanquam inter Scythas & Ægyptios diu contentio de generis vetustate fuerit: Ægyptiis prædicantibus, initio rerum, cum aliæ terræ nimio fervore solis arderent, aliæ rigerent frigoris immanitate, ita ut non modo primæ generare homines, sed ne advenas quidem recipere ac tueri possent, priusquam adversus calorem vel frigus velamenta corporis invenirentur, aut locorum vitia quæstis arte remediis mollirentur; Ægyptum ita temperatam semper fuisse, ut neque hyberna frigora, nec æstivi solis ardores incolæ ejus premerent; solum ita sœcundum ut alimentorum in usum hominum nulla terra feracior fuerit. Jure igitur ibi primum homines natos videri debere, ubi educari facillime possent. Contra Scythæ cœli temperamentum, nullum esse vetustatis argumentum putabant: quippe naturam, cum primum incrementa caloris ac frigoris regionibus distinxit, statim ad locorum patientiam, animalia quoque generasse: sed & arborum atque frugum, pro regionum conditione, apte genera variata. Et quanto Scythiis sit cælum asperius quam Ægyptiis, tanto & corpora & ingenia esse duriora. Cæterum si mundi quæ nunc partes sunt, aliquando unitas fuit; sive illuvies aquarum principio rerum terras obrutas tenuit; sive ignis, qui et mundum genuit, cuncta possedit,

illustrious than their empire; nor were they more famous for the dominion of their men, than the virtues of their women. For they (the men) gave being to the Parthians and Bactrians, and their women founded the kingdom of the Amazons; so that it is uncertain to those that consider the exploits of the men and the women, which sex among them are more illustrious. The nation of the Scythians was always reckoned very ancient; altho' there was a long time a dispute betwixt the Scythians and Egyptians, about the antiquity of their original; the Egyptians, alledging, In the beginning of the world, when some countries were burnt up with the excessive heat of the sun, others were frozen by the greatness of the cold, so as not only to be incapable to produce men first, but even to receive and support such as might come from other parts, before coverings of the body were invented against heat or cold, or the inconveniencies of countries were qualified by remedies found out by art; Egypt was always so temperate, that neither the winter's cold, nor the heats of the summer-sun, did incommode its inhabitants; the soil so fruitful, that no country is more fruitful in food for the use of men. Wherefore with reason men ought to be thought first produced there, where they might most easily be brought up. On the other hand, the Scythians thought the temperateness of the air was no argument of antiquity. For nature, when she first distributed to the several countries of the world the degrees of heat and cold, did immediately produce each kind of animals, fitted for the enduring of the places; and that also the several sorts of trees and grains were varied, suitably to the condition of the climates. And as the Scythians have a sharper air than the Egyptians, so much the harder are their bodies and tempers. But if there was once an uniformity of the world, which is now divided into parts of different nature; whether a deluge of waters kept the earth under cover, in the be-
utriusque

utriusque primorâi Scythas origine præstare. Nam si ignis prima possessio rerum fuit, qui paulatim extinctus sedem terris dedit; nullam prius quàm Septentrionalem partem, hyemis rigore ab igne secretam; adeo ut nunc quoque nulla magis rigeat frigoribus. Ægyptum vero & totum Orientem tardissime temperatum; quippe qui etiam nunc torrenti calore solis exæstuet. Quod si omnes quondam terræ submersæ profundo fuerunt; profecto editissimam quamque partem, decurrentibus aquis, primum detectam; humillimo autem solo eandem aquam diutissime immorata, & quanto prior quæque pars terrarum siccata sit, tanto prius animalia generare cœpisse. Porro Scythiam adeo editiorem omnibus terris esse, ut cuncta flumina ibi nata in Mæotim, tum deinde in Ponticum & Ægyptium mare decurrunt. Ægyptum autem (quæ tot regum, tot seculorum cura impensaque munita sit, & adversum vim incurrentium aquarum tantis structa molibus, tot fossis concisa, ut cum his arceantur, illis recipiantur aquæ, nihilominus coli, nisi excluso Nilo, non potuerit) non posse videri hominum vetustate ultimam; quæ, sive exaggerationibus regum, sive Nili trahentis limum, terrarum recentissima videatur. His igitur argumentis superatis Ægyptiis, antiquiores semper Scythæ visi.

the bankings of the kings, or of the Nile that drags the mud along with it, must appear to be the latest of all countries. Wherefore the Egyptians being baffled by these arguments, the Scythians were always thought the more ancient.

CAP. II. Scythia autem in Orientem porrecta includitur ab uno latere Ponto, & ab altero montibus Riphæis, a tergo Asia & Phasi flumine. Multum in longitudinem & latitudinem patet. Hominibus inter se nul-

ginning of things; or fire, which also produced the world, had possession of all the parts of it, the Scythians had the advantage as to their original, with respect to each of those ways of the world's formation. For if fire was in the first possession of things, which being extinguished by degrees made room for the earth, no part of it would be separated from the fire by the winter's cold sooner than the northern; so that now too no part is more frozen up with cold. But that Egypt and all the East cooled very slowly, as which were even now burnt up with the scorching heat of the sun. But if formerly all countries were sunk under water, certainly every the highest part would be first uncovered by the water's running off: but that the same water must have rested very long upon the lowest ground; and by how much the sooner any part of the earth was dry, so much the sooner did it produce animals. Moreover, Scythia was so much

CHAP. II. Now Scythia, which is stretched out to the East, is bounded on one side by the Pontus Euxinus, and on another by the Riphæan mountains, behind by Asia and the river Phasis. It extends a great way in length and breadth. The men have no boundaries betwixt one ano-

li fines: neque enim agrum exercent; nec domus illis ulla aut tectum, aut sedes est, armenta & pecora semper pascentibus, & per incultas solitudines errare solitis. Uxores liberosq; secum in plaustris vehunt; quibus, coriis imbrum hyemisque causa tectis pro domibus utuntur. Iustitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus. Nullum scelus apud eos furto gravius, quippe sine tecto munimentoque pecora & armenta inter sylvas habentibus, quid salvum esset, si furari liceret? Aurum & argentum perinde aspernantur, ac reliqui mortales appetunt, Lacte & melle vescuntur. Lanæ iis usus ac vestium ignotus; & quanquam continuis frigoribus urantur, pelibus tamen ferinis aut muris utuntur. Hæc continentia illis morum quoq; iustitiam edidit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, ubi & usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio & abstinencia alieni foret! Profecto non tantum bellorum per omnia secula terris omnibus continuaretur: neque plus hominum ferrum & arma, quam naturalis factorum conditio raperet. Prorsus & admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina, præceptisque Philosophorum consequi nequeunt; cultosq; mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio,

for they do not plow their land, nor have they any house, dwelling, or habitation: they are always feeding their herds and flocks, and used to wander through uncultivated deserts. They carry their wives and children along with them in carts, which being covered with hides, upon the account of rain and the winter, they use for houses. Justice is practised among them, more from the temper of the nation, than laws. No crime among them is more heinous than theft: for what would be safe to people that had their flocks and herds without house or fence among the woods, if it was allowed to steal? They despise gold and silver as much as the rest of men desire them. They live upon milk and honey. The use of wool and cloaths is unknown to them; and tho' they are pinched by continual cold, yet they use skins both of great animals and small. Their continency of manners gave them likewise justice, desiring nothing that was other men's. For there is the desire of riches, where the use of them is too. And I wish other mortals had the like moderation and abstinence from what is other people's. Certainly there would not be so much war through all ages, in all countries; nor would the sword and arms take off more men, than the natural condition of their destiny. So that it seems altogether wonderful, that nature should give that to them, which the Greeks cannot obtain by the long instructions of their wise men, and the precepts of their philosophers, and that their morals with all their cultivation, should be outdone in the comparison of unpolished barbarity. So much more effect has the ignorance of vice in them, than the knowledge of virtue in these.

CAP. III. Imperium Asiæ ter quæivere; ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti, aut invicti mansere. Darium regem Persarum turpi ab Scythia summoventur fuga: Cyrum cum omni exercitu trucidaverunt. Alexandri Magni ducem Zopyrionam pari ratione cum copiis uni-

CHAP. III. They thrice carried the empire of Asia: they themselves always remained either untouched, or unconquered by a foreign power. They repulsed Darius king of the Persians by a shameful flight from Scythia. They slew Cyrus with all his army. They cut off in like manner Zopyrion, a general of Alexander the Great with all his forces. They have

versis deleverunt. Romanorum audivere, non sentire arma. Parthicum & Bactrianum imperium ipsi condiderunt. Gens & laboribus & bellis aspera; vires corporum immensæ: nihil parare, quod amittere timeant: nihil victores præter gloriam concupiscunt. Primus Scythis bellum indixit Vexoris rex Ægyptius, missis primo legatis, qui hostibus parendi legem dicerent. Sed Scythæ jam ante de adventu regis a finitimis certiores facti, legatis respondent, *Tam opulenti populi ducem stolidè adversus inopes occupasse bellum, quod magis domi fuerit illi timendum, quod belli certamen anceps, præmia victoriæ nulla, damna manifesta sint. Igitur non expectaturos Scythos dum ad se veniatur, cum tanta sibi plura in hoste concupiscenda sint; ultroque prædæ ituros obviam. Nec dicta, res morata.* Quos cum tanta celeritate venire rex addidicisset, in fugam vertitur, exercituque cum omni apparatu belli relicto in regnum trepidus se recepit. Scythas ab Ægypto paludes prohibuere: inde reversi Asiam perdomitam vectigalem fecere, modico tributo, magis in titulum imperii quam in victoriæ præmium imposito. Quindecim annis pacandæ Asiæ immorati uxorum flagitatione revocantur, per legatos denunciantibus, ni redeant, sobolem se ex finitimis quæsituras, nec passuras ut in posteritatem Scytharum genus per fæminas interciderat. His igitur Asia per mille quingentos annos vectigalis fuit. Pendendi tributi finem Ninus rex Assyriorum imposuit.

CAP. IV. Sed apud Scythas medio tempore duo regii juvenes Ylinos & Scolopitus per factionem optimatum domo pulsi

heard of, but not felt the arms of the Romans. They founded the Bactrian and Parthian empire. A nation hardy in toils and wars. The strength of their bodies is very great. They seek after nothing they are afraid to lose; covet nothing when conquerors, but glory. Vexoris king of Egypt first proclaimed war against the Scythians, first sending Embassadors to declare to them the rules of their obedience. But the Scythians being already before made acquainted by their neighbours with the king's approach, answer the embassadors, *I hat a prince of so wealthy a people had foolishly begun a war against them that were poor, which was more to be feared by himself at home, because the contest in the war was dubious, the rewards of victory were none, the mischiefs manifest. Wherefore the Scythians would not wait 'till he came to them, since there was so much more amongst the enemies to be desired by them; and would forwardly go to meet the spoil. Nor was, this said, the matter at a stand. Whom when the king understood to be coming against him with so much speed, he is put to flight; and leaving his army with all his preparations of war, he betook himself in a fright into his kingdom. The morasses kept the Scythians from Egypt. Returning from thence they made Asia, which they conquered, tributary to them; imposing a moderate tribute, rather in token of their dominion over it, than as a reward of their victory. Having staid fifteen years in the conquest of Asia, they are recalled by the importunity of their wives, declaring by messengers, unless they returned, they would endeavour to have children by their neighbours, and not suffer the nation of the Scythians to be extinct, through the fault of their women. Wherefore Asia was tributary to them for a thousand five hundred years. Ninus king of the Assyrians put an end to the paying of that tribute.*

CHAP. IV. But in the mean time among the Scythians, two young men of the royal family, Ylinos and Scolopitus, being forced from home by a faction of the

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ingentem juventutem secum traxere; & in Cappadocia ora, juxta amnem Thermodonta confederunt, subjectosque Themiscyrios campos occupavere. Ibi per multos annos spoliare finitimos assueti conspiratione populorum per insidias trucidantur. Horum uxores, cum viderent exilio additam orbitatem, arma sumunt; finesque suos, summoventes primo, mox etiam inferentes bella, defendunt. Nubendi quoque finitimis animum omifere, servitutem, non matrimonium appellantes. Singulare omnium seculorum exemplum ausæ, auxere rempublicam sine viris; jam etiam cum contemptu virorum se tuentur. Et ne feliciores aliæ aliis viderentur, viros, qui domi remanserant, interficiunt. Ulkionem quoque cæsorum conjugum excidio finitimorum consequuntur. Tum pace armis quæsitæ, ne genus interiret, concubitum finitimorum ineunt. Si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant. Virgines in eundem ipsis morem, non otio, neque lanificio, sed armis, equis, venationibus exercebant, inutilis infantum dexterioribus mammis, ne sagittarum jactus impediretur; unde Amazones dictæ sunt. Duæ his reginæ fuere, Marpesia & Lampeto, quæ, in duas partes agmine diviso, inclytæ jam opibus, vicibus gerebant bella, solæ terminos alternis defendentes. Et ne successibus defesset auctoritas, genitas se Marte prædicabant. Itaq; majore parte Europæ subacta, Asiæ quoque nonnullas civitates occupavere. Ibi Epheso, multisq; aliis urbibus conditis, partem exercitus cum ingenti præda domum dimittunt. Reliquæ, quæ ad tuendum Asiæ imperium remanserant, concursu barbarorum cum

nobility, drew a great many of the youth along with them, and settled upon the borders of Cappadocia, nigh the river Thermodon, and seized upon the Themiscyrian plains close by it. There being accustomed for several years to rob the neighbours, they are in an ambush cut off by a confederacy of the nations about them. Their wives, when they saw want of husbands added to their banishment, take arms and defend their country, by repulsing their enemies at first, and by and by, by making war upon them. They laid aside all thoughts of marrying with their neighbours, calling it slavery, not matrimony. Venturing to set an example singular throughout all ages, they encreased their commonwealth without men; and at last defended themselves with despite to the men. And that some might not seem happier than others, they kill the men that had staid at home. They compass their revenge of their slain husbands, by the destruction of their neighbours. Then having procured a peace by their arms, that the generation of them might not perish, they lye with their neighbours. If any male-children were born, they killed them. The girls they exercised in the same manner as themselves, not with idleness or the working of wool; but in arms, horses, hunting: burning their right breasts when infants, lest the shooting of arrows should be hindered thereby; from whence they were called Amazons. They had two queens, Marpesia and Lampeto, who having divided their army into two parts, being now famous for their power, carried on their wars by turns, defending singly their wars alternately. And that authority might not be wanting to their successes, they gave out that they were begotten by Mars. Wherefore the greater part of Europe being subdued, they took some cities of Asia too. There having built Ephesus and many other cities, they dispatched part of their army home with a deal of plunder. The rest who had staid behind to defend the empire of Asia, are slain with their queen Marpesia in a rising of the barbarians upon them. Her daughter Orithya succeeds in the government in her place, whom the world had

Marpesia regina interficiuntur. In hujus locum filia ejus Orithya regno succedit; cui præter singularem belli scientiam, eximia servatæ in omne ævum virginitatis admiratio fuit. Hujus virtute tantum additum gloriæ & famæ Amazonum est, ut Herculi rex, cui xii. stipendia debebat, quasi impossibile imperaverit, ut arma reginæ Amazonum sibi afferret. Eo igitur profectus longis novem navibus, comitante principum Græciæ juventute, inopinantes aggreditur. Duæ tum sorores Amazonum regna tractabant, Antiope & Orithya; sed Orithya foris bellum gerebat. Igitur cum Hercules ad littus Amazonum applicuit, infrequens multitudo cum Antiope regina nihil hostile metuentes erat. Quare effectum est, ut paucæ repentino tumultu excitæ arma sumerent, faciliæque victoriam hostibus darent. Multæ itaq; cæsæ, captæque: in his duæ Antiope sorores captæ sunt, Menalippe ab Hercule, Hippolyte a Theseo. Sed Theseus obtenta in præmium captiva eandem in matrimonium assumpsit, & ex ea genuit Hippolytum. Hercules post victoriam, Menalippen captivam forori reddidit, & pretium arma reginæ accepit. Atq; ita functus imperio ad regem revertitur. Sed Orithya ubi comperit bellum sororibus illatum, & raptorem esse Atheniensem principem; hortatur comites, si utraque & Ponti sinum & Asiam edomitam esse dicit, si Græcorum non tam bellis, quam rapinis pateant. Auxilium deinde a Sagillo rege Scythiæ petit: genus se Scytharum esse: cladem virorum, necessitatem armorum, belli causas ostendit; assuetasq; virtute, ne seguiore viris foeminas habere

in mighty admiration, for keeping her virginity all her life long, besides her singular skill in war. By her good management so much was added to the glory and fame of the Amazons, that the king to whom Hercules owed twelve services, ordered him as a thing impossible to bring him the arms of the queen of the Amazons. Wherefore going thither with nine long ships, the principal youths of Greece accompanying him, he falls upon them unawares. Two sisters at that time managed the government of the Amazons, Antiope and Orithya; but Orithya was carrying on a war abroad. Wherefore when Hercules arrived upon the coast of the Amazons, there was a small number of them with their queen Antiope, apprehensive of no hostilities. By that means it came to pass, that a few of them being raised upon this sudden tumult took up arms, and gave the enemy an easy conquest. Wherefore many were slain and taken, amongst these the two sisters of Antiope, Menalippe by Hercules, and Hippolyte by Theseus. But Theseus having obtained his prisoner as his reward, took the same in marriage, and had by her Hippolytus. Hercules after the victory, restored Menalippe his prisoner to her sister, and received the arms of the queen, as the price of her redemption. And thus having executed his orders, returns to the King. But Orithya, when she found that war had been made upon her sisters, and that the author of the violence was a prince of the Athenians, she encourages her followers, and tells them that the border of Pontus and Asia had been conquered in vain, if they were exposed not so much to the wars, as to the robberies of the Greeks. Then she begs assistance of Sagillus king of Scythia. She shews him that they were descendants of the Scythians, setting forth the cutting off their men, the necessity of their taking up arms, and the causes of the war; and that they had effected by their courage, that the Scythians appeared to have women no less active than their men. He being moved by the glory of his nation, sends his son Penasagoras to their

Scy-

Scythæ viderentur. Motus ille domestica gloria mittit cum ingenti equitatu filium Penasagoram in auxilium. Sed ante prælium dissentione orta, ab auxiliis desertæ, bello ab Atheniensibus vincuntur, receptaculum tamen habuere castra sociorum, quorum auxilio intactæ ab aliis gentibus in regnum revertuntur. Post Orithyam, Penthesilea regno potita est, cujus Trojano bello inter fortissimos viros, cum auxilium adversus Græcos ferret, magna virtutis documenta extitere. Interfecta demum Penthesilea, exercituq; ejus absumpto, paucae quæ in regno remanserant, ægre se adversus finitimos defendentes, usq; tempora Alexandri magni duraverunt. Harum Minithya, five Thalestris regina, concubitu Alexandri per dies xiii. ad sobolem ex eo generandum obtento, reversa in regnum, brevi tempore cum omni Amazonum nomine intercidit.

CAP. V. Scythæ autem tertia expeditione Asiana cum annis viii. a conjugibus & liberis abfussissent servili bello domi accipiuntur. Quippe conjuges eorum longa expectatione virorum fessæ, nec jam teneri bello, sed deletos ratæ, servis ad custodiam pecorum relictis nubunt: qui reversos cum victoria dominos velut advenas armati finibus prohibent. Quibus cum varia victoria fuisset, admonentur Scythæ mutare genus pugnæ, memores non cum hostibus, sed cum servis præliandum, nec armorum, sed dominorum jure, vincendos: verbera in aciem, non tela adferenda; omissoque ferro, virgas ac flagella, cæteraq; servilis metus paranda instrumenta. Probato omnes consilio, instructi sicut præceptum erat, postquam ad hostes accessere, inopinantibus verbera intentant; adeoq; illos perculerunt, ut, quos ferro non

assistance, with a great body of horse. But a difference arising before the battle, being forsaken by their auxiliaries, they are conquered in the fight by the Athenians, however they had the camp of their allies to fly to for refuge, by the help of which they return untouched by other nations into their kingdom. After Orithya, Penthesilea enjoyed the kingdom, of whose courage there were great proofs, among the stoutest men in the Trojan war, when she carried assistance thither against the Greeks. At last Penthesilea being slain, and her army cut off, those few that had staid behind in her kingdom, defending themselves with difficulty against their neighbours, continued 'till the times of Alexander the Great. The queen of them, Minithya, or Thalestris, having obtained to lie with Alexander for thirteen days, to have issue by him, returning into her kingdom, in a short time perished with all the name of the Amazons.

CHAP. V. But the Scythians, in their third expedition into Asia, having been eight years from their wives and children, are received at home by a war with their slaves. For their wives being weary with the long expectation of their husbands, and now thinking that they were not detained by war, but cut off, marry to the slaves that were left to keep the cattle, who in arms drive their masters returning with victory from their borders, as if they had been strangers. With whom the success being various, the Scythians are advised to change their way of fighting, remembering that they were to fight not with enemies but slaves, and that they were not to be conquered by the right of arms, but of masters: that whips, not weapons, were to be carried into the field; and swords being let alone, rods and scourges, and other instruments of servile fear were to be provided. All approving this advice, being furnished as they had been advised, after they came to the enemy, they inflicted stripes upon them not aware of any such thing; and did so terrify them, that

poterant, metu verberum vince-
rent: fugamq; non ut hostes vic-
ti, sed ut fugitivi servi capesse-
rent. Quicumq; capi potuerunt,
supplicia crucibus luerunt. Mu-
lieres quoque male sibi consciæ,
partim ferro, partim suspendio,
vitam finierunt. Post hæc pax
apud Scythas fuit, usque tem-
pora Jancyri regis. Huic Dari-
us rex Persarum, sicut supra dic-
tum est, cum filiæ ejus nuptias
non obtinisset; bellum intulit:
& armatis septingentis millibus
hominum Scythiam ingressus,
non facientibus hostibus pugnæ
potestatem, metuens ne, inter-
rupto ponte Istris, reditus sibi
intercluderetur, amissis octogin-
ta millibus hominum trepidus re-
fugit: quæ jactura abundante
multitudine inter damna nume-
rata non est. Inde Asiam & Ma-
cedoniam domuit: Ionas quoque
navali prælio superat. Deinde
cognito quod Athenienses Ionis
auxilium contra se tulissent, om-
nem impetum belli in eos con-
vertit.

CAP. VI. Nunc, quoniam
ad bella Atheniensium ventum
est, quæ non modo ultra spem
gerendi, verum etiam ultra ge-
lli fidem patrati sunt; operaque
Atheniensium effectu majora
quam voto fuere; paucis urbis
origo repetenda est; quia non,
ut cæteræ gentes, a fordidis ini-
tiis ad summa crevere. Soli e-
nim, præterquam incremento,
etiam origine gloriantur. Quip-
pe non advenæ, neque passim
collecti populi colluvies origi-
nem urbi dedit; sed eodem in-
nati solo, quod incolunt; & quæ
illis sedes, eadem origo est. Pri-
mi lanificii & olei, & vini usum
docuere. Arare quoq; & ferere
frumenta, glandem vescentibus
monstrarunt. Literæ certe ac
facundia, & hic civilis ordo dis-

*they conquered those by the fear of lashes,
whom they could not conquer by the sword;
and they began to fly, not as conquered ene-
mies, but as run-away slaves. As many
as could be taken, suffered punishment on
crosses. The women likewise being conscious
themselves of their ill behaviour, ended
their lives partly by the sword, and partly
by hanging. After this, there was a peace
among the Scythians 'till the times of
king Jancyrus. Darius king of the Per-
sians made war upon him, as was said be-
fore, because he could not compass the mar-
riage of his daughter; and entering Scy-
thia with seven hundred thousand armed
men, the enemy not giving him any oppor-
tunity of battle, fearing lest, if the bridge
over the Ister was broken down, his retreat
should be cut off, he fled back in a fright,
having lost fourscore thousand men; which
loss was not reckoned among losses in so
great a number. After that he conquered
Asia and Macedonia: he likewise defeats
the Ionians in a fight at sea. Then hav-
ing understood that the Athenians had
carried assistance to the Ionians against
him, he turns all the fury of the war
upon them.*

CHAP. VI. Now seeing we are got
upon the wars of the Athenians, which
were carried on, not only beyond all hopes
of managing, but also beyond all belief of
what was done; and the works of the
Athenians were greater in effect than wish;
the original of the city must be related in
a few words; because they did not grow
up to their height, as other nations have
done, from a mean beginning. For they
alone glory in their original too, besides
their increase. For they were not stran-
gers, nor a rabble of people that were pick-
ed up here and there, that gave rise to the
city: but they were born in the same soil
which they inhabit; and the same country
that is their habitation, was their origi-
nal. They first taught the use of the wool-
len manufacture, and of oil, and wine.
They likewise showed the art of plowing
and sowing corn to those that eat acorns.
Letters, it's certain, and eloquence, and
this order of civil discipline, have Athens,
ciplinæ

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ciplinæ, veluti templum Athenas habent. Ante Deucalionis tempora regem habuere Cecropem; quem, ut omnis antiquitas fabulosa est, biforem tradidere; quia primus marem sœminæ matrimonio junxit. Huic successit Cranaus, cujus filia Athis regioni nomen dedit. Post hunc Amphictyon regnavit, qui primus Minervæ urbem sacrauit, & nomen civitati Athenas dedit. Hujus temporibus, aquarum illuvies majorem partem populorum Græciæ absumpsit. Superfuerunt, quos refugia montium receperunt, aut ad regem Thesaliæ Deucalionem ratibus evecti sunt, a quo propterea genus hominum conditum dicitur. Per ordinem deinde successionis regnum ad Erechtheum descendit, sub quo frumenti satio apud Eleusin a Triptolemo reperta est, in cujus muneris honorem noctes initiorum sacratæ. Tenuit & Ægeus, Thesei pater, Athenis regnum; a quo per divortium discedens Medea, propter adultam privigni ætatem, Colchos cum Medio filio ex Ægeo suscepto, concessit. Post Ægeum Theseus ac deinceps Thesei filius Demophoon, qui auxilium Græcis adversus Trojanos tulit, regnum possedit. Erant inter Athenienses & Dorienenses similitudinem veteres offensionis, quas vindicaturi bello Dorienenses de eventu prælii oracula consuluerunt. Responsum superiores fore, ni regem Atheniensium occidissent. Cum ventum esset in bellum, militibus ante omnia custodia regis præcipitur. Atheniensibus eo tempore rex Codrus erat; qui & responso Dei, & præceptis hostium cognitis, permutato regis habitu, pannosus, sarmenta collo gerens, castra hostium ingreditur. Ibi in turba obsistentium,

as it were their temple. Before the time of Deucalion, they had a king named Cecrops, whom, as all antiquity is fabulous, they gave out to be of two shapes, because he first joined the man to the woman in marriage. Cranaus succeeded him, whose daughter Athis gave name to the country. After him reigned Amphictyon, who first consecrated the city to Minerva, and gave the name of Athens to the town. In his time, a deluge of waters swept away the greatest part of the people of Greece. Some survived it, whom the refuge of the mountains secured, or who got away by ships to Deucalion king of Thessaly, by whom therefore mankind is said to have been formed. Then by order of succession the kingdom descended to Erechtheus, under whom the sowing of corn was found out by Triptolemus at Eleusis, in honour of which favour the nights of the holy rites of Ceres were consecrated. Ægeus likewise, the father of Theseus, held the kingdom at Athens; from whom Medea departing by divorce, because of the adult age of her step-son, retired to Colchis, with her son Medius, whom she had by Ægeus. After Ægeus Theseus, and afterwards Theseus his son Demophoon, who carried assistance to the Greeks against the Trojans, possessed the kingdom. There was an old grudge from a quarrel between the Athenians and the Dorians; for which the Dorians designing to revenge themselves by a war, consulted the oracles about the event of the contest. Answer was made them, that they should be superior, unless they killed the king of the Athenians. When they entered upon the war, order is given to the soldiers above all things to have a care of the king. Codrus was king of the Athenians at that time, who having understood both the answer of the God, and the orders of the enemy, changed his royal habit, entered the enemy's camp, ragged, carrying sticks upon his neck. There in a crowd of people that stood in his way, he is slain by a soldier, whom he craftily wounded with his cutting knife. The king's body being known, the Dorians march off, without fighting; and thus the Athenians are de-

a milite, quem falce astu convulneraverat, interficitur. Cognito regis corpore, Dorientes sine prælio discedunt: atq; ita Athenienses virtute ducis, pro salute patriæ morti se offerentis, bello liberantur.

CAP. VII. Post Codrum nemo Athenis regnavit; quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum est. Administratio reipublicæ annuis magistratibus permixta. Sed civitati nullæ tunc leges erant; quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur. Legitur itaque Solon vir justitiæ insignis, qui velut novam civitatem legibus conderet; qui tanto temperamento inter plebem Senatūq; egit (cum si quid pro altero ordinatū esset, alteri displicere videretur) ut ab utrisq; parem gratiam traheret. Hujus viri inter multa egregia, illud memorabile fuit. Inter Athenienses & Megarenses de proprietate Salaminæ insulæ prope usque interitum armis dimicatum fuerat. Post clades multas capitale esse apud Athenienses cœpit, si quis legem de vindicanda insula tulisset. Sollicitus igitur Solon ne aut tacendo, parum reipublicæ consuleret, aut censendo, sibi, subitam dementiam simulat, cujus venia non dicturus modo prohibita, sed & facturus erat. Deformis habitu more vecordium in publicum evolat; factoque concursu hominum, quo magis consilium dissimularet, insolitis sibi versibus suadere populo cœpit, quod vetabatur; omniumq; animos ita cepit, ut extemplo bellum adversus Megarenses decerneretur, insulaque Atheniensium fieret, devictis hostibus.

CAP. VIII. Interea Megarenses memores illati Atheniensibus belli, & veriti ne frustra arma movisse viderentur, matronas Atheniensium in Eleu-

livered from the war, by the bravery of their prince, offering himself to death for the safety of his country.

CHAP. VII. After Codrus nobody reigned at Athens, which was a respect paid to the memory of his name. The management of the commonwealth was entrusted to annual magistrates. But the city had then no laws, because the pleasure of their princes was reckoned for laws. Wherefore Solon, a man famous for his justice, is chosen to build the city, as it were a-new, by laws: who acted with so much temper betwixt the commons and the senate (whereas if he should enact any thing for one party, it was thought it would displease the other) that he got equal thanks from both sides. Amongst many excellent performances of this man, that was remarkable. There had been a dispute carried on by force of arms, betwixt the Athenians and the Megarensians, about the property of the isle of Salamis, almost to the utter ruin of the parties. After many defeats, it began to be a capital offence at Athens, if any one should offer a law for the recovery of the island. Wherefore Solon being concerned, lest he should ill consult the good of his country by holding his tongue, or of himself by giving his opinion, pretends a sudden madness, under the favour of which he was resolved not only to speak, but to do also what was prohibited. He runs out into the streets, disguised in his habit after the manner of mad men; and having got a croud of people about him, that he might the better conceal his design, he began to persuade the people to what was forbidden, in verses before not used by him; and he so influenced the minds of them all, that immediately a war was resolved on against the Megarensians; and the enemy being conquered, the island became the Athenians.

CHAP. VIII. In the mean time the Megarensians mindful of the war made upon the Athenians, and fearing lest they should seem to have taken arms in vain, go aboard their ships, to sur-

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finiis sacris noctu oppressuri naves conscendunt. Qua re cognita dux Atheniensium Pisistratus juventutem in insidiis locat, jussis matronis solito clamore ac strepitu etiam in accessu hostium, ne intellectos se sentiant, sacra celebrare; egressosque navibus Megarenses inopinantes aggressus delevit; ac protinus classe captiva intermixtis mulieribus, ut speciem captarum matronarum præberent, Megaram contendit. Illi cum & navium formam & petitam prædam cognoscerent, obvii ad portam procedunt. Quibus cæsis Pisistratus, paulum a capienda urbe abfuit. Ita Megarenses suis dolis hosti victoriam dedere. Sed Pisistratus, quasi sibi, non patriæ vicisset, tyrannidem per dolum occupat. Quippe voluntariis verberibus domi affectus, lacerato corpore in publicum progreditur. Advocata concione, vulnera populo ostendit; de crudelitate principum, a quibus hæc se passum simulabat, queritur. Adduntur vocibus lacrymæ, & invidiosa oratione multitudo credula accenditur. Amore plebis invisum se senatui affirmat: obtinet ad custodiam corporis sui satellitum auxilium; per quos occupata tyrannide, per annos xxxiii. regnavit.

CAP. IX. Post ejus mortem, Diocles, alter ex filiis, per vim stuprata virgine, a fratre puellæ interficitur. Alter, Hippias nomine, cum imperium paternum teneret, interfectorem fratris comprehendi jubet; qui cum per tormenta confisos cædis nominare cogeretur, omnes amicos tyranni nominavit: quibus interfectis, quærenti tyranno, an adhuc aliqui conscii essent; neminem ait superesse, quem amplius

prize in the night the matrons of the Athenians at the Eleusinian sacrifices. Which thing being known, Pisistratus, general of the Athenians, plants the young soldiery in ambush, the matrons being ordered to celebrate the holy rites, with their usual clamour and noise, in the approach of the enemy, lest they should perceive themselves to be discovered: and attacking the Megarensians not aware of him as they were coming out of their ships, he cut them off; and immediately having taken some women with the men on board the fleet he had taken, that he might make a shew of matrons as prisoners, he goes for Megara. They observing both the make of the ships, and the prize they had aimed at, go to the harbour to meet him. Whom having slain, Pisistratus was little short of taking the city. Thus the Magarensians by their own wives gave the victory to the enemy. But Pisistratus, as if he had conquered for himself, and not for his country, seizes the government by a trick. For being lashed with stripes at home by his own order, he runs out into the streets, with his body all torn; and having called an assembly, shews his wounds to the people, complains of the cruelty of the great men of the city, from whom he pretended he had suffered these things. Tears are added to his words, and the credulous mob is inflamed by an invidious speech. He says that he was odious to the senate for his love of the common people. He obtains the assistance of a guard for the security of his person; by whom having seized the government, he reigned thirty-three years.

CHAP. IX. After his death, Diocles, one of his sons having defiled a young lady by force, is slain by the girl's brother. The other, Hippias by name, taking upon him his father's kingdom, orders the murderer of his brother to be seized; who being forced by the rack to name those that were privy to the murder, he named all the tyrant's friends. Who being slain, he says to the tyrant, enquiring whether any of the guilty were yet left, that there were none more left, whom he desired should die, but the tyrant him-

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mori gestiāt, quam ipsum tyrannum. Qua voce ejusdem se tyranni victorem post vindictam pudicitiae sororis ostendit. Hujus virtute cum admonita civitas libertatis esset, tandem Hippias regno pulsus in exilium agitur; qui profectus in Persas, ducem se Dario, inferenti Atheniensibus bellum, sicuti supra significatum est, adversus patriam suam offert. Igitur Athenienses, audito Darii adventu, auxilium a Lacedemoniis, sociam tum civitate, petiverunt. Quos ubi viderunt quatrIdui teneri religione, non expectato auxilio, instructis decem millibus civium & Platæensibus auxiliariis mille, adversus sexcenta millia hostium in campos Marathonios in prælium egrediuntur. Miltiades dux belli erat, & auctor non expectandi auxilii, quem tanta fiducia ceperat, ut plus præsidii in celeritate, quam in fociis duceret. Magna igitur in pugnam euntibus alacritas animorum fuit adeo ut cum mille passus inter duas acies essent, citato cursu ante jactum sagittarum ad hostem venerint. Nec audaciae ejus eventus defuit. Pugnatum est enim tanta virtute, ut hinc viros, inde pecudes putares. Victi Persæ in naves confugerunt; ex quibus multæ suppressæ, multæ captæ sunt. In eo prælio tanta virtus singulorum fuit, ut cujus laus prima esset, difficile judicium videretur. Inter cæteros tamen Themistoclis adolescentis gloria emicuit, in quo jam tunc indoles futuræ imperatoriae dignitatis apparuit. Cynægiri quoq; militis Atheniensis gloriam magnis scriptorum laudibus celebrata est; qui post prælii innumeras cædes cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, onustam navem

self. By which saying he shewed himself to be the conqueror of the same tyrant, after his avenging the loss of his sister's honour. The city being put in mind of its liberty by his bravery, at last Hippias being driven from his throne, is forced into banishment; who going over to the Persians, offered himself as a general against his own country to Darius making war against the Athenians, as we have signified above. Wherefore the Athenians having heard of Darius's coming, desired assistance of the Lacedemonians, then an ally state. Whom when they perceived to be detained by a superstitious whimsey for four days, without waiting for their auxiliaries, having mustered up ten thousand of their citizens, and a thousand auxiliary Platæans, they march out into battle against six hundred thousand enemies, into the plains of Marathon. Miltiades was both general in the war, and the person that advised them not to wait for assistance, whom so great a confidence of success had possessed, that he thought there was more of security in expedition, than in their allies. Great therefore was the alacrity of their minds, as they marched to battle; so that, whereas there were a thousand paces betwixt the two armies, they came full speed upon the enemy before the discharge of their arrows. Nor did the event fall short of their boldness. For they fought with so much courage, that you would have thought them on this side men, on that side cattle. The Persians being conquered, fled to their ships; of which many were sunk, many taken. In that battle such was the bravery of each of them, that it seemed difficult to determine whose glory was most considerable. Among the rest, however, the glory of Themistocles, a young man, was most conspicuous: in whom even then appeared a glory for his future glory as general. The glory of Cynægirus too, an Athenian soldier, is celebrated by the mighty commendations of historians; who after innumerable slaughters in the battle, when he had driven the flying enemy to their ships, seized a loaded ship with his right hand, nor did he let it go, 'till he

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dextra manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit, quam manum amitteret: tum quoque amputata dextra navem sinistra comprehendit; quam & ipsam cum amississet, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit. Tantam in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot cædibus fatigatus, non duabus manibus amissis victus, truncus ad postremum veluti & rabida fera dentibus dimicaverit. Ducenta millia Persæ eo prælio, sive naufragio amiserunt. Cecidit & Hippias tyrannus Atheniensis, auctor & concitor ejus belli, diis, patriæ ultoribus, pœnas repentibus.

CAP. X. Interea & Darius, cum bellum instauraret, in ipso apparatu decedit, relictis multis filiis, & in regno, & ante regnum, susceptis. Ex his Artemenes maximus natu ætatis privilegio regnum sibi vindicabat; quod jus & ordo nascendi & natura ipsa gentibus dedit. Porro Xerxes controversiam non de ordine, sed de nascendi felicitate referebat. Namque Artemenem primum quidem Dario, sed privato provenisse, se regi primum natum. Fratres itaque suos, qui ante geniti essent, privatum patrimonium quod eo tempore Darius habuisset, non regnum sibi vindicare posse. Se esse, quem primum in regnum rex pater sustulerit. Huc accedere, quod Artemenes non patre tantum, sed & matre privatæ adhuc fortunæ, avo quoque materno privato, procreatus sit. Se vero & matre regina natum & patrem non nisi regem vidisse; avum quoque maternum Cyrum se regem habuisse, non heredem sed conditorem tanti regni. Et si in æquo jure utrumque fratrem pater reliquisset, materno tamen se jure & avito vincere. Hoc certamen concordî animo ad patruum suum Artaphernem, veluti ad domesticum judicem,

lost his hand: and then too, after his right hand was cut off, he took hold of the ship with his left; which likewise having lost, at last he seized the ship with his teeth. Strange that there should be so much mettle in him, that being not tired out with so many slaughters, not conquered with the loss of his two hands, he fought at last, mangled as he was, with his teeth, like a wild beast. The Persians lost two hundred thousand men in that battle, or by shipwreck. Hippias likewise the Athenian tyrant, the promoter and encourager of this war, fell; the gods, the avengers of his country, demanding satisfaction from him.

CHAP. X. In the mean time too Darius, whilst he was about renewing the war, died in the midst of his preparations, leaving behind him many sons, begot both in his reign, and before his reign. Of these Artemenes, the eldest, claimed the kingdom for himself by the privilege of his age; which law both the order of birth and nature itself hath given to nations. But Xerxes said the dispute was not so much about the order, as the good fortune of their birth. For that Artemenes came first indeed to Darius, but whilst he was yet a private man, he was first born to him after he was king. Wherefore his brothers that had been begot before, might demand the private estate which Darius had at that time, not the kingdom, for themselves. He was the first child whom his father had in his reign, when he was now king. To this was added, that Artemenes was come not only of a father, but a mother, at that time of a private fortune, and of a grandfather by the mother's side, a private person. But that he was both born of a mother that was a queen, and never saw his father any other than king. He had likewise for his grandfather by the mother's side, king Cyrus, not the heir but the founder of so great a kingdom. And if their father had left both brothers in equal right, yet he had the advantage with respect to his mother's, and

deferunt; qui, domi cognita causa, Xerxem præposuit; adeoque fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor insultaverit, nec victus doluerit, ipseque lius tempore invicem munera miserint, & jucunda quoque inter se, non solum credula convivia habuerint: iudicium quoque ipsum sine arbitrio, sine convitio fuerit. Tanto moderatius tum fratres inter se regna maxima dividebant, quam nunc exigua patrimonia partiuntur. Igitur Xerxes bellum a patre ceptum adversus Græciam quinquennium instruxit. Quod ubi primum didicit Demaratus, rex Lacedæmoniorum, qui apud Xerxem exulabat, amicior patriæ post fugam, quam regi post beneficia, ne inopinato bello opprimerentur, omnia in tabellis ligneis magistratibus prescribit, eademque cera superinducta delat; ne aut scriptura sine tegmine indicium daret, aut recens cera dolum proderet. Fido deinde servo perferendas tradit, jussu magistratibus Spartanorum tradere. Quibus perlatis, Lacedæmone quæstioni res diu fuit, quod neque scriptum aliquid viderent, nec frustra missas suspicarentur, tantoque rem majorem, quanto sit occultior, putabant. Hærentibus in conjectura viris, soror regis Leonidæ consilium scribentis invenit. Erasa igitur cera, belli consilia deteguntur. Jam Xerxes septingenta millia de regno armaverat & trecenta millia de auxiliis; ut non immerito proditum sit, flumina ab exercitu ejus siccata, Græciamque omnem vix capere exercitum ejus potuisse. Naves quoque mille ducentas numero habuisse dicitur. Huic tanto agmini dux defuit. Cæterum, si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tanta copia in

grandfather's right. *They refer this dispute by consent to their uncle Artaphernes, as a domestic judge, who having heard the cause at home, preferred Xerxes. And the contention was so brother like, that neither did he that carried the cause insult, nor the other that lost it grieve at it; and at the very time of the contest, they sent presents to one another, and had not only entertainments together, that argued their confidence in one another, but pleasant ones too. The trial itself too was without any witnesses, without any reviling. With so much more temper did brothers then divide the greatest kingdoms betwixt them, than now they share small estates. Wherefore Xerxes going on with his preparations for the war against Greece, begun by his father for five years. Which as soon as Demaratus, king of the Lacedæmonians, learnt, who was in banishment with Xerxes, being more a friend to his country after his banishment, than to the king after his favours, that they might not be surprized by any unexpected war, he writes an account of all things in wooden tables to the magistrates, and blurs out the same by wax laid upon it, lest either the writing without a cover should make a discovery, or fresh wax should betray the trick. Then he delivers them to a trusty servant to carry, being ordered to deliver them to the magistrates of the Spartans. Which being brought, the matter was the occasion of consideration a long time at Lacedæmon, because they neither saw any thing written, nor could they suspect they were sent to no purpose; and they thought the matter so much the more important, by how much the more secret it was. The men being embarrassed in conjecture, the sister of king Leonidas found out the contrivance of the writer. Wherefore the wax being scraped off, the intentions of war are discovered. Xerxes had already armed seven hundred thousand of his own kingdom, and three hundred thousand auxiliaries, that it has been said, not without reason, that rivers were dried up by his army, and that all Greece could scarce contain his army. He is said likewise to*
regno

regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regiae superessent. Ipse autem primus in fuga, postremus in prælio semper visus est; in periculis timidus, sicubi metus abesset, inflatus. Denique ante experimentum belli, fiducia virium, veluti naturæ ipsius dominus, & montes in planum ducebat, & convexa vallium æquabat, & quædam maria pontibus sternebat, quædam ad navigationis commodum per compendium ducebat.

CAP. XI. Cujus introitus in Græciam quam terribilis, tam turpis ac foedus discessus fuit. Nam cum Leonidas rex Spartanorum cum quatuor millibus militum angustias Thermopylarum occupasset, Xerxes contemptu paucitatis eos pugnam capessere jubet, quorum cogniti Marathoniam pugna interfecti fuerant; qui dum ulcisci suos quærunt, principium cladis fuere; succedente deinde inutili turba major cædes editur. Triduo ibi cum dolore & indignatione Persarum dimicatum. Quarta die, quum nunciatum esset Leonidæ, a xx millibus hostium cacumen teneri, tunc hortatur socios, recedant, & se ad meliora patriæ tempora reservent; sibi cum Spartanis fortunam experiendam; plura se patriæ quam vitæ debere; cæteros ad præsidia Græciæ servandos. Audito regis imperio discessere cæteri, soli Lacedæmonii remanserunt. Initio hujus belli sciscitantibus Delphis oracula responsum fuerat, aut regi Spartanorum, aut urbi cadendum. Et idcirco rex Leonidas, cum in bellum proficisceretur, ita suos firmaverat, ut ire se parato

have had a thousand two hundred ships in number. A general was wanting to this so vast an army. For if you consider the king, you will sooner commend his riches, than him as a general; of which there was such great plenty in his kingdom, that tho' rivers were consumed by the number of his men, yet the king's wealth held out. But he was always seen first in the flight, and last in the fight; timorous in danger, but if danger was away, elated. Finally before any trial of war, in confidence of his strength, as if he had been the lord of nature herself, he both reduced mountains to a plain, an equalled the cavities of vallies with the mountains, and covered some seas with bridges, some he drew thro' a shorter cut, for convenience of navigation.

CHAP. XI. Whose entrance into Greece was as terrible, as his departure was shamefull and dishonourable. For when Leonidas king of the Spartans had seized upon the streights of Thermopylae with four thousand men, Xerxes, in contempt of so small a number, orders those to begin the fight, whose relations had been slain in the battle of Marathon: who whilst they endeavour to avenge their friends, were the beginning of the slaughter: and the anuseless rabble succeeding, a greater slaughter is made of them. They fought three days there with the grief and indignation of the Persians. Upon the fourth day, when it was told Leonidas, that the highest top of the mountain was seized by twenty thousand men, then he exhorts his companions, to depart and reserve themselves for better times of their country: he with his Spartans must try their fortune; that he owed more to his country than his life; the rest were to be saved for the defence of Greece. The rest having heard this command of the king, departed. In the beginning of this war, answer had been made to them, consulting the Oracle of Delphos, that either the king of the Spartans, or the city must fall. And therefore king Leonidas, when he went to the war, had encouraged his men, that they knew he went with a mind prepared to die. He had therefore seized

ad moriendum animo scirent. Augustias propterea occupaverat, ut cum paucis aut majore gloria vinceret, aut minore damno reipublicæ caderet. Dimissis igitur focis, hortatur Spartanos, meminerint, qualitercunque præliantibus cadendum esse, caverent, ne fortius mansisse, quam dimicasse videantur, nec expectandum, ut ab hoste circumvenirentur, sed dum nox occasionem daret, securis & latis superveniendum; nusquam victores honestius, quam in castris hostium perituros. Nihil erat difficile persuadere persuasis mori. Statim arma capiunt, & sexcenti viri castra quingentorum millium irrumpunt, statimque regis prætorium petunt, aut cum illo, aut si oppressi essent, in ipsius potissimum sede morituri. Tumultus totis castris oritur. Spartani, posteaquam regem non inveniunt, per omnia castra victores vagantur, cædunt sternuntque omnia; ut qui sciant se pugnare non spe victoriæ, sed in mortis ultionem. Prælium a principio noctis in majorem partem diei tractum. Ad postremum non victi, sed vincendo fatigati, inter ingentes stratorum hostium catervas occiderunt. Xerxes duobus vulneribus terrestri prælio acceptis, experiri maris fortunam statuit.

CAP. XII. Sed Atheniensium dux Themistocles, cum animadvertisset Ionas, propter quos bellum Persarum susceperant, in auxilium regis classe venisse; sollicitare eos in partes suas statuit. Et cum colloquendi copiam non haberet; quo applicituri erant, symbolos proponi, & saxa proscribi curat, Quæ vos, Iones, dementia tenet? Quod facinus agitis? Bellum inferre olim conditoribus vestris, nuper etiam vindicibus, cogitis? An ideo

the narrow pass of Thermopylæ, that he might either conquer with a few, with greater glory, or fall with less damage to the commonwealth. Wherefore having dismissed his allies, he encourages the Spartans, To remember that they must fall, howsoever they fought; advising them, to have a care lest they should seem to have stayed more courageously than they fought; that they ought not to wait to be surrounded by the enemy, but whilst night gave them an opportunity, they ought to come upon them secure and joyful; that they would die victorious no where more honourable than in the enemy's camp. Nothing was hard to persuade them to, who were already persuaded to die. They immediately take arms, and six hundred men break into a camp of five hundred thousand, and immediately seek for the king's tent, designing either to die with him, or if they should be taken off first, about his tent however. A confusion arises throughout the whole camp. The Spartans after they could not find the king, march victorious through all the camp, kill and beat down all before them; as who know that they fought not for the hope of victory, but for the avenging of their deaths. The battle was continued from the beginning of night, for the greatest part of the next day. At last not conquered, but weary with conquering, they died amidst the vast heaps of the slain enemies. Xerxes having received two defeats in fight by land, resolves to try the fortune of the sea.

CHAP. XII. But Themistocles the general of the Athenians, having observed the Ionians, for whom they had undertaken this war with the Persians, were come with a fleet to the assistance of the king, resolved to solicit them over to his own side; and having no opportunity of speaking with them, he ordered tickets to be set up where they were to come, and to be posted on the rocks the following words, What madness possesses you, O Ionians? what wickedness are you going about? Do you design to make war upon those who were formerly your founders, lately al-

mœnia vestra condidimus, ut essent qui nostra delerent? Quid si non hæc & Dario prius, & nunc Xerxi, belli causa nobiscum foret, quod vos rebellantes non destituimus? Quin vos in hæc nostra castra ex ista obsidione transitis? Aut si hoc parum tutum est, at vos commisso prælio ite cessim, inhibite remis, & a bello discedite. Ante navalis prælii congressionem miserat Xerxes quatuor milia armatorum Delphos, ad templum Apollinis diripiendum; prorsus, quasi non cum Græcis tantum, sed & cum diis immortalibus bellum gereret; quæ manus tota imbris & fulminibus deleta est, ut intelligeret quam nullæ essent hominum adversus deos vires. Post hæc Thespiæ, & Plataeæ, & Athenas vacuas hominibus incendit; & quoniam ferro in homines non poterat, in ædificia igne grassatur. Namque Athenienses post pugnam Marathoniam, præmonente Themistocle, victoriam illam de Persis, non finem, sed causam majoris belli fore, cc. naves fabricaverant. Adventante igitur Xerxe, consulentibus Delphis oraculum, responsum fuerat, Salutem mures ligneis tuerentur. Themistocles navium præsidium demonstratum ratus, persuader omnibus, Patriam municipales esse, non mœnia; civitatemque non in ædificiis, sed in civibus positam. Melius itaque salutem navibus, quam urbi commijuros. Hujus sententiæ etiam Deum auctorem esse. Probato consilio, conjuges, liberosque cum pretiosissimis rebus, abditis insulis, relicta urbe, demandant: ipsi naves armati conscendunt. Exemplum Atheniensium & aliæ urbes imitatae. Itaque cum adunata omnis sociorum classis, & intentæ in bellum navale esset, angustiasque Salaminii freti,

for your avengers? Did we therefore build your cities, that there might be some to destroy our own? What if this was not Darius's before, and now Xerxes's reason of a war with us, that we did not forsake you when you rebelled? But why come you not over from that blockade into our camp? or if this be not very safe, but do you retire when the battle begins, stop your ships with your oars, and withdraw from the battle. Before this engagement at sea, Xerxes had sent four thousand armed men to Delphi, to plunder the temple of Apollo, as if he carried on the war, not with the Greeks only, but with the immortal gods also. Which detachment was all destroy'd by rains and thunder, that he might understand how vain the strength of men is against the gods. After this he set fire to Thespiæ and Plataea, and Athens, void of people, and vents his rage against the buildings by fire, because he could not do it upon the men by the sword. For the Athenians after the battle of Marathon, Themistocles warning them, that the victory over the Persians would not be at an end, but the cause of a greater war, had built two hundred ships. Wherefore upon Xerxes's coming, answer was made them concerning the oracle at Delphi, that they should take care for their security by wooden walls. Themistocles thinking the defence of their shipping was meant, persuades them all, that their country was the freemen, not walls, and that a city did not consist in buildings, but in citizens; wherefore it would be better to commit the safety to their ships, than their city: that the God was the giver of this advice. This council being approved, they deposit their wives and children, with their most valuable effects in some private islands, and leaving the city, they themselves go aboard their fleet armed. Other cities likewise imitated the example of the Athenians. Wherefore when all the fleet of their allies were joined, and intent upon a sea-fight, and had seized the narrow pass of the Salaminian sea, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy's numbers, a

ne circumveniri a multitudine posset, occupasset: dissensio inter civitatum principes oritur; qui cum deserto bello ad sua tuenda dilabi vellent, timens Themistocles, ne discessu sociorum vires minuerentur, per servum fidum Xerxi nuntiat, uno in loco eum contractam Græciam capere facillime posse. Quod si civitates, quæ jam abire vellent, dissipentur, majore labore ei singulas confectandas. Hoc dolo impellit regem signum pugnæ dare. Græci quoque adventu hostium occupati prælium collatis viribus capeffunt. Interea rex velut spectator pugnæ cum parte navium in littore remanet. Artemisia autem regina Halicarnassi, quæ in auxilium Xerxi venerat, inter primos duces bellum acerrime ciebat: Quippe ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cerneret. Cum anceps prælium esset, Iones, juxta præceptum Themistoclis, pugnam se paulatim subtrahere ceperunt, quorum desertio animos cæterorum fregit. Itaque circumspicientes fugam pelluntur Persæ, & mox prælio victi, in fugam vertuntur. In qua trepidatione multæ captæ naves, multæ mersæ; plures tamen non minus sævitiam regis quam hostem timentes, domum dilabuntur.

CAP. XIII. Hac clade perculsum & dubium consilii Xerxem Mardonius aggreditur. Hortatur in regnum abeat, ne quid seditionis moveat fama adversi belli, in majus, sicuti mos est, omnia extollens; sibi ccc. millia armatorum lecta ex omnibus copiis relinquat, qua manu aut cum gloria ejus perdomiturum se Græciam; aut si aliter eventus fuerat, sine ejusdem infamia hostibus cessurum. Probato consilio, Mardonio exerci-

difference arises among the great men of the cities who design to quit the war, and slip away to defend their own country; Themistocles fearing, lest their strength should be diminished by the departure of their allies, sends word to Xerxes by a faithful servant, that he might very easily take all Greece together in one place. But if the cities, which now designed to go away, should be dispersed, they must each of them be singly pursued by him with greater trouble. By this cunning he engages the king to give the signal for the battle. The Greeks too being surprized by the enemy's arrival begin the battle with joint strength. In the mean time the king stays upon the shore, with a part of the ships, as a spectator of the battle. But Artemisia queen of Halicarnassus, who was come to the assistance of Xerxes, enflamed the fight very briskly among the foremost commanders, that you might have seen in a man a womanish fear, and in a woman a manly boldness. Whilst the battle was dubious, the Ionians, according to the directions of Themistocles, begun to withdraw themselves from the fight by degrees, whose desertion broke the courage of the rest. Wherefore the Persians looking about them in order for fight, are repulsed, and by and by being vanquished in the battle, are put to flight. In which consternation many ships were taken, many were sunk; yet more of them fearing the king's cruelty no less than the enemy, slip home.

CHAP. XIII. Mardonius accosts Xerxes affrighted at this defeat and doubtful what course to take. He advises him, to go away into his kingdom, lest the fame of this unfortunate war, magnifying all things, as its custom is, should occasion any sedition: that he should leave him three hundred thousand armed men, chosen out of all the troops, with which army he would either conquer Greece to his honour, or if the event should fall out otherwise, he should yield to the enemy, without any disparagement to

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tus traditur; reliquas copias rex ipse reducere in regnum parat. Sed Græci, audita regis fuga, consilium ineunt pontis interruptum, quem ille Abydo veluti victor maris fecerat, ut intercluso reditu, aut cum exercitu deleteretur; aut desperatione rerum, pacem victus petere cogeretur. Sed Themistocles timens, ne interclusi hostes desperationem in virtutem verterent, & iter quod aliter non pateret, ferro patefacerent, satis multos hostes in Græcia remanere dictitans, nec augere numerum retinendo oportere; cum vincere consilio cæteros non posset, eundem servum ad Xerxem mittit, certiorumque consilii facit, & occupare transitum maturata fuga jubet. Ille percussus nuntio tradit ducibus milites perducendos; ipse cum paucis Abydon contendit. Ubi cum solutum pontem hibernis tempestatibus offendisset, piscatoria scapha trepidus trajecit. Erat res spectaculo digna, & æstimatione fortis humanæ, rerum varietate miranda, in exiguo latentem videre navigio, quem paulo ante vix æquor omne capiebat; carentem etiam omni fervorum ministerio, cujus exercitus propter multitudinem terris graves erant. Nec pedestribus copiis, quas ducibus assignaverat, felicius iter fuit: siquidem quotidiano labori (neque enim ulla est metuentibus quies) etiam fames accesserat, multorum deinde dierum inopia contraxerat & pestem; tantaque sceditas morientium fuit, ut viæ cadaveribus implerentur, alitesque & bestię escæ illecebris sollicitatæ exercitum sequerentur.

CAP. XIV. Interim Mardonius in Græcia Olynthum expugnat. Athenienses quoque

him. *His advice being approved, an army is delivered to Mardonius; the king himself prepares to draw back the rest of the troops into his kingdom. But the Greeks having heard of the king's flight, enter into a design of breaking down the bridge, which he had made at Abydos, as if conqueror of the sea, that, his retreat being cut off, he might either be destroyed with his army, or being conquered, might be obliged to sue for peace by the desperation of his condition. But Themistocles fearing lest the enemy being stopped, should turn their despair into courage, and open a way, which otherwise could not be open, by the sword, saying, there were enemies enough remaining in Greece, and that the number ought not to be increased by stopping them; being not able to prevail against the rest by his advice, he sends the same servant to Xerxes, and makes him acquainted with their design, and bids him hasten his passage by a speedy flight. He being startled at the message, delivers up his soldiers to his generals to lead on, and himself makes haste to Abydos, with a few attendants: where having found the bridge broke down by the winter's storms, he passed over in the utmost consternation in a fisher's boat. It was a thing worth the fight, for the making an estimate of the condition of mankind, wonderful for the variety of affairs, to see him lurking in a little vessel, whom a little before the whole sea hardly contained; wanting likewise all the attendance of servants, whose armies were burthensome to the earth, by reason of their numbers. Nor had the foot forces he had assigned to his generals a better march, for a famine superadded to their daily fatigue (for there is no rest to those that are in fear) and then a want of several days continuance had occasioned a plague too: and so great was the mortality, that the roads were filled with carcases, and birds of prey, and wild beasts, tempted with the smell of the carcases, followed the army.*

CHAP. XIV. In the mean time Mardonius takes Olynthus in Greece, and invites the Athenians to the hopes of peace,

in spem pacis, amicitiamq; regis sollicitat, spondens incensæ eorum urbis etiam in majus restitutionem. Posteaquam nullo pretio libertatem videt his venalem, incensis quæ ædificare cœperant, copias in Bæotiam transfert. Eo & Græcorum exercitus qui centum millia fuit, sequutus est; ibiq; prælium commissum; sed fortuna regis cum duce mutata non est. Nam victus Mardonius veluti ex naufragio cum paucis profugit. Castra referta regalis opulentia capta. Unde primum Græcos, diviso inter se auro Persico, divitiarum luxuria cœpit. Eodem forte die quo Mardonii copiae deletæ sunt, etiam navali prælio in Asia sub monte Mycale, adversus Persas dimicatum est. Ibi ante congregationem cum classes ex adverso starent, fama ad utrumq; exercitum venit, vicisse Græcos & Mardonii copias occisione occidisse. Tantam famæ velocitatem fuisse, ut cum matutino tempore prælium in Bæotia commissum sit, meridianis horis in Asiam, per tot maria & tantum spatii tam brevi horarum momento de victoria nunciatum sit. Confecto bello, cum de præmiis civitatum ageretur, omnium judicio Atheniensem virtus cæteris prælata. Inter duces quoq; Themistocles princeps civitatum testimonio judicatus gloriam patriæ suæ auxit.

CAP. XV. Igitur Athenienses aucti & præmiis belli, & gloria, urbem ex integro condere moliantur. Cum mœnia majora complexi fuissent, suspecti esse Lacedæmoniis cœpere, recte reputantibus, quibus ruina urbis tantum incrementi dedisset, quantum sit datura munita civitas. Mittunt ergo legatos, qui monerent, ne munimenta hos-

and the king's friendship, promising the restitution of their burnt city greater than before. After he saw their liberty was to be sold to them at no rate, having set fire to what they had begun to build, he removed his army into Bæotia. Thither likewise the army of the Greeks, which consisted of a hundred thousand men, followed; and there a battle was fought. But the fortune of the king was not changed with the general. For Mardonius being routed, fled with a few, as it were from a shipwreck. The camp was taken, filled with the king's wealth. Upon which the luxury of riches first captivated the Greeks, the Persian gold being divided among them. By chance the same day on which Mardonius's troops were cut off, the Greeks engaged the Persians in a fight at sea upon the coast of Asia, close by the mountain Mycale. There before the battle, whilst the fleets stood over against one another, news arrives at both armies, that the Greeks had conquered, and that Mardonius's troops were entirely destroyed. So great was the swiftness of fame, that, whereas the battle was fought in the morning in Bæotia, this news of the victory was carried into Asia by noon, thro' so many seas, and so vast a distance, in so short a time. After the war was over, when they came to treat about the rewards of the cities, the bravery of the Athenians was preferred before that of the rest, in the judgement of every body. Themistocles too being judged the principal among the commanders, by the testimony of the several cities, encreased the glory of his country.

CHAP. XV. Wherefore the Athenians being grown great by the rewards of the war, and the glory they had acquired, go about to build their city a-new. Having taken in a compass for greater walls, they begun to be suspected by the Lacedæmonians, rightly considering what a vast improvement a fortified city would give those, to whom the ruin of their city had given so great an one. Wherefore they send ambassadors to advise them, not to build strong
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*t*ibus & receptacula futuri belli extruant. Themistocles ut vidit spei urbis invideri, non existimans abrupte agendum, respondit legatis, ituros Lacedæmonem, qui de ea re pariter cum illis consulant. Sic dimissis Spartanis hortatur suos, opus maturarent. Dein ipse interjecto tempore in legationem proficiscitur, & nunc in itinere infirmitate simulata, nunc tarditatem collegarum accusans, sine quibus agi jure nihil possit, diem de die proferendo, spatium consummando operi quærebat; cum interim nunciatur Spartanis, opus Athenis maturari; propter quod denovo legatos mittunt ad inspiciendam rem. Tum Themistocles per servum magistratibus scribit Atheniensium, legatos vinciant, pignusque teneant, ne in se gravius consulatur. Adiit deinde concionem Lacedæmoniorum; indicat permunitas Athenas esse & posse jam illatum bellum non armis tantum sed etiam muris sustinere: si quid ob eam rem de se crudelius statuerent, legatos eorum in hoc pignus Athenis retentos. Graviter deinde castigat eos, Quod non virtute, sed imbecillitate sociorum, potentiam quærent. Sic dimissus, veluti triumphatis Spartanis, a civibus excipitur. Post hæc Spartani, ne vires otio corrumperent, & ut bis illatum a Persis Græciæ bellum ulciscerentur ultro fines eorum depopulantur. Ducem suo, sociorumque exercitui deligunt Pausaniam; qui pro ducatu, regnum Græciæ affectans, prodicionis præmium cum Xerxe nuptias filię ejus paciscitur, redditis captivis, ut fides regis aliquo beneficio obstringeretur. Scribit præterea Xerxi, quoscumque ad se nuncios misisset, interficeret, ne res loquacitate hominum proderetur.

holds for their enemies, and places of refuge for them in case of a future war. When Themistocles saw that the hopes of the city were envied, not thinking it proper to deal abruptly in the case, he answered the ambassadors, that some should go to Lacedæmon, to confer in common with them about that affair. Thus the Spartans being dismissed, he advises his citizens to hasten the work. Then some time after he goes himself upon the embassy, and one while pretending sickness on the road, another while blaming the slowness of his fellow ambassadors, without whom nothing could be done regularly, by putting off day after day, he endeavoured to gain time for finishing the work. Whilst in the mean time word is brought to the Spartans, that the work was carried on fast at Athens, upon which they send ambassadors again to inspect the matter. Then Themistocles writes to the magistrates of the Athenians by a servant, to secure the ambassadors, and keep them as a pledge, lest any thing cruel should be resolved upon against him. Then he went to the assembly of the Lacedæmonians, tells them that Athens was fortified, and was able to resist a war made upon it, not only with arms, but walls. If they should determine any thing cruelly about him upon that account, their ambassadors were retained at Athens as a pledge. Then he chides them grievously, for seeking to encrease their power, not by their own good conduct, but the weakness of their allies. Thus being dismissed, he is received by his citizens as it were in triumph over the Spartans. After this the Spartans, lest they should impair their strength by idleness, and that they might avenge themselves for the war that had been twice made upon Greece by the Persians, lay waste their country. They chose Pausanias general of their army, and that of the allies: who affecting the kingdom of Greece, instead of the general's post, bargains with Xerxes for the marriage of a daughter, as the reward of his treason; restoring him his prisoners, that the king's belief might be engaged by some

Sed dux Atheniensium Aristides belli socius, collegæ conatibus obviam eundo, simul & in rem sapienter consulendo, proditiōis consilia discussit. Nec multo post accusatus Pausanias damnatur. Igitur Xerxes, cum proditiōis dolum publicatum videret, ex integro bellum instituit. Græci quoque ducem constituunt Cimonem Atheniensem, filium Miltiadis, quo ducē apud Marathonem pugnatum est, juvenem, cujus magnitudinem futuram pietatis documenta prodiderunt. Quippe patrem ob crimen peculatus in carcerem coniectum, ibique defunctum, translatis in se vinculis, ad sepulchram redemit. Nec in bello iudicium delegantium sefellit; siquidem non inferior virtutibus patris Xerxem terrestri navalique bello superatum, trepidum recipere se in regnum coegit.

qualities of his father, he forced Xerxes, whom he routed both by land and sea, to retire in the utmost confusion into his kingdom.

kindness. Besides he writes to Xerxes to kill whatever messengers he should send to him, lest the matter should be discovered by the men's babbling. But the general of the Athenians, Aristides, his associate in the war, baffled his treasonable designs, by obviating the endeavours of his colleague, and at the same time by consulting wisely for the purpose. And not long after Pausanias, being accused, is condemned. Wherefore Xerxes, when he saw this treacherous plot discovered, prepares for war afresh. The Greeks likewise nominate for their general Cimon the Athenian, the son of Miltiades, under whom, as general, the battle was fought at Marathon; a young man, whose future greatness the instances of his affection for his father foretold. For he redeemed his father, thrown in the jail for the crime of robbing the public, and dying there, to burial, by taking the chains upon himself. Nor did he deceive the judgement of those that chose him in the war; for being not inferior to the good



LIBER III.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Xerxis & Artabani præfecti perfidi tragicus interitus.*
2. *Bellorum inter Lacedæmonios & Athenienses origo. Sparta Respublica & Legislator.*
3. *Leges a Lycurgo Spartanis latæ, quomodo ratæ fiant & habeantur.*
4. *Bellum Messeniis illatum ob stupratas virgines : & spuriorum Spartanorum in Italiam migratio.*
5. *Messenii scelerum suorum luunt pœnas ; & bellum instaurant, ac tandem superantur.*
6. *Tertium bellum Messenium ; Peloponnesiacum item, in quo multa eventuum variorum facies.*
7. *Pacis fœdus ruptum. Spartani premuntur Periclis virtute, cujus egregia in rempublicam merita describuntur. Iterum pax sancita & violata : unde bellum Siculum.*

CAPUT I.

XERXES rex Persarum, terror ante gentium, bello in Græciam infeliciter gesto, etiam suis contemptui esse cœpit. Quippe Artabanus præfectus ejus deficiente quotidie regis majestate, in spem regni adductus, cum septem robustissimis filiis regiam vesperi ingreditur, (nam amicitiae jure semper illi patebat) trucidatoque rege, voto suo obsistentes filios ejus dolo aggreditur. Securiore de Artaxerxe, puero admodum, fingit regem a Dario, qui erat adolescens, quo maturius regno potiretur, occisum ; impellit Artaxerxem parricidium parricidio vindicare. Cum ventum ad domum Darii esset, dormiens inventus, quasi somnum fingeret, interficitur. Deinde cum unum ex regis filiis sceleri suo superesse Artabanus videret, metueretque de regno certamina principum, assumit in societatem consilii Ba-

XERXES, king of the Persians, the terror of nations before, having managed this war against Greece unsuccessfully, began now to be despised by his own subjects. For Artabanus his lieutenant, the king's majesty declining every day, being put in hopes of the kingdom, enters the palace in the evening with seven lusty sons, (for the palace was always open to him upon the score of friendship) and having slain the king, he attempts the sons that opposed his wish, by a wile. Being more secure of Artaxerxes but a boy, he pretends that the king was slain by Darius, who was a young man, that he might the sooner get the kingdom, and moves Artaxerxes to revenge parricide by parricide. When they came to Darius's house, being found asleep, he is slain, as if he counterfeited sleep. Afterwards Artabanus seeing but one of the king's sons left for his wickedness to deal with, and fearing the grandees would contest with him for the kingdom, he takes Bacchabasis into partnership with him in the design ; who being content with his pre-

cabasum; qui presenti statu contentus, rem prodit Artaxerxi, ut pater ejus occisus, ut frater falsa parricidii suspitione oppressus, ut denique ipsi pararentur insidiæ. His cognitis, Artaxerxes verens Artabani numerum filiorum, in posterum diem paratum esse armatum exercitum jubet, recogniturus & numerum militum & in armis industriam singulorum. Itaque cum inter cæteros & ipse Artabanus armatus assisteret, rex simulat, se breviorē lorica habere; jubet Artabanum secum commutare, exuentem se, ac nudatum gladio trajicit; tum & filios ejus corripit jubet. Atq; ita egregius adolescens & cædem patris, & se ab insidiis Artabani vindicavit.

CAP. II. Dum hæc in Persis geruntur, interea Græcia omnis, ducibus Lacedæmoniis & Atheniensibus, in duas divisa partes, ab externis bellis, velut in viscera sua, arma convertit. Fiunt igitur de uno populo duo corpora; & eorundem castrorum homines in duos hostiles exercitus dividuntur. Hinc Lacedæmonii communia quondam civitatum auxilia ad vires suas trahebant: inde Athenienses, & vetustate gentis, & gestis rebus illustres propriis viribus confidebant. Atq; ita duo potentissimi Græciæ populi, institutis Solonis, & Lycurgi legibus, pares, ex emulatione virium in bellum ruebant. Namq; Lycurgus cum fratri suo Polydectæ, Spartano regi, successisset, regnumq; sibi vindicare potuisset, Charilao filio ejus, qui natus posthumus fuerat, cum ad ætatem adultam pervenisset, regnum summa fide restituit: ut intelligerent omnes, quanto plus apud bonos pietatis jura, quam omnes opes valerent. Medio igitur tempore, dum in-

sent condition, betrays the matter to Artaxerxes, how his father was slain, his brother taken off under a false suspicion of parricide, and finally how a plot was formed against himself. Artaxerxes having understood these things, fearing the number of Artabanus's sons, ordered the army to be ready armed against the day following, as designing to take an account of the number of the soldiers, and the industry of each in their arms. Wherefore as Artabanus himself too stood by armed, among the rest, the king pretends that he had too short a coat of mail, bids Artabanus change with him, and runs him thro' with his sword, as he was stripping himself, and naked; and then commands his sons to be seized also. And thus this excellent young man both revenged his father's death, and delivered himself from the plot of Artabanus.

CHAP. II. Whilst these things are doing among the Persians, in the mean time all Greece under their leaders, the Lacedemonians and Athenians, being divided into two parties, turned their arms from foreign wars, as it were upon their own bowels. Wherefore two bodies are made out of one people; and men of the same camp are divided into two hostile armies. On this side the Lacedæmonians drew over the auxiliaries of the cities, that were formerly common to their party. On that side the Athenians, illustrious both for the antiquity of their nation, and their exploits, trusted to their own strength. And they two, the most powerful people of Greece, equal to one another by the institutions of Solon, and the laws of Lycurgus, proceeded to a war from an emulation of one another's strength. For Lycurgus having succeeded Polydectes his brother, king of the Spartans, and being able to secure the kingdom to himself, restored the kingdom with extraordinary honesty to his son, Charilaus, who was born after his father's death, when he was come to man's estate, that all people might understand how much more the laws of piety prevailed with good men, than riches. Wherefore in the mean time, whilst the infant

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fans convalescit, tutelamq; ejus administrat, non habentibus Spartanis leges instituit, non inventione earum magis, quam exemplo clarior; siquidem nihil lege ulla in alios sanxit, cujus non ipse primus in se documenta daret. Populum in obsequia principum, principes ad justitiam imperiorum formavit. Parcimoniam omnibus suavit, existimans laborem militiæ assidua frugalitatis consuetudine faciliorem fore. Emi singula non pecunia, sed compensatione mercium jussit. Auri argentiq; usum velut omnium scelerum materiam sustulit.

CAP. III. Administrationem reipublicæ per ordines divisit. Regibus potestatem bellorum, magistratibus judicia per annuas successiones, senatui custodiam legum, populo sublegendi senatum, vel creandi quos vellet magistratus, potestatem permisit. Fundos omnium æqualiter inter omnes divit, ut æquata patrimonium neminem potentiorum altero redderent. Convivari omnes publice jussit, ne cujus divitiæ vel luxuria in occulto essent. Juvenibus non amplius una veste uti toto anno permisit, nec quinquam cultius quam alterum progredi, nec epulari opulentius, ne imitatio in luxuriam verteretur. Pueros puberes non in forum, sed in agrum deduci præcepit, ut primos annos non in luxuria sed in opere & laboribus agerent. Nihil eos somni causa subternere, & vitam sine pulmento degere, neque prius in urbem redire quam viri facti essent, statuit. Virgines sine dote nubere jussit, ut uxores eligerentur, non pecuniæ; severiusq; matrimonia sua viri coacerent, cum nullis dotis frænis tenerentur. Maximum honorem non divitum & potentium, sed pro gradu ætatis se-

is growing up, and he manages the guardianship of him, he makes laws for the Spartans that had none, not more famous for the invention of them, than his example. For he bound nothing by any law upon others, of which he did not first give an instance in himself. He formed the people to a compliance with the great men, and the great men to the justice of government. He advised all to frugality, thinking that the toil of war would be more easy, by a continued course of frugality. He ordered every thing to be purchased not with money, but by an exchange of merchandize. He took away the use of gold and silver, as the occasion of all wickedness.

CHAP. III. He divided the administration of the commonwealth among the states. To the kings he granted the power of war, to the magistrates jurisdiction by yearly succession, to the senate the guard of the laws, to the people the power of choosing the senate, or of creating what magistrates they pleased. He divided the estates of all equally among all, that their estates being equalled might render none more powerful than another. He ordered all to eat in public, that the riches or luxury of any one might not be kept private. He suffered the young men to use no more than one coat in a whole year, nor did he allow any one to go finer than another, nor fare more sumptuously, lest imitation should be turned into luxury. He ordered boys of age to be carried not into the forum, but the country, that they might spend their first years not in luxury but in work and fatigues. He ordered they should lay nothing under them to sleep on, and lead their lives without dainties, and not return to the city before they were men compleat. He ordered young women to marry without fortunes, that wives might be chosen, not money; and that the husbands might govern their wives more strictly, being cramped by no restraints of fortune. He ordered the greatest respect should belong not to the rich and powerful, but old men, according to the degree of their age. Nor indeed has old age any

num esset voluit. Nec sane usquam terrarum locum honoratorem senectus habet. Hæc quoniam primo, solutis antea moribus, dura videbat esse, auctorem eorum Apollinem Delphicum fingit, & inde se ea ex præcepto numinis detulisse, ut consuecendi tædium metus religionis vincat. Dein ut æternitatem legibus suis daret, iurejurando obligat civitatem, nihil eos de ejus legibus mutaturos, priusquam reverteretur; & simulat, se ad oraculum Delphicum proficisci consulturum quid, addendum mutandumque legibus videretur. Proficiscitur autem Cretam ibiq; perpetuum exilium egit, abjiciq; in mare ossa sua moriens jussit, ne relatis Lacedæmonen, solutos se Spartani religione jurisjurandi in dissolvendis legibus arbitrarentur.

CAP. IV. His igitur moribus ita brevi civitas convaluit, ut, cum Messeniis propter stupratas virgines suas in solenni Messeniorum sacrificio bellum intulissent, gravissima se execratione obstraxerint, non priusquam Messeniam expugnassent, reversuros, tantum sibi vel de viribus suis, vel de fortuna spondentes. Quæ res initium dissensionis Græciæ & intestini belli causa & origo fuit. Itaque cum contra presumptionem suam annis decem in obsidione urbis tenerentur, & querelis uxorum, post tam longam viduitatem revocarentur; veriti, ne hac perseverantia belli gravius sibi quam Messeniis nocerent; quippe illis quantum juventutis bello intercidat, mulierum fœcunditate suppleri; sibi & belli damna asidua, & fœcunditatem uxorum, absentibus viris, nullam esse: itaque legunt juvenes ex eo genere militum, qui post iusjuran-

where on the earth a more respectable habitation. Because he saw these things would be hard at first, their manners having been loose before, he pretends the Delphian Apollo was the adviser of them, and that he brought them thence by the order of the god, that the awe of religion might overbear the trouble of using themselves to them. Then that he might give eternity to his laws, he obliges the city by an oath, that they would change nothing of his laws before he returned; and pretends that he was going to the oracle of Delphos, to advise with it, what might seem proper to be added to, or changed in his laws. But he goes to Crete, and there lived in perpetual banishment; and at his death ordered his bones to be thrown into the sea, lest if they were carried back to Lacedæmon, the Spartans should think themselves discharged from the obligation of their oath, in repealing the laws.

CHAP. IV. By these laws therefore in a short time the city grew so strong, that having made war upon the Messenians for ravishing their young women in a solemn sacrifice of the Messenians, they bound themselves under a grievous curse not to return before they should take Messenia, promising themselves so much, either from their strength or their fortune: which thing was the beginning of the division of Greece, and the cause and original of an intestine war. Wherefore being detained ten years in the siege of the city, contrary to their expectation, and recalled by the complaints of their wives after so long a widowhood; fearing lest by this perseverance in the war, they should prejudice themselves more than the Messenians; for as much of their youth as they lost in the war was made up in the fruitfulness of their women; but for themselves they suffered the continual losses of war, and their wives could not be fruitful, whilst their husbands were absent. Wherefore they chuse out the young men of that sort of soldiers who came for recruits after the oath; to whom being sent back to Sparta,

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dum in supplementum venerant; quibus Spartam remissis promiscuos omnium fœminarum concubitus permisere; maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulæ per plures viros experirentur. Ex his nati, ob notam materni pudoris Partheniæ vocati: qui cum ad annos xxx pervenissent, metu inopiæ (nulli enim pater existeret cujus in patrimonium successio speraretur) ducem Phalantum assumunt filium Arati, qui auctor Spartanis fuerat juventutis ad generandam sobolem domum remittendæ: ut sicuti dudum patrem ejus nascendi auctorem habuissent, sic ipsum spei ac dignitatis suæ haberent. Itaq; nec salutatis matribus e quarum adulterio infamiam collegisse videbantur, ad sedes enquirendas proficiscuntur; diuque & per varios casus jactati, tandem in Italiam deferuntur, & occupata arce Tarentinorum expugnatis veteribus incolis, sedes ibi constituunt. Sed post annos plurimos dux eorum Phalantus, per seditionem in exilium proturbatus, Brundisium se contulit, quo expulsi sedibus suis veteres Tarentini concesserant. Hic moriens persuadet, ut ossa sua postremasque reliquias conterant, & tacite spargi in foro Tarentinorum curent. Hoc enim modo recuperare illos patriam suam posse, Apollinem Delphi cecinisse. Illi arbitrares cum in ultionem sui civium fata prodidisse, præceptis parvere. Sed oraculi diversa sententia fuerat. Perpetuitatem enim urbis, non amissionem hoc facto promiserat. Ita ducis exulis consilio & hostium ministerio, possessio Tarentina Partheniis in æternum fundata: ob cujus beneficii memoriam Phalanto divinos honores decrevere.

they give leave to lie with all the women promiscuously, thinking the conception would be more speedy, if each woman should try it with several men. Those that were born of them were called Partheniæ, in memory of their mother's shame, who when they were come to thirty years of age, for fear of want (for none of them had a father into whose estate they might hope to succeed) they take Phalantus for their leader, the son of Aratus, who had advised the Spartans to send home the young fellows to get children: that as they had formerly his father for the cause of their birth, so they might have him for the support of their hopes and dignity. Wherefore without saluting their mothers, from whose adultery they seemed to have contracted their infamy, they go to seek a settlement, and being tost about a long time, and through various chances of fortune, at last they arrive in Italy, and seizing the citadel of the Tarentines, driving out the old inhabitants, there they fix their habitation. But after several years their leader Phalantus in a sedition being forced into banishment, betook himself to Brundisium, whither the old Tarentines, being driven from their homes, had retired. He at his death advises them to bruise his bones, and last relics, and take care to have them privately scattered in the forum of the Tarentines, For Apollo at Delphos had declared, that by this means they might recover their country. They thinking he had betrayed the fortune of his countrymen, for the revenge of himself, obeyed his orders. But the declaration of the oracle was quite different. For it promised upon that fact the perpetual possession, not the loss of the city. Thus by the contrivance of their exiled leader, and the good office of their enemies, the possession of Tarentum was secured to the Partheniæ for ever. In memory of which kindness they decreed divine honours to Phalantus.

CAP. V. Interea Messenii, cum virtute non possent, per insidias expugnantur. Dein, cum per annos LXXX gravia servitutis verbera, plerumq; & vincula, cæteraq; captivitatis mala perpessi essent, post longam pœnarum patientiam, bellum restaurant. Lacedæmonii quoque eo conspiratius ad arma concurrunt, quod adversus servos dimicare videbantur. Itaque cum hinc injuria, inde indignitas animos acueret, Lacedæmonii, de belli eventu oraculo Delphis consulto, jubentur ducem belli ab Atheniensibus petere. Porro Athenienses, cum responsum cognovissent, in contemptum Spartanorum, Tyrtæum poetam claudum pede, misere; qui tribus præliis fusus eo usque desperationis Spartanos adduxit, ut ad supplementum exercitus servos suos manumitterent, hisque interfectorum matrimonia pollicerentur; ut non numero tantum amissorum civium, sed & dignitati succederent. Sed reges Lacedæmoniorum, ne contra fortunam pugnando, majora detrimenta civitati infligerent, reducere exercitum voluerunt; ni intervenisset Tyrtæus, qui composita carmina exercitui pro concione recitavit; in quibus hortamenta virtutis, damnorum solatia, belli consilia conscripserat. Itaque tantum ardorem militibus injecit, ut non de salute, sed de sepultura, solliciti, tesseras, insculptis suis & patrum nominibus, dextro brachio deligarent; ut si omnes adversum prælium consumpsisset, & temporis spatio confusa corporum lineamenta essent, ex indicio titulorum tradi sepulturæ possent. Cum sic animatum reges exercitum viderent, curant rem hostibus nuntiari. Messeniis au-

CHAP. V. In the mean time the Messenians are conquered by stratagem, when they could not be conquered by courage. Then after they had suffered eighty years all the grievances of slavery, stripes very often, and bonds, and the other evils of captivity, after a long enduring of their punishment, they renew the war. The Lacedæmonians too run to arms the more unanimously, because they seemed to be engaged against their slaves. Wherefore whilst on this side ill usage, and on that indignity, exasperated their minds, the Lacedæmonians having consulted the oracle at Delphos concerning the event of the war, are ordered to seek a general for the war from the Athenians. But the Athenians, when they understand the answer of the oracle, in contempt of the Spartans, sent Tyrtæus, a poet, lame of a foot, who being routed in three battles, reduced the Spartans to that despair, that they manumised their slaves for the recruiting of their army, and promised them the wives of the slain, that they might not only succeed to the number of the citizens that had been lost, but to their dignity. But the kings of the Lacedæmonians, lest by fighting against fortune they should bring greater detriment upon the city, intended to draw off their army, had not Tyrtæus interposed; who repeated to the army in an assembly of it some verses he had composed, in which he had comprised incitements to courage, consolation for their losses, and advice about the war. Wherefore he inspired into the soldiers so much mettle, that being not concerned for their safety, but for their burial, they tied tickets to their arms, with their own names, and those of their fathers, cut in them; that if an unfortunate battle should take them all off, and the lineaments of their bodies should be confused through length of time, they might be committed to burial, by the discovery of their titles. When the kings saw the army thus minded, they take care to have the thing told to the enemy but the matter did not cause a consternation in the Messenians, but a mutual emulat on.

tem non timorem res, sed æmulationem mutuam dedit. Itaque tantis animis concursus est, ut raro unquam cruentius prælium fuerit. Ad postremum tamen victoria Lacedæmoniorum fuit.

CAP. VI. Interjecto tempore tertium quoque bellum Messenii reparavere; in cujus auxilium Lacedemonii inter reliquos socios etiam Athenienses adhibuere, quorum fidem cum suspectam haberent, supervacaneos simulantes a bello eosdem dimiserunt. Hanc rem Athenienses graviter ferentes, pecuniam, quæ erat in stipendium Persici belli ab universa Græcia collata, a Delo Athenas transferunt, ne deficientibus a fide societatis Lacedemoniis, prædæ ac rapinæ esset. Sed nec Lacedæmonii quievere; qui, cum Messeniorum bello occupati essent, Peloponnesenses immisere, qui bellum Atheniensibus facerent. Parvæ tunc temporis, classe in Ægyptum missa, vires Atheniensibus erant. Itaq; navali prælio dimicantes facile superantur. Interjecto deinde tempore, post reditum suorum aucti & classe & militum robore prælium reparavere. Jam & Lacedæmonii, omissis Messeniis, adversus Athenienses arma verterant. Diu varia victoria fuit. Ad postremum æquo Marte utrinq; discessum. Inde revocati Lacedæmonii ad Messeniorum bellum, ne medium tempus otiosum Atheniensibus relinquerent, cum Thebanis paciscuntur, ut Bæotorum imperium his restituerent, quod temporibus Persici belli amiserant, ut illi Atheniensium bellum susciperent. Tantus furor Spartanorum erat, ut duobus bellis impliciti suscipere tertium non recusarent, dummodo inimicis

Wherefore both sides engaged with so much courage, that there was seldom ever a more bloody battle. At last, however, the victory was the Lacedemonians'.

CHAP. VI. Some time after the Messenians renewed the war a third time; for their assistance in which, the Lacedemonians, among their other allies, made use of the Athenians; whose fidelity being suspicious of, pretending them needless, they dismissed them from the war. The Athenians taking this thing ill, remove the money which had been contributed by all Greece, for the expence of the Persian war, from Delos to Athens, lest the Lacedemonians receding from the faith of their alliance, it should be plunder and spoil for them. But neither were the Lacedemonians quiet; who, though they were busy in the war of the Messenians, sent the Peloponnesians to make war upon the Athenians. The strength of the Athenians was at that time but small, their fleet being sent into Egypt. Wherefore engaging in a fight at sea, they are easily conquered. Then some time after, upon the return of their naval force, being reinforced by the strength of their fleet and soldiers, they renew the fight. And now the Lacedemonians, letting the Messenians alone, had turned their arms against the Athenians. The success was various a long time. At last they came off with equal advantage. Upon which the Lacedemonians being recalled to the war of the Messenians, that they might not leave the Athenians the mean time idle, agree with the Thebans, to restore to them the government of the Bæotians, which they had lost in the times of the Persian war, in condition that they should undertake the war against the Athenians. So great was the madness of the Spartans, that engaged as they were in two wars, they did not refuse to undertake a third so they could but procure enemies for their enemies. Wherefore the Athenians chose two generals against this storm of war, suis

fuis hostes acquirerent. Igitur Athenienses adversus tantam tempestatem belli duos duces deligunt, Periclem spectatæ virtutis virum, & Sophoclem scriptorem tragædiarum; qui diviso exercitu, & Spartanorum agros vastaverunt, & multas Achaia civitates

CAP. VII. His malis fracti Lacedæmonii in annos xxx pepigerunt pacem. Sed tam longum otium inimicitiae non tulerunt. Itaque quinto decimo anno rupto fœdere, cum contemptu deorum hominumque fines Atticos populantur. Et ne prædam potius, quam pugnam expetisse viderentur, hostes ad prælium provocant. Sed Athenienses consilio Periclis ducis populationis injuriam differunt in tempus ultionis, supervacuum pugnam existimantes, cum ulcisci hostem sine periculo possent. Deinde interjectis diebus naves conscendunt, & nihil sentientibus Lacedæmoniis totam Spartam deprædantur, multoque plura auferunt, quam amiserant. Prorsus ut, in comparatione damnorum, longe pluris fuerit ultio, quam injuria. Clara quidem hæc Periclis expeditio habita; sed multo clarior privati patrimonii contemptus fuit. Hujus agros, in populatione cæterorum, intactos hostes reliquerant, sperantes acquirere se illi posse, aut periculum ex invidia, aut ex suspitione proditiōnis infamiam. Quod ante prospiciens Pericles, & futurum populo prædixerat, & ad invidiæ impetum declinandum, agros ipsos dono reipublicæ dederat; atque ita, unde periculum quæsitum fuerat, ibi maximam gloriam invenit. Post hæc interjectis diebus, navali prælio dimicatum est. Victi Lacedæmonii fugerunt. Nec cessatum

Pericles a man of tried conduct, and Sophocles the writer of tragedies, who dividing their army, both laid waste the lands of the Spartans, and added many cities of Achaia to the empire of the Athenians.

civitates Atheniensium imperio adjecerunt.

CHAP. VII. The Lacedæmonians being brought low by these losses, agreed upon a peace for thirty years. But their animosities did not allow of so long a quiet. Wherefore the treaty being broken in the 15th year, they lay waste the country of Attica with contempt of gods and men. And that they might not seem to have sought plunder rather than battle, they challenge the enemy to a fight. But the Athenians, by the advice of Pericles their general, defer to do themselves right for the injury done them in the plundering of their country to a proper time of revenge, thinking fight needless, when they could be revenged upon the enemy without any danger. Then some days after, they go aboard their fleet, and whilst the Lacedæmonians thought nothing of it, lay waste all Sparta, and carry off a great deal more than they had lost. So that in comparing the losses, the revenge was of far greater account than the injury that was revenged. This expedition of Pericles was reckoned indeed famous, but the contempt of his private estate was much more famous. The enemies had left his lands untouched in the wasting of the rest, hoping to procure him danger from the envy that would attend it, or infamy from the suspicion of treachery. Which Pericles foreseeing, had both foretold the people that it would be so, and to decline the fury of envy, gave the lands as a present to the state, and so found the greatest glory there, where danger to him was designed. Some days after they engaged in a sea-fight; the Lacedæmonians being conquered, fled. Nor did they cease after that, but slaughtered one another, either by land or sea, with various success in the war. At last being tired out with

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deinceps est quin aut terra, aut mari varia præliorum fortuna invicem se trucidarent. Deinque fessi tot malis pacem in annos quinquaginta fecere, quam non nisi sex annis servaverunt. Nam inducias quas proprio nomine condixerant, ex sociorum persona rumpebant; quippe quasi minus perjurii contraherent, si ferentes fociis auxilia, potius quam si ipsi aperto prælio dimicassent. Hinc bellum in Siciliam translatum, quod priusquam expono, de Siciliæ situ pauca dicenda sunt.

so many misfortunes, they made a peace for fifty years; which they kept but six years; they broke the truce which they had agreed to in their own name, in the person of their allies, as if they contracted less perjury, if they fought as carrying assistance to their allies, rather than if they engaged in open war. Upon this the war was removed into Sicily; which before I relate, a few words must be said of the situation of Sicily.

LIBER IV.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Siciliæ insulæ situs, soli natura. *Ætnæ item montis ac Scyllæ & Charybdis miraculum.*
2. Nomina, incolæ veteres, tyranni Siciliæ, cui Carthaginenses inhiant.
3. Reginenses ab Himeranis oppressi. Athenienses imperium Siciliæ ambiunt, & prospere agunt initio.
4. In incepto pergentes Syracusani Lacedæmonios accerfunt. Græcorum concursus fit, & bellum in Siciliam transfertur.
5. Athenienses a Gylippo Lacedæmoniorum duce, terra marique franguntur: ducibus Demosthene & Nicia indecoro fato sublatis.

CAPUT I.

SICILIAM ferunt angustis quondam faucibus Italiæ adhæsisse, direptamque velut a corpore majore impetu superi mari, quod toto undarum onere illuc vehitur. Est autem ipsa terra tenuis ac fragilis, & cavernis quibusdam fistulisque ita penetrabilis, ut ventorum tota ferme flatibus pateat; necnon & ignibus generandis nutriendisque; soli ipsius naturalis materia; quippe intrinsecus stratum sulphure & bitumine traditur: quæ res facit, ut spiritu cum igne inter interiora luctante, frequenter & compluribus locis, nunc

THEY report that Sicily was formerly joined to Italy by a narrow isthmus, and was torn away as it were from the bigger body by the violence of the upper sea, which is borne thither with the whole load of its waters. And the earth itself is light and brittle, and so perforated with certain caverns and canals, that it is almost wholly exposed to the blowing of the winds; and the substance of the soil is naturally fitted for the producing and feeding of fires: for within it is said to be spread with sulphur and pitch. Which thing is the cause, that when the wind struggles with the fire in the subterraneous parts, it throws out frequently, and in several places, one while flames, another flam-

flammas, nunc vaporem, nunc fumum eructet. Inde deniq; Ætnæ montis per tot secula durat incendium. Et ubi acrior per spiramenta cavernarum ventus incubuit, arenarum moles egeruntur. Proximum Italiæ promontorium Rhegium dicitur, ideo quia Græce abrupta hoc nomine pronunciantur. Nec mirum si fabulosa est loci hujus antiquitas, in quem res tot coiere miræ. Primum quod nusquam alias tam torrens fretum, nec solum citato impetu, verum etiam sævo, neq; experientibus modo terribile, verum etiam procul videntibus. Undarum porro inter se concurrentium tanta pugna est, ut alias veluti terga dantes in imum desiderare, alias quasi victrices in sublime ferri videas; nunc hic fremitum servantis æstus, nunc illic gemitum in voraginem desidentis exaudias. Accedunt vicini & perpetui Ætnæ montis ignes & insularum Æolidum, veluti ipsis undis alatur incendium. Neq; enim in tam angustis terminis aliter durare tot seculis tantus ignis potuisset, nisi humoris nutrimentis aleretur. Hinc igitur fabulæ Scyllam & Charybdin peperere; hinc latratus auditi, hinc monstri credita simulacra, dum navigantes magnis vorticibus pelagi desidentis exterriti latrare putant undas, quas sorbentis æstus vorago collidit. Eadem causa etiam Ætnæ montis perpetuos ignes facit. Nam aquarum ille concursus raptum secum spiritum in imum fundum trahit, atq; ibi suffocatum tam diu tenet, donec per spiramenta terræ diffusus nutrimenta ignis incendat. Jam ipsa Italiæ Siciliæq; vicinitas, jam promontiorum altitudo ipsa ita

while, vapour another smok. From this, in fine, does the fire of Mount Ætna continue for so many ages. And when a strong wind breaks in through the passages of the caverns, heaps of sand are thrown up. The nearest promontory of Italy is called Rhegium for this reason, because in Greek things broken off from any thing are signified by that name. And no wonder, if the antiquity of this place be fabulous, in which so many wonderful things have met. The first is, that the sea is no where else so rapid, with not only a swift current, but furious too, and not only terrible to those that try it, but even to those that view it at a distance. Moreover, the encounter of the waves clashing among themselves is such, that you may see some of them as it were turning their backs sink into the deep, and others of them rise up aloft as it were victorious; one while in this place you hear the noise of the boiling sea, another in that a groaning of the sea, sinking in a whirl-pit. To this are added the neighbouring and perpetual fires of mount Ætna, and the Æolian islands, as if the fires were fed by the waters themselves. For otherwise, so great a fire could not have lasted so many ages, within such narrow bounds, unless it was maintained by the nutriment of the water. Hence your fables produced Scylla and Charybdis; hence barkings were thought to be heard, hence the form of the monster Scylla was credited, whilst the sailors affrighted with the vast vortices of the sea sinking downward, imagine the waves to bark, which the whirling of the sea, that swallows them up, clashes together. The same cause likewise makes the fire of mount Ætna everlasting; for that concurrence of the water drags the air hurried along with it to the bottom, and keeps choaked up so long, 'till being diffused through the canals of the earth, it inflames the pabulum of the fire. Then again the neighbourhood of Italy and Sicily, then the height of the promontories is so like, that as much admiration as it causes in us now, so much terror did it cause to the ancients, who believed

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similis est, ut quantum nunc admirationis, tantum antiquis terroris dederit; credentibus, coeuntibus in se promontoriis, ac rursum discedentibus, solida intercipi absumiq; navigia. Neq; hoc ab antiquis in dulcedinem fabulæ compositum, sed metu & admiratione transeuntium. Ea est enim procul insipientibus natura loci, ut sinum maris, non transitum putes; quo cum accederis, discedere ac sejungi promontoria, quæ antea juncta fuerant, arbitrere.

CAP. II. Siciliæ primo Trinacriæ nomen fuit, postea Sicania cognominata est. Hæc a principio patria Cycloperum fuit: quibus extinctis, Cocalus regnum insulæ occupavit, post quem singulæ civitates in tyrannorum imperium concesserunt, quorum nulla terra feracior fuit. Horum ex numero Anaxilaus justitia cum cæterorum crudelitate certabat, cujus moderationis haud mediocrem fructum tulit. Quippe decedens cum filios parvulos reliquisset, tutelamq; eorum Micytho spectatæ fidei servo commisisset; tantus amor memoriæ ejus apud omnes fuit, ut parere servo, quam deserere regis filios mallerent; principesq; civitatis oblitæ dignitatis suæ, regni majestatem administrari per servum paterentur. Imperium Siciliæ etiam Carthaginenses tentavere; diuq; varia victoria cum tyrannis dimicatum. Ad postremum amisso Hamilcare imperatore cum exercitu, aliquantisper quieverunt victi.

CAP. III. Medio tempore, cum Rhegini discordia laborarent, civitasq; per dissensionem divisa in duas partes esset; veterani ab altera parte ab Himera in auxilium vocati, pulsus civitate, contra quos implorati fue-

that whole ships were snapped and destroyed by the promontories meeting one another and parting again. Nor was this invented by the ancients for the pleasantness of the story, but occasioned by the fright and admiration of those that passed that way. For such is the nature of the place, to those that view it at a distance, that you would think it to be a bay, not a thorough-fare; to which as you approach, you would think the promontories parted and separated, which before were joined.

CHAP. II. The name of Sicily was at first Trinacria, afterwards it was called Sicania. This was at the beginning the country of the Cyclops, who being worn out, Cocalus seized the government of the island; after whom each of the cities fell under the government of tyrants, in which no country was more fruitful. Anaxilaus, one of their number vied for justice with the cruelty of the rest; of which moderation he received no small advantage; for having left some sons very little at his death, he committed the guardianship of them to a servant of approved fidelity. So great was the respect for his memory among all people, that they chose rather to obey a slave than forsake the king's sons; and the grandees of the city forgetting their dignity, suffered the majesty of the kingdom to be borne by a slave. The Carthaginians likewise attempted to gain the dominion of Sicily, and fought with the tyrants a long time with various success. At last having lost their general Hamilcar, with his army, they were quiet for some time after this beating.

CHAP. III. In the mean time the Rhegini being pestered with a difference among themselves, and the city being divided by this disagreement into two parts, the veterans being invited from Himera by one party for their assistance, having driven those out of the town, against whom

rant; & mox cæsis, quibus tulerant auxilium, urbem cum conjugibus & liberis sociorum occupare; ausi facinus nulli tyrannorum comparandum: quippe ut Rheginis melius fuerit vinci, quam vicisse. Nam siue victoribus captivitatis jure servissent, siue amissa patria exulare necesse habuissent; non tamen inter aras & patrios lares trucidati crudelissimis tyrannis patriam cum conjugibus ac liberis prædam reliquissent. Catinienses quoque cum Syracusanos graves paterentur, diffisi viribus suis, auxilium ab Atheniensibus petivere; qui seu studio majoris imperii, quo Asiam Græciamque penitus occuparent, seu metu factæ pridem a Syracusanis classis, ne Lacedæmoniis illæ vires accederent, Lamponium ducem cum classe in Siciliam misere, ut sub specie, ferendi Catiniensibus auxilii tentarent Siciliæ imperium. Et quoniam prima initia, frequenter cæsis hostibus, prospera tuerant; majore denuo classe & robustiore exercitu, Lachete & Chariade ducibus, Siciliam petivere. Sed Catinienses, siue metu Atheniensium, siue tædio belli, pacem cum Syracusanis, remissis Atheniensium auxiliis, fecerunt.

CAP. IV. Interjecto deinde tempore, cum fides pacis a Syracusanis non servaretur, denuo legatos Athenas mittunt, qui sordida veste, capillo barbaque promissis, & omni squaloris habitu ad misericordiam commovendam acquisito, concionem deformes adeunt. Adduntur precibus lacrymæ: & ita misericordem populum supplices movent, ut damnarentur duces, qui ab his auxilia deduxerant. Igitur classis ingens decernitur. Creantur duces Nicias & Alcibiades & La-

they had been sent for; and by and by having slain those, to whom they had brought assistance, seized upon the city, with the wives and children of their friends; venturing upon a villany to be equalled by no tyrant; so that it had been better for the Rhegini to have been conquered than to conquer. For whether they had serv'd the conquerors by the law of captivity, or losing their country, had been necessitated to live in banishment; yet they would not have been slain, amongst their altars and country Gods and have left their country with their wives and children, as a prey to most cruel tyrants. The Catinians too finding the Syracusans heavy upon them, distrusting their own strength, desired assistance of the Athenians, who whether out of a desire of a greater empire, that they might perfectly master Asia and Greece, or for fear of the fleet lately fitted out by the Syracusans, lest that force should be added to the Lacedæmonians, sent Lamponius admiral with a fleet into Sicily, that under pretence of carrying assistance to the Catinians, they might attempt the mastery of Sicily. And because the first attempts were successful, the enemy being frequently slaughtered, they went to Sicily again with a greater fleet, and a more powerful army, under the admirals Laches and Chariades. But the Catinians, whether for fear of the Athenians, or from their weariness of the war, made peace with the Syracusans, sending back the auxiliary forces of the Athenians.

CHAP. IV. Then some time after the peace being not kept by the Syracusans, they send ambassadors to Athens again, who in mean cloaths, with their hair and beards grown long, and in a habit of vile appearance taken upon them to move pity, go in this mean pickle to the assembly. Tears were added to their prayers, and the supplicants so moved the compassionate people, that the admirals were condemned, who had withdrawn their assistance from them. Wherefore a great fleet is ordered to be fitted out. Nicias and Alcibiades and Lamachus are made commanders, and Sicily is invaded again, with so machus

machus; tantisq; viribus Sicilia repetitur, ut ipsis terrori essent, in quorum auxilia mittebantur. Brevi post tempore, revocato ad reatum Alcibiade, duo praelia pedestria secunda Nicias & Lamachus faciunt. Munitionibus deinde circumdatis, hostes etiam marinis in com meatibus urbe clausos intercludunt. Quibus rebus fracti Syracusani auxilium a Lacedæmoniis petiverunt. Ab his mittitur Gylippus solus, sed in quo instar omnium auxiliorum erat. Is audito in itinere belli jam inclinato statu, auxiliis partim in Græcia, partim in Sicilia contractis, opportuna bello loca occupat. Duobus deinde præliis victus, congressus tertio, occiso Lamacho, & hostes in fugam compulit, & socios obsidione liberavit. Sed cum Athenienses a bello terrestri in navale se transfulissent, Gylippus classem Lacedæmone cum auxiliis arcessit: quo cognito & ipsi Athenienses in locum amissi ducis Demosthenem & Eurymedonta cum supplemento copiarum mittunt. Peloponnesii quoq; communi civitatum decreto ingentia Syracusanis auxilia misere; & quasi Græciæ bellum in Siciliam translatum esset, ita ex utraque parte summis viribus dimicabatur.

CAP. V. Prima igitur congressione navalis certaminis Athenienses vincuntur. Castra quoq; cum omni publica ac privata pecunia amittunt. Super hæc mala, cum etiam terrestri prælio victi essent, tunc Demosthenes censere cœpit, ut abirent Sicilia, dum res quamvis afflicta, nondum tamen perditæ forent; neque in bello male auspiciato amplius perseverandum, esse domi graviora & forsitan infeliciora bella, in quæ servare nos urbis

great a force, that it was a terror to those, to whose assistance it was sent. A short time after, Alcibiades being called home to his tryal, Nicias and Lamachus fight two battles at land with good success. After that, they kept the enemies from all provisions by sea, being shut up within their city by lines drawn about it. By which things the Syracusans being brought low, desired assistance of the Lacedæmonians. Gylippus is only sent by them, but who was as good as all the auxiliary forces they could have sent. He having heard, in his passage, of the declining state of the war, having got together some troops, partly in Greece, partly in Sicily, seizes upon places convenient for the carrying on of the war. After that, being conquered in two battles, engaging in a third and slaying Lamachus, he both put the enemy to flight, and delivered his allies from a siege. But the Athenians having withdrawn themselves from the war at land to the war at sea, Gylippus sends for a fleet from Lacedemon, with troops; which being known, the Athenians themselves too send for Demosthenes and Eurymedon, with a supply of troops in the room of their lost general. The Peloponnesians likewise, by a common decree of the cities, sent great assistance to the Syracusans; and as if the war of Greece was translated into Sicily, so did they engage with their utmost force on both sides.

CHAP. V. Wherefore in the first rencounter at sea, the Athenians are conquered. They lose their camp too with all their public and private money. Over and above these misfortunes, being likewise beat in a fight at land, Demosthenes then begun to advise to quit Sicily, whilst their affairs, tho' bad, were not yet quite ruined; nor ought they to persist any longer in war unluckily begun. There were more considerable, and perhaps more unfortunate, wars at home, for which they ought to save those preparations of the city. Nicias, E
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apparatus oporteat. Nicias, seu pudore male actæ rei, seu metu destitutæ spei civum, seu impellente fato, manere contendit. Reparatur igitur navale bellum, & animi a prioris fortunæ procella ad spem certaminis revocantur. Sed inscitia ducum, qui inter angustias maris tuentes se Syracusanos aggressi fuerant, facile vincuntur. Eurymedon dux in prima acie fortissime dimicans primus cadit. Triginta naves quibus præfuerat, incenduntur. Demosthenes, & Nicias & ipsi victi exercitum in terram deponunt, tutiorem fugam rati itinere terrestri. Ab his relictas centum triginta naves Gylippus invasit; ipsos deinde insequitur, fugientes partim capit, partim cædit. Demosthenes, amisso exercitu, a captivitate gladio & voluntaria morte se vindicat. Nicias autem ne Demosthenis quidem exemplo, ut sibi consuleret, admonitus, cladem suorum auxit dedecore captivitatis.

whether for shame of this ill-managed business, or for fear of baulking the hopes of his countrymen, or his fate pushing him upon it, pleads for staying. Wherefore the war at sea is renewed, and their minds recalled from the storm of their former fortune to the hopes of a battle. But by the unskilfulness of their leaders, who had attacked the Syracusans defending themselves within a narrow pass of the sea, they are easily conquered. Their general Eurymedon is slain, fighting very valiantly in the fore-front of the battle. Thirty ships, which he commanded, are burnt. Demosthenes and Nicias being conquered likewise themselves, set their army on shore, thinking their flight would be more safe by land. Gylippus seized upon a hundred and thirty ships that were left by them, and then pursues them; partly takes them flying, and partly kills them. Demosthenes, the army being lost, delivers himself from captivity by his sword, and a voluntary death. But Nicias being not encouraged by the example even of Demosthenes, to provide for himself, increased the loss of his countrymen, by the disgrace of captivity.

LIBER V.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Alcibiades, Siculi belli concitor, in exilium conjectus, Lacedæmonios ad bellum Atheniensibus inferendum impellit. Huic bello Darius, rex Persarum, accedit socios Lacedæmoniis.*
2. *Alcibiadis res gestæ in patriam, Lacedæmoniis suspectus, negotium illis facessit Tissafernis opera.*
3. *Alcibiades statum reipublicæ mutat; deinde classe instructa, in bellum pergit adversus Lacedæmonios.*
4. *Navalis pugna, & præclara de Lacedæmoniis victis ab Alcibiade reportata victoria. Is desideratus civibus suis Athenas reversus summa cum omnium lætitia accipitur.*
5. *Lacedæmonii Persarum freti auxilio, exercitum Atheniensem, in Asia sparsim opprimunt. Alcibiades ob rem male gestam, veritus populi impetum, denuo in voluntarium exilium proficiscitur.*
6. *Conon, Alcibiadis successor, invalidos & novos milites nactus, infelicitatem rem gerit, & navali prælio superatus, concedit ad Evagoram.*

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7. *Atheniensium tot cladibus fractorum pusillanimitas.*
8. *Lacedemonii victores urbe Athenarum deditone potiuntur. Lysander statum reipublicæ mutat : inde xxx tyranni, & cædes Alcibiadis.*
9. *Theramenes, tyrannorum unus, vir moderatus, a collegis trucidatur. Thrasylbulus rempublicam collapsam restituit, & prælio commisso, xxx tyrannorum sævissimos, Critiam & Hyppolochum, mactat.*
10. *Thrasylbulus popularis fugientes placide revocat : superstites tyrannos urbe pellit ; qui, dum bellum reparare student, comprehensi trucidantur, discordiarum oblivione inter cives sancita.*
11. *Darii mors, inter cujus filios, Artaxerxem & Cyrum, lis de regno : quæ prius in occultum, deinde vero in apertum bellum erumpente, Artaxerxes demum, fratre occiso, & victoria & regno potitur.*

CAPUT I.

DUM Athenienses in Sicilia bellum per biennium cupidius, quam felicius gerunt, interim concitor & dux ejus Alcibiades absens Athenis insimulatur, mysteria Cereris initiorum sacra, nullo magis quam silentio solennia enuntiavisse. Revocatusque a bello ad judicium, five conscientiam five indignitatem rei non ferens, tacitus in exilium Elidem profectus est. Inde, ubi non damnatum se tantum, verum etiam diris per omnium sacerdotum religiones devotum cognovit, Lacedæmona se contulit ; ibique regem Lacedæmoniorum impellit, turbatis Atheniensibus adverso Siciliæ prælio ultro bellum inferre. Quo facto omnia Græciæ regna velut ad extinguendum commune incendium concurrunt. Tantum odium Athenienses immoderati imperii crudelitate contraxerant. Darius quoque rex Persarum, memor paterni avitiq; in hanc urbem odii, facta cum Lacedæmoniis per Tissafernem, præfectum Lydiæ, societate, omnem sumptum belli pollicetur. Et erat hic quidem titulus cum Græcis coeundi ; re autem vera timebat, ne, victis Atheniensibus, ad se Lacedemonii arma transferrent. Quis igitur mire-

WHILST the Athenians carry on the war in Sicily for two years, more eagerly than successfully, in the mean time Alcibiades, the causer and conductor of that war, is accused at Athens in his absence, of having discovered the sacred mysteries of Ceres, solemn for nothing more than secrecy ; and being sent for back from the war to his trial, whether not bearing his guilt, or the indignity of the thing, he withdrew privately to Elis into banishment. After that, when he understood that he was not only condemned, but also devoted to destruction by the ceremonies of all the priests, he betook himself to Lacedemon ; and there persuades the king of the Lacedemonians to make war without more ado upon the Athenians, confounded by the unfortunate battle of Sicily. Which being done, all the states of Greece draw together, as it were to put out a common fire. So much hatred had the Athenians contracted by the cruelty of a tyrannical government. Darius too king of the Persians, mindful of his father's and grandfather's hatred of this city, having made an alliance with the Lacedemonians, by Tissafernes governor of Lydia promises all the charges of the war. And this indeed was his pretence for joining with the Greeks ; but in truth he was afraid, lest, when the Athenians were conquered, the Lacedemonians should carry their arms to him. Who therefore need wonder that the flourishing state of the Athenians fell, when the force of all

tur, tam florentes Atheniensium opes ruisse, cum ad opprimendam unam urbem totius Orientis vires concurrerent? Non tamen inertii, neque incruento cecidere bello; sed præliati ad ultimum, victores etiam interdum, consumpti magis fortunæ varietate, quam vi victi sunt. Principio belli omnes ab his etiam socii desciverant, ut fit: quo se fortuna, eodem etiam favor hominum inclinatur.

CAP. II. Alcibiades quoque motum adversus patriam bellum, non gregarii militis opera; sed imperatoris virtutibus adjuvat. Quippe, acceptis quinque navibus, in Asiam contendit, & tributarias Atheniensibus civitates, auctoritate nominis sui, ad defectionem compellit. Sciebant enim domi clarum, nec exilio videbant factum minorem; nec tam ablatum Atheniensibus ducem, quam Lacedæmoniis traditum; partaque cum amissis imperia pensabant. Sed apud Lacedæmonios virtus Alcibiadis plus invidiæ quam gratiæ contraxit. Itaque cum principes, velut æmulum gloriæ suæ, interficiendum insidiis mandassent, cognita re, Alcibiades per uxorem Agidis regis, quam adulterio cognoverat, ad Tissafernem præfectum Darii regis profugit; cui se celeriter officii comitate & obsequendi gratia insinuavit. Erat enim & ætatis florē & formæ veneratione, nec minus eloquentia, etiam inter Athenienses, insignis; sed in conciliandis amicitiarum studiis, quam in retinendis vir melior, quia morum vitia sub umbra eloquentiæ primo latebant. Igitur persuadet Tissaferni, ne tanta stipendia classis Lacedæmoniorum præberet. Vocandos enim in portionem muneris Iones, quorum pro libertate, cum

the East concurred to ruin one city? Yet they fell not in war without a great struggle, nor without a deal of blood-shedding; but fighting to the last, and sometimes victorious too, they were rather consumed by a variety of fortune, than conquered by force. In the beginning of the war, all their allies too revolted from them, as it happens; for to what side fortune leans, to that does the favour of men incline.

CHAP. II. Alcibiades likewise helps forward the war that was begun against his country, not by the service of a common soldier, but by the qualities of a general. For having received five ships, he goes over into Asia, and obliges the tributary cities of the Athenians to a revolt, by the authority of his name. For they knew him to have been famous at home; nor did they see him made less by his banishment; nor that a general was so much taken from the Athenians, as delivered to the Lacedæmonians; and they weighed the command he had got with that he had lost. But among the Lacedæmonians, the abilities of Alcibiades procured him more of envy than favour. Wherefore when the great men among them had ordered him to be taken off by a plot, as a rival of their glory; Alcibiades having understood the thing by the wife of king Agis, whom he had known in adultery, fled to Tissafernes, a viceroy of king Darius's; to whom he quickly recommended himself, by the complaisance of his compliance, and by the grace of an obsequious attendance; for he was remarkable for the vigour of age, and the handsomess of his person, and no less for his eloquence, even among the Athenians; but a man better at the procuring of friendship, than the holding it, because the faults of his morals at first lay concealed under the shade of his eloquence. Wherefore he persuades Tissafernes, not to furnish the fleet of the Lacedæmonians with so much money; for the Ionians were to be fetched in for a share of that expence, for whose liberty, since

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tributa Atheniensibus penderent, bellum susceptum sit. Sed nec auxiliis nimis enixe Lacedemonios iuvandos; quippe memorem esse debere, alienam se victoriam, non suam instruere; et eatenus bellum sustinendum, ne inopia deferatur. Nam regem Persarum, dissentientibus Græcis, arbitrum pacis ac belli fore; & quos suis non posset, ipsorum armis victurum; perfecto autem bello, statim ei cum victoribus dimicandum. Domesticis itaque bellis Græciam obterendam, ne externis vacet: exæquandasque vires partium, & inferiores auxilio levandos. Non enim quieturos post hanc victoriam Spartanos, qui vindices se libertatis Græciæ professi sint. Grata oratio Tissatæni fuit. Itaque commeatus maligne præbere; classem regiam non totam mittere; ne aut victoriam totam daret, aut necessitatem deponendi belli imponeret.

Wherefore he began to furnish them with provisions very sparingly, and did not send all the royal navy, lest he should give them an entire victory, or lay upon them a necessity of ending the war.

CAP. III. Interea Alcibiades hanc operam civibus venditabat; ad quem cum legati Atheniensium venissent, pollicetur his amicitiam regis, si respublica a populo translata ad senatum foret; sperans, ut aut, concordante civitate, dux belli ab omnibus legeretur; aut, discordia inter ordines facta, ab altera parte in auxilium vocaretur. Sed Atheniensibus, imminente periculo belli, major salutis quam dignitatis cura fuit. Itaque, permittente populo, imperium ad senatum transfertur. Qui cum, insita genti superbia, crudeliter in plebem consuleret, singulis tyrannidis sibi impotentiam vindicantibus, ab exercitu Alcibiades exul revocatur, duxque classi constituitur. Statim igitur Athenas mittit, ex continenti se

they paid tribute to the Athenians, the war was undertaken; but neither were the Lacedemonians to be too eagerly assisted with auxiliaries; for he ought to be mindful, that he was making preparation for the victory of others, not his own; and that the war was so far to be supported, that it might not be forsaken for want. For the king of the Persians, whilst the Greeks were at variance, would be the umpire of peace and war; and would conquer them by their arms, whom he could not conquer by his own; and when the war was ended, he must fight with the conquerors. Wherefore Greece ought to be warded by intestine wars, that it might not be at leisure for foreign wars; and the strength of the parties ought to be equalled, and the weaker side to be supported by assistance. For the Spartans would not be quiet after this victory, who professed themselves the maintainers of the liberty of Greece. This speech was acceptable to Tissafernes.

CHAP. III. In the mean time Alcibiades boasted of this service to his countrymen; to whom when the deputies of the Athenians came, he promised them the king's friendship, if the government was transferred from the people to the senate; hoping that either, if the city should be unanimous, he should be chosen general in the war by them all; or a difference arising among the states, he should be invited by one side to their assistance. But the Athenians, whilst the danger of war hung over them, had a greater concern for their preservation than honour. Wherefore the government is transferred to the senate, the people allowing of it. Who using the common people cruelly, according to the pride natural to that nation, whilst each of them claimed to himself all the exorbitant power of tyranny, the banished Alcibiades is recalled by the army, and made admiral of the fleet. Wherefore he immediately sends to Athens, that he should come

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cum exercitu venturum, recepturumque a quadringentis jura populi, ni ipsi redderent. Hac denunciatione optimates territi primo urbem prodere Lacedæmoniis tentavere; dein, cum id nequissent, in exilium profecti sunt. Igitur Alcibiades intestino malo patria liberata, summa cura classem instruit, atque ita in bellum adversus Lacedæmonios pergit.

CAP. IV. Jam Sesto Mindarus & Pharnabazus Lacedæmoniorum duces instructis navibus expectabant. Prælio commissio victoria penes Athenienses fuit. In eo bello major pars exercitus, & omnes ferme hostium duces cæsi, naves lxxx captæ. Interjectis quoque diebus, cum bellum Lacedæmonii a mari in terram transfulissent, iterato vincuntur. His malis fracti, pacem petiere: Quam ne acciperent, opera eorum effectum est, quibus ea res quæstum præstabat. Interea & Syracusanorum auxilia, illatum a Carthaginensibus Siciliæ bellum, domum revocavit: quibus rebus destitutis Lacedæmoniis, Alcibiades cum classe victrici Asiam vastat; multis locis prælia facit: ubique victor recipit civitates quæ defecerant: nonnullas capit, & imperio Atheniensium adjicit. Atque ita prisca navali gloria vindicata, adjecta etiam laude terrestris belli, desideratus civibus suis Athenas revertitur. His omnibus præliis ducentæ naves hostium & præda ingens capta. Ad hunc redeuntis exercitus triumphum, effusa omnis multitudo obviam procedit: & universos quidem milites, præcipue tamen Alcibiadem mirantur: in hunc oculos civitas universa, in hunc suspensa ora convertit: hunc quasi de cælo missum, & ut ipsam victo-

forthwith, with his army, and take the rights of the people from the four hundred, unless they restored them themselves. *The nobility being terrified at this declaration, at first attempted to betray the city to the Lacedemonians; and when they could not do that, went into banishment. Wherefore Alcibiades having delivered his country from that intestine evil, fits out his fleet with the utmost care, and so proceeds to the war with the Lacedemonians.*

CHAP. IV. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, admirals of the Lacedemonians, were already waiting at Sestus with their ships drawn up. A battle being fought, the victory was the Athenians'. In that battle the greater part of the army, and almost all the enemy's commanders were slain, fourscore ships taken. Some days after too, when the Lacedemonians had removed the war from sea to land, they are conquered again. Being much weakened by these misfortunes, they sued for peace: which that they did not procure, was effected by their means, to whom that thing brought gain. In the mean time likewise, a war made upon Sicily by the Carthaginians, recalled home the auxiliary forces of the Syracusans. By which means the Lacedemonians being left destitute, Alcibiades with his victorious fleet wastes Asia; fights battles in many places; and every where victorious, recovers the cities which had revolted: some he takes, and adds to the empire of the Athenians. And thus their ancient naval glory being recovered, the honour of a successful war at land being added to it, he returns to Athens, much longed for by his countrymen. In all these battles two hundred ships of the enemy, and abundance of plunder was taken. Upon this triumph of the returning army, all the people running out of town, go to meet them, and admire indeed all the soldiers, but especially Alcibiades. All the city turn their eyes upon him, turn their faces up aloft upon him. They gaze at him as sent from heaven, and as victory itself. They commend what he had done for his country; nor do they less admire what he had

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riam contuentur: laudant quæ pro patria, nec minus admirantur quæ exul contra gesserat, excusantes ipsi, iratum provocatumque fecisse. Enimvero tantum in uno viro fuisse momenti, ut maximi imperii subversi & rursum recepti auctor esset; & unde stetisset, eo se victoria transferret: fieretque cum eo mira quædam fortunæ inclinatio. Igitur omnibus non humanis tantum verum & divinis eum honoribus onerant; certant secum ipsi, utrum contumeliosius eum expulerint, an revocaverint honoratius. Ipsos illi deos gratulantes tulere obviam, quorum execrationibus erat devotus. Et cui paulo ante omnem humanam opem interdixerant, eum, si queant, in cœlo posuisse cupiunt. Explent contumelias honoribus, detrimenta muneribus, execrationes precibus. Non Siciliæ illis adversa pugna in ore est, sed Græciæ victoria; non clâsses per illum amissæ sed acquisitæ; nec Syracusarum, sed Ionîæ, Hellepontique meminerunt. Sic Alcibiades nunquam medicoribus, nec in offensa, nec in favore, studiis suorum exceptus est.

CAP. V. Dum hæc aguntur, a Lacedæmoniis Lysander classi belloque præficitur, & in locum Tissafernis, Darius, rex Persarum, filium suum Cyrum Ionîæ Lydiæque præposuit; qui Lacedæmonios auxillis opibusque; ad spem fortunæ prioris erexit. Aucti igitur viribus, Alcibiadem cum centum navibus in Asiam profectum, dum agros longa pace divites securius populatur, & prædæ dulcedine, sine insidiarum metu sparsos milites habet, repentino adventu oppressere; tantaque cædes palantium fuit, ut plus vulneris eo prælio Athenienses

done against it, when a banished man, excusing it themselves, that he did it in anger, and provoked. And indeed it is strange, that there was so much weight in one man, that he was the cause of a very great empire's being subverted, and again of its being recovered: and victory always removed herself to the side on which he stood; and there was a wonderful alteration of fortune with them. Wherefore they loaded him not only with all human honours, but divine too; they themselves strive with themselves, whether they should have driven him out more contumeliously, or recalled him more honourably. They carried the gods to meet and congratulate him, by whose execrations they had been cursed. And they desire, if they could, to place him in heaven, whom they had a little before debarred all human assistance. They made amends for their ill usage of him by honours, the damage done him by presents, their curses of him by prayers. The unfortunate battle of Sicily is not in their mouths, but the conquest of Greece; not the fleets that were lost by him, but those that were gained: nor did they make any mention of Syracuse, but of Ionia, and the Hellespont. Thus Alcibiades was never entertained by his countrymen with indifferency, neither in their anger, nor their favour.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things are doing, Lysander is set over the fleet and the war by the Lacedæmonians; and Darius, king of the Persians, made his son Cyrus governor of Ionia and Lydia, in room of Tissafernes; who raised the Lacedæmonians, by his aids and assistance to the hope of their former fortune. Wherefore being increased in strength, by their sudden coming they surprize Alcibiades, who was gone into Asia with a hundred ships, whilst he securely lays waste the country enriched by a long peace, and has his soldiers dispersed, thro' the temptation of the plunder, without any apprehension of a design upon them: and such was the slaughter of the scattered soldiers, that

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nientes acciperent, quam superioribus dederant; & tanta desperatione apud Athenienses erat, ut ex continenti Alcibiadem ducem Conone mutarent; arbitantes victos se non fortuna belli, sed fraude imperatoris; apud quem plus prior offensa valuisset, quam recentia beneficia. Vicissie autem eum priore bello ideo tantum, ut ostenderet hostibus, quem ducem sprevisent, & ut carius eis ipsam victoriam venderet. Omnia enim credibilia in Alcibiade, vigor ingenii, & morum luxuria faciebat. Veritus itaq; multitudinis impetum, denuo in voluntarium exilium proficiscitur.

CAP. VI. Itaque Conon Alcibiadi successus, habens ante oculos cui duci successisset, classem maxima industria exornat; sed navibus exercitus deerat, fortissimis quibusque in Asiae populatione amissis. Armantur tamen senes aut impuberes pueri, & numerus militum sine exercitus robore expletur. Sed non magnam bello moram ætas fecit inbellis; cæduntur passim aut fugientes capiuntur; tantaque strages aut occisorum, aut captivorum fuit, ut Atheniensium deletum non imperium tantum verum etiam nomen videretur. Quo prælio perditis & desperatis rebus, ad tantam inopiam rediguntur, ut consumpta militari ætate peregrinis civitatem, servis libertatem, damnatis impunitatem darent. Ex qua collusione hominum conscripto exercitu, domini antea Græciæ, vix libertatem tuebantur. Iterum tamen fortunam maris experiendam decernunt. Tanta virtus animorum erat, ut cum paulo ante salutem desperaverint, nunc non desperent victoriam. Sed neque is miles erat, qui no-

the Athenians sustained more damage in that battle, than they had done the enemy in the former. And so great was the despair among the Athenians, that they immediately changed their general Alcibiades for Conon; thinking themselves conquered, not by the fortune of the war, but by the treachery of their commander, upon whom their former offence wrought more than their late favours. And that he therefore only conquered in the former war, that he might shew the enemy what a general they had despised, and that he might sell them the victory the dearer. For the vigour of his parts, and the luxury of his manners, made all things credible in Alcibiades. Wherefore fearing the violence of the mob, he again goes into voluntary banishment.

CHAP. VI. Wherefore Conon being put in the room of Alcibiades, having before his eyes what a general he had succeeded, fits out a fleet with the utmost application; but an army was wanting to fill the ships, the stoutest men being all slain in the wasting of Asia. Yet old men are armed, or young boys, and the number of the soldiers is made up, without the strength of an army. But this feeble age occasion no long continuance of the war. They are slaughtered every where, or taken flying; and so great was the loss either of the slain or prisoners, that not only the power of the Athenians, but their name too seemed extinct. By which battle their affairs being ruined and desperate, they are reduced to so great a want of men that the military age being destroyed, they gave the freedom of their city to foreigners, liberty to the slaves, and impunity to the condemned. Out of which rabble of men having raised an army, they that had before been Lords of Greece, with much ado maintained their liberty. However, they resolve to try their fortune at sea again. Such was the mettle of their minds, that, tho' a little before they had despaired of safety, now they did not despair of victory. But neither was that the soldiery that could defend the Athenian name; nor that the strength with which

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men Atheniensium tueretur; neq; eæ vires, quibus vincere consue- rant; neq; ea scientia militaris in his quos vincula, non castra con- tinuerant. Itaq; omnes aut capti aut occisi. Cum dux Conon eo prælio superfuisset solus, crude- litatem civium metuens cum octo navibus ad regem Cyprium con- cedit Evagoram.

CAP. VII. At dux Lace- dæmoniorum, rebus feliciter ge- stis, fortunæ hostium insultat; captivas naves cum præda belli- ca in triumphi modum ornatas mittit Lacedæmona; ac tributa- rias Atheniensium civitates, quas metus dubiæ belli fortunæ in fide tenuerat, voluntarias rece- pit, nec aliud ditionis Athenien- sium præter urbem ipsam reli- quit. Quæ cuncta cum Athenis nuntiata essent, omnes relictis domibus per urbem discurrere pavidi; alius alium sciscitari; auctorem nuntii requirere. Non pueros imprudentia, non senes debilitas, non mulieres sexus im- becillitas, domi tenet; adeo ad omnem ætatem tanti mali sensus penetraverat. In foro deinde coeunt, atque ibi perpeti nocte fortunam publicam questibus i- terant. Alii fratres, aut filios, aut parentes deslent; cognatos alii, alii amicos cognatis cario- res, & cum privatis casibus que- relam publicam miscent: jam se- ipsos, jam ipsam patriam peritu- ram, miserioremque incolumium quam amissorum fortunam, judi- cantes; sibi quisque ante ocu- los obsidionem, famem, & super- bum victoremque hostem proponen- tes; jam ruinam urbis & in- cendia, jam omnium captivitatem & miserrimam servitutem recor- dantes, feliciores propterea priores urbis ruinas ducentes, quæ, inco- lumibus filiis parentibusque, tec- torum tantum ruina taxata sint.

they had been accustomed to conquer, nor that the skill in war in those, whom chains, not a camp had conjoined. Where- fore they were all either taken, or slain. As the general Conon alone survived that battle, fearing the cruelty of his country- men, he goes with eight ships to the king of Cyprus, Evagoras.

CHAP. VII. But the general of the Lacedemonians having managed his busi- ness successfully, insults over the enemy's fortune, sends the ships he had taken, a- dorned with the spoils of war, in manner of a triumph to Lacedemon, and recovers the tributary cities of the Athenians, whom the fear of the doubtful fortune of war had kept in their duty, of their own free con- sent. Nor did he leave any thing else in subjection to the Athenians, besides the city itself. All which things being told at A- thenis, they all of them leaving their hou- ses, run affrighted thro' the town; one ask- ed another, and enquired after the bringer of this news. Neither does their impru- dence contain the boys at home, nor their weakness the old men, nor the infirmity of their sex the women; the sense of so great a calamity had so effectually reached to eve- ry age. Then they meet in the forum, and there all night long lament the public for- tune. Some bewail their brothers, or sons, or parents; others their relations; others friends dearer than relations; and mix their public complaints with their pri- vate misfortunes: judging, that now they themselves, now their country would be ruined; that the fortune of the survi- vors was more miserable than that of those that had been lost; every one set- ting before his eyes a siege, famine, and a proud and a victorious enemy: now representing to himself the ruin and burning of their city, now the captivi- ty and most miserable slavery of them all; looking upon the former ruin of their city, as much more happy, which was rated at the ruin of their houses only, whilst their sons and parents were safe. But now there was no fleet left,

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Nunc autem non classem, in quam, sicuti pridem, confugiant, superesse; non exercitum, cujus virtute servati pulciora possent mania extruere.

CAP. VIII. Sic defletæ ac prope perditæ urbi hostes superveniunt, & obsidione circumdatos fame urgent. Sciebant enim neque ex advectis copiis multum superesse, & ne novæ advehi possent, providerant. Quibus malis Athenienses fracti post longam famem, & assidua suorum funera, pacem petivere; quæ an dari deberet, diu inter Spartanos sociosque deliberatum. Cum multi delendum Atheniensium nomen urbemque incendio consumendam censerent; negarunt se Spartani ex duobus Græciæ oculis alterum eruturos; pacem polliciti, si demissa Piræum versus muri brachia dejicerent navesq; quæ reliquæ forent, traderent; resque publica ex semetipsis xxx rectores acciperet. In has leges traditam sibi urbem Lacedæmonii formandam Lysandro tradiderunt. Insignis hic annus & expugnatione Athenarum, & morte Darii regis Persarum, & exilio Dionysii Siciliae tyranni fuit. Mutato statu Athenarum, etiam civium conditio mutatur, Triginta rectores reipublicæ constituuntur, qui fiunt tyranni; quippe a principio tria millia sibi satellitum statuunt, quantum ex tot cladibus prope nec civium superfuera; & quasi parvus hic ad continendam civitatem exercitus esset, septingentos milites a victoribus accipiunt. Cædes deinde civium ab Alcibiade auspicantur, ne iterum rempublicam sub obtentu liberationis invaderet. Quem cum profectum ad Artaxerxem Persarum regem comperissent; citato itinere miserunt, qui eum

to which they could fly, as formerly; not an army, by whose courage being saved, they might be able to build a finer city.

CHAP. VIII. The enemy came up to the city thus bewailed, and almost ruined, and distressed them, being shut up by a siege with famine. For they knew that there was not much left of the stores that had been laid in; and they had taken care that no fresh ones should be brought in. By which the Athenians being quite broken, after a long famine, and continual loss of men, they sued for peace; which, whether it should be granted them or no, was debated a long time between the Spartans and their allies. When several were of opinion, that the name of the Athenians ought to be utterly abolished, and their city destroyed by fire; the Spartans denied that they would put out one of the two eyes of Greece. They promised them a peace, if they would level the arms of the wall that extended to Piræus, and deliver up the ships which were left; and the commonwealth would receive thirty governors from themselves. The Lacedæmonians delivered up the city, surrendered to them upon these terms, to Lysander to settle. This year was remarkable both for the taking of Athens, and the death of Darius, king of the Persians, and the banishment of Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. The state of Athens being changed, the condition of the citizens is likewise changed. Thirty governors of the commonwealth are appointed, who become tyrants, for at the very beginning they appointed for themselves three thousand life-guard's-men, as many citizens as were hardly left after so many slaughters: and, as if this army was too little to keep the city in awe, they received seven hundred soldiers from the conquerors. They begin the murder of the citizens with Alcibiades, lest he should seize the government again, under pretence of delivering the Athenians. Whom when they understood to be going over to Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, they sent some in all haste to intercept him: by whom being beset, be-

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interciperent: a quibus occupatus, cum occidi aperte non posset, vivus in cubiculo, in quo dormiebat, crematus est.

CAP. IX. Liberati hoc ultoris metu tyranni miseras urbis reliquias cædibus & rapinis exhauriunt. Quod cum displicere uni ex numero suo Therameni didicissent, ipsum quoq; ad terrorem omnium interficiunt. Fit igitur ex urbe passim omnium fuga, repleturque Græcia Atheniensium exulibus; quod etiam ipsum auxilium cum miseris eriperetur (nam Lacedæmoniorum edicto civitates exules recipere prohibebantur;) omnes se Argos & Thebas contulere. Ibi non solum tutum exilium egerunt, verum etiam spem recuperandæ patriæ receperunt. Erat inter exules Thrasylbulus, vir strenuus & domi nobilis, qui audendum aliquid pro patria & pro salute communi, etiam cum periculo, ratus; adunatis exulibus castellum Phylon Atticorum finium occupat. Nec deerat quarundam civitatum tam crudeles casus miserantium favor. Itaq; Ismenias, Thebanorum princeps, et si publicis non poterat, privatis tamen viribus adjuvabat; & Lysias Syracusanus orator, exultunc, quingentos milites stipendio suo instructos in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentiæ misit. Fit itaq; asperum prælium. Sed cum hinc pro patria summis viribus, inde pro aliena dominatione securius pugnaretur, tyranni vincuntur. Victi in urbem refugerunt; quam exhaustam cædibus suis etiam armis spoliant. Deinde cum omnes Athenienses proditoris suspectos haberent, demigrare eos ex urbe jubent, & in brachiis muri quæ diruta fuerant, habitare, extraneis militibus imperi-

because he could not be openly slain, he was burnt alive in the chamber, in which he was asleep.

CHAP. IX. The tyrants being delivered from this apprehension of an avenger, consume the miserable remains of the city by slaughter and rapine. Which when they found displeased one of their number, Theramenes, they kill him too, for a terror to the rest. Upon which the people fly from the town, and Greece is filled with the Athenian exiles. Which relief being likewise taken from the miserable (for by an edict of the Lacedæmonians, the cities were forbid to receive the exiles) they all betook themselves to Argos and Thebes. There they had not only a secure banishment, but likewise received hopes of recovering their country. There was amongst the exiles one Thrasylbulus, a gallant man, and of noble extraction in his country; who thinking that something was to be ventured on for his country, and the common safety, even with hazard; having drawn together the exiles, he seized upon Phyle, a fort upon the borders of Attica. Nor was the favour of some cities wanting, that pitied such hard hap. Wherefore Ismenias, a leading man of the Thebans, tho' he could not assist them with the public force, yet assisted them with his private abilities; and Lysias the Syracusan orator, at that time a banished man, sent five hundred men, raised at his own charge, to the relief of the common country of eloquence: wherefore a desperate battle is fought. But as they fought on one side for their country with all their might, and on the other side more carelessly for the dominion of others, the tyrants are conquered. Being routed, they fly into the city, which being already exhausted by slaughter, they likewise deprive of its arms. After that, as they suspected all the Athenians of treachery, they order them to remove out of the city, and to dwell upon the arms of the wall that had been pulled down; defending their authority with foreign soldiers. After this they endeavour to corrupt Thrasylbulus, promising him a

um tuentes. Post hæc Thrasymbulum corrumpere, imperii societatem pollicentes, conantur; quod cum non contigisset, auxilia a Lacedæmoniis petivere; quibus accitis, iterato præliantur. In eo bello Critias & Hippolochus, omnium tyrannorum sævissimi, cadunt.

CAP. X. Cæteris victis, cum exercitus eorum, ex quibus major pars Atheniensium erat, fugerat, magna voce Thrasymbulus exclamat, *Cur se victorem fugiant, potius quam ut vindicem communis libertatis adjuvent? Civium illiam meminerint aciem, non hostium esse; nec se ideo arma cepisse, ut aliqua victis adimat, sed ut adempta restituat: xxx se dominis non civitati bellum inferre.* Admonet deinde cognationis, legum, sacrorum communium, tum vetusti per tot bella commilitii. Orat, *misereantur exulum civium, si tam patienter ipsi serviant; reddant sibi patriam, accipiant libertatem.* His vocibus tantum promotum est, ut reversus in urbem exercitus xxx tyrannos emigrare Eleusina juberet, substitutis decem, qui rempublicam regerent; qui, nihil exemplo prioris dominationis territi, eandem viam crudelitatis aggressi sunt. Dum hæc aguntur, nunciatur Lacedæmone bellum Athenis exarxisse; ad quod comprimendum Pausanias rex mittitur; qui misericordia exulis populi permotus patriam miseris civibus restituit, & decem tyrannos ex urbe Eleusina migrare ad cæteros jubet. Quibus rebus cum pax statuta esset, interjectis diebus, repente tyranni, non minus restitutos exules, quam se in exilium actos indignantes, quasi vero aliorum libertas, sua servitus esset, bellum Atheniensibus inferunt. Sed

share of their authority: which not succeeding, they begged assistance of the Lacedæmonians; which being sent for, they engage the enemy again. In the battle Critias and Hippolochus, the cruellest of all the tyrants, fall.

CHAP. X. *The rest being defeated, when their army, of which the greatest part were Athenians, fled, Thrasymbulus cries out with a loud voice, Why did they fly from him now conqueror, rather than assist him as the assertor of their common liberty? They should remember that was an army of citizens, not enemies; and that he had not therefore taken arms to take any things from the conquered, but to restore those that had been taken from them; that he made war upon the thirty tyrants, not upon the city. Then he puts them in mind of their relation, of their laws, their common religious rites, and also of their old fellowship in so many wars. He begs, they would commiserate their banished countrymen, if they themselves were slaves so patiently; that they would restore them their country, and receive their liberty. By these words so much was effected that the army returning into the city ordered the thirty tyrants to be gone to Eleusis, ten commissioners being put in their room to govern the commonwealth; who being not at all terrified by the example of the former tyranny, went on in the same way of cruelty. Whilst these things are doing, news is carried to Lacedæmon, that a war was broke out at Athens; to quell which, king Pausanias is sent; who moved with pity to the banished people, restor'd their country to the miserable citizens, and ordered the ten tyrants to remove out of the city to Eleusis, to the rest. By which means a peace being settled, some days after, on a sudden the tyrants, being no less incensed that the banished Athenians were restored, than that they themselves were forced into banishment, as if indeed the liberty of others was their sla-*

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ad colloquium, veluti dominationem recepturi, progressi, per insidias comprehensi, ut pacis victimæ trucidantur: populus, quem emigrare jusserant, in urbem revocatur. Atque ita per multa membra civitas dissipata in unum tandem corpus redigitur. Et ne qua dissensio ex antea actis nasceretur, omnes jurejurando obstringuntur discordiarum oblivionem fore. Interea Thebani Corinthiiq; legatos ad Lacedæmonios mittunt; qui ex manubiis portionem prædæ communis belli periculiq; peterent. Quibus negatis, non quidem aperte bellum adversus Lacedæmonios decernunt; sed tacitis animis tantam iram concipiunt, ut subesse bellum intelligi posset.

CAP. XI. Eodem fere tempore Darius rex Persarum moritur, Artaxerxe & Cyro filiis relictis. Regnum Artaxerxi, Cyro civitates quarum præfectus erat, testamento legavit. Sed Cyro judicium patris, injuria videbatur. Itaque occulte adversus fratrem bellum parabat. Quod cum nuntiatum Artaxerxi esset, arcessitum ac se fratrem, & innocentiam dissimulatione belli simulantem compedibus aureis vinxit, interfecissetq; ni mater prohibuisset. Dimissus igitur Cyrus, jam non occulte bellum, sed palam; nec per dissimulationem, sed aperta professione parare cœpit; auxilia undiq; contrahit. Lacedæmonii memores, Atheniensi bello enixe ejus opera adjutos, velut ignorantes contra quem bellum pararetur, decernunt auxilia Cyro mittenda, ubi res ejus exegisset; quærentes apud Cyrum gratiam; & apud Artaxerxem, si vicisset, veniæ patrocinia, cum nihil adversus eum aperte

very, make war upon the Athenians. But going to a conference, as if it were to receive again their authority, being seized by treachery, they are slain as the victims of peace. The people whom they had ordered to quit to the town, are recalled into the city. And thus the city, which was divided into several members, is at last reduced into one body: and that no difference might arise from what had been before transacted, all are obliged by oath, that there should be an oblivion of former quarrels. In the mean time the Thebans, and the Corinthians send ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, to desire a part of the plunder of the common war and danger out of the spoils. Which being denied them they do not indeed openly resolve upon a war against the Lacedæmonians, but conceive so great a resentment in their silent minds, that it might be understood that war was a hatching.

CHAP. XI. Almost about the same time Darius, king of the Persians, dies, leaving two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus. He left by will his kingdom to Artaxerxes, to Cyrus the cities of which he had been governor. But the judgement of his father seemed to Cyrus an injury. Wherefore he privately levied war against his brother. Which when it was told to Artaxerxes, he bound his brother with golden chains, being sent for to him, and pretending innocence, by a concealment of the designs of war, and would have slain him, if his mother had not hindered it. Wherefore Cyrus being dismissed, begun now to prepare for war, not clandestinely, but publicly; not by dissembling the matter, but by an open profession of it; and gets troops together from all parts. The Lacedæmonians being mindful that they had been vigorously assisted by his means in the Athenian war, resolve that aid should be sent Cyrus, wheresoever his affairs should require; seeking to curry favour with Cyrus, and a plea for pardon with Artaxerxes, if he should prevail, because they decreed nothing openly against him. But in the war, the fortune of battle having brought both the brothers de-

decrevisſent. Sed cum in bello fors prælii utrumq; fratrem pugnae obtuliſſet, prior Artaxerxes a fratre vulneratur; quem cum equi fuga periculo ſubtraxiſſet, Cyrus a cohorte regia oppreſſus interficitur. Sic victor Artaxerxes & præda fraterni belli & exercitu potitur. In eo prælio decem millia Græcorum in auxilio Cyri ſuere: quæ & in cornu, in quo ſteterant, vicerunt; & poſt mortem Cyri, neque armis a tanto exercitu vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertentesque inter tot indomitas nationes & barbaras gentes, per tanta itineris ſpatia, virtute ſe uſque terminos patriæ defendunt.

to fight together. Artaxerxes is firſt wounded by his brother: who being delivered from danger by the flight of his horſe, Cyrus, being overpowered by the king's battalion, is ſlain. Thus Artaxerxes being conqueror, gets both the plunder of this war againſt his brother, and his army. In that battle were ten thouſand Greeks for the aſſiſtance of Cyrus; which both conquered in the wing, in which they ſtood, and after the death of Cyrus, could neither be conquered by arms by ſo great an army, nor taken by ſtratagem; and returning through ſo many wild and barbarous nations, through ſo long a march, defended themſelves by their courage to the borders of their country.

LIBER VI.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Lacedæmonii Aſiæ imperium affectantes bellum movent. Rex Perſarum Athenienſibus per Cononem auxilium concedit.*
2. *Lacedæmonii ducem exercitus Ageſilaum præficiunt. Cononis prudenter & fortiter geſta.*
3. *Piſandri & Cononis pugna, in qua Lacedæmonii victi.*
4. *Inclinatio fortunæ Lacedæmoniorum, quam Ageſilai fortitudo ſuſtentat.*
5. *Athenienſes Iphicratem & Cononem Lacedæmoniis opponunt. Athenæ ex Lacedæmoniorum ſpoliis inſtaurantur.*
6. *Græciæ pax a rege Perſæaum indiſta, quam Lacedæmonii magno ſuo malo turbant.*
7. *Thebani Lacedæmonios laceſſunt; unde dubia Martis alea, & pugna ad Mantineam.*
8. *Epaminondæ fortiſſimi Thebanorum ducis interitus, & elogium.*
9. *Totius Græciæ labes poſt Epaminondæ obitum.*

CAPUT I.

LACEDÆMONII, more ingenii humani, quo plura habent, eo ampliora cupientes, non contenti acceſſione Athenienſium opum vires ſibi duplicatas, totius Aſiæ imperium affectare cœperunt: ſed major pars ſub regno Perſarum erat.

THE Lacedemonians, according to the uſual temper of mankind, the more they have, the more deſiring, not content that their ſtrength was doubled by the addition of the Athenian power, begun to affect the empire of all Aſia. But the greater part of it was under the dominion of the Perſians. Wherefore Her-
Itaque

Itaque Hercyllides, dux in hanc militiam electus, cum videret, sibi adversus duos præfectos Artaxerxis regis, Pharnabazum & Tissafernem, maximarum gentium viribus succinctos, dimicandum, pacificari cum altero statuit. Aptior visus Tissafernes, vir & industria potior, & militibus Cyri, quondam regis, instructior, in colloquium vocatur, &, statutis conditionibus, ab armis dimittitur. Hanc rem Pharnabazus apud communem regem criminatur: ut *Lacedæmonios Asiam ingressos non repulerit armis, sed impensis regiis aluerit, merceturque ab his, quæ differant bella, quæ gerant, tanquam non ad unius summam imperii detrimentum omne perveniat.* Indignum, ait, bella non perfici, sed redimi; hostem pretio non armis summoveri. His vocibus regem Tissaferni alienatum hortatur, ut in locum ejus, navalis belli ducem eligat Conona Atheniensem, qui, amissa bello patria, Cypri exulabat: quippe Atheniensibus, etsi fractæ sunt opes, manere tamen navalem usum: nec si eligendus sit ex universis, meliorem alium esse. Acceptis igitur quingentis talentis, jussus est Conona classi præficere.

CAP. II. His cognitis, Lacedæmonii & ipsi a rege Ægypti Hercynione auxilia navalis belli per legatos petunt; a quo centum triremes, & sexcenta millia modiorum frumenti missa. A cæteris quoque sociis ingentia auxilia contracta sunt. Sed tanto exercitui, & contra tantum ducem, deerat dignus imperator. Itaque postulantibus sociis Agesilaum ducem, regem tunc Lacedæmoniorum, propter responsum oraculi Delphici, diu

cyllides being chosen general for this war, when he saw that he was engaged against two viceroys of Artaxerxes, Pharnabazus and Tissafernes, supported by the strength of very great nations, he resolves to make peace with one of them. Tissafernes seeming the more proper, a man both preferable to the other for his application to business, and better furnished with the soldiers of Cyrus lately king, is invited to a conference, and dismissed from arms upon articles agreed on. This thing Pharnabazus makes matter of accusation to their common sovereign; That he had not repelled by arms the Lacedemonians entering Asia, but maintained them at the king's charge, and bought from them the privilege of directing what wars they should put off, and what they should carry on, as if the damage did not redound to the main interest of one empire. He says, it was a scandalous thing, that their wars should not be finished by the sword, but bought off; and that the enemy should be repulsed by money, not by arms. He advises the king, being alienated from Tissafernes by these words, to chuse Conon the Athenian commander of the war by sea in his room, who having lost his country in the war, was in banishment in Cyprus. For altho' the power of the Athenians was broken, yet their experience in sea affairs continued: nor was there another better than him, though one was to be chosen out of them all. Wherefore having received 500 talents, he was ordered to set Conon over the fleet.

CHAP. II. *These things being known, the Lacedemonians likewise themselves desired by their ambassadors assistance for the war at sea, of Hercynion king of Egypt, by whom a hundred galleys with three banks of oars, and six hundred thousand modii of corn were sent. A great many troops too were drawn together from the rest of their allies. But a worthy commander was wanting to so great an army, and against so great a general. Wherefore the allies, demanding Agesilaus, for their general, then king of the Lacedemonians, the Lacedemonians debated a long time whether*

Lace-

Lacedæmonii, an eum summæ rei præponerent, deliberaverunt: quibus futurus imperii finis denunciabatur, cum regium claudicasset imperium: erat enim pede claudus. Ad postremum statuerunt, melius esse incessu regem, quam imperio regnum claudicare. Posteaquam Agesilaum cum ingentibus copiis in Asiam misere; non facile dixerim, quod aliud par ducum tam bene comparatum fuerit: quippe ætas, virtus, consilium, sapientia utrique prope una; gloria quoque rerum gestarum eadem: quibus cum paria omnia fortuna dederit, invictum tamen ab altero utrumque servavit. Magnus igitur amborum apparatus belli, magnæ res gestæ fuerunt. Sed Cononem seditio militum invadit, quos præfecti regis fraudare stipendio soliti erant, eo instantius debita poscentibus, quo graviores sub magno duce militiam præsumebant. Itaque Conon, diu rege per epistolas fatigato, ad postremum ipse ad eum pergit; a cuius aspectu & colloquio prohibitus est, quod eum more Persarum adorare nollet. Agit tamen cum eo per internuntios, & queritur, *opulentissimi regis bella inopia dilabi, & qui exercitum parem hostibus habeat, pecunia vinci, qua præstet, inferioremque cum ea parte virium inveniri, qua longe superior sit.* Postulat dari sibi ministrum impensæ, quia pluribus id mandare perniciosum sit. Dato stipendio, ad classem remittitur: nec moram agendis rebus facit: multa fortiter, multa feliciter agit: agros hostiles vastat: urbes expugnat; & quas tempestas quædam, cuncta prosternit. Quibus rebus territi Lacedæmonii, ad patriæ subsidium, revocandum ab Asia Agesilaum decernunt.

they should place him in the chief command, because of an answer of the Delphian oracle; to whom it was declared, there should be an end of their empire, when the kingly authority was lame, for he was lame of a foot. At last they determined that it was better that the king should be lame in his gate, than the kingdom in its government. After they sent Agesilaus with a great army into Asia: I cannot easily say, what other pair of generals was so well matched: for their age, virtue, conduct, wisdom, was the same in both, as the glory of their exploits the same: to whom tho' fortune had given all things equal, yet she kept them each of them unconquered by the other. Great therefore were both their preparations for war, and great their exploits. But a mutiny of the soldiers assailed Conon, whom the king's lieutenants were used to cheat of their pay, demanding arrears the more earnestly, by how much the more grievous they presumed the service would be under a great general. Wherefore Conon having solicited the king a long time by letters in vain, at last goes himself to him; the sight and speech of whom he was debarred, because he would not adore him after the manner of the Persians. Yet he treats with him by messengers, and complains, that the wars of the richest king in the world came to nothing for want of money; and that he who had an army equal to the enemy's, was outdone in money, in which he exceeded them, and was found inferior in that part of his strength in which he was vastly superior. He desires one paymaster may be assigned him, because it was dangerous to entrust that business to several. Money for the soldier's pay being given him, he is sent back to the fleet. Nor did he make any delay to enter upon action: he does many things gallantly, many things fortunately: he wastes the enemies country, takes their cities, and like a tempest bears down all before him. At which things the Lacedæmonians being frightened, resolve to recall Agesilaus out of Asia, to the relief of his country.

CAP.

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CAP. III. Interim Pisandrus ab Agefilao proficiscente dux patriæ relictus ingentem classem summis viribus instruit, fortunam belli tentaturus. Nec non & Conon, tunc primum cum hostium exercitu concursurus, magna cura ordinat suos. Summa igitur non tam ducum in eo prælio, quam militum æmulatio fuit. Nam & ipse dux Conon non tam Persis, quam patriæ studebat; & sicut afflictis Atheniensium rebus, auctor amissæ dominationis fuerat; sic volebat idem haberi redditæ, patriamque vincendo recipere, quam victus amiserat; eo speciosius quod ne ipsorum quidem Atheniensium, sed alieni imperii viribus dimicaret, pugnaturus periculo regis, victurus præmio patriæ; gloriamque diversis artibus quam priores civitatis suæ duces consecuturus: quippe illos, vincendo Persas, patriam defendisse; se, Persas victores faciendo, restitutum patriam esse. Porro Pisandrus pro conjunctione Agefilai, etiam virtutum æmulator erat; contendebatque, ne a rebus gestis ejus & gloriæ splendore decederet; neve tot bellis ac sæculis quæsitum imperium brevis momenti culpa subverteret. Eadem militum & omnium remigum cura erat, quos major sollicitudo cruciabat, non tam ne ipsi quæsitæ opes amitterent, quam ne pristinas Athenienses reciperent. Sed quanto majus prælium fuit, tanto & clarior victoria Cononis. Victi Lacedæmonii fugam capeffunt. Præsidia hostium Athenis deducuntur. Populo restituta dignitate conditio servilis eripitur; multæ quoque civitates recipiuntur.

CAP. IV. Hoc initium Atheniensibus resumendæ po-

CHAP. III. In the mean time Pisander being left general for his country by Agefilaus when he went, fits out a great fleet with all his might, designing to try the fortune of war. And Conon too, being then first to engage with the enemy's army, puts his men in order with great care. There was therefore the greatest emulation, not so much of the generals in that battle, as of the soldiers. For the general too, Conon himself, was not so much concerned for the Persians, as his country; and as in the low estate of the Athenians, he had been the occasion of their losing their sway, so he had a mind to be accounted the author of its being restored, and to recover his country by conquering, which he had lost by being conquered; so much the more gloriously, that he did not fight with the force of the Athenians themselves, but of a foreign empire, and should engage at the hazard of the king; but conquer to the advantage of his country, and acquire glory by arts different from those, by which the former generals of his country had got theirs: for as they had defended their country by conquering the Persians, he should restore his country by making the Persians victorious. Moreover Pisander was, by reason of his relation to Agefilaus, an emulator of his virtues, and endeavoured not to be short of his exploits, and the splendor of his glory: and that he might not subvert an empire that had been got by so many wars and ages, by a mi carriage of a short space of time. The concern of all the soldiers and rowers were the same, whom a great anxiety disturbed, not so much lest they should lose the power they had got, as lest the Athenians should recover their former might. But the greater the battle was, so much the more famous too was the victory of Conon. The Lacedæmonians being conquered, take a flight: the enemy's garrisons are withdrawn from Athens: their dignity being restored to the people, their servile condition is taken away: many cities too are recovered.

CHAP. IV. This was to the Athenians the beginning of resuming their
F tentiæ

tentiæ & Lacedæmoniis habendæ finis fuit. Namque velut cum imperio etiam virtutem perdidissent, contemni a finitimis cœpere. Primi igitur Thebani, auxiliantibus Atheniensibus, bellum his intulere; quæ civitas ex infimis incrementis virtute Epaminondæ ducis ad spem imperii Graciæ erecta est. Fit itaque terrestre prælium, eadem Lacedæmoniorum fortuna, qua pugnatum adversus Cononam navali prælio fuerat. In eo bello Lysander, quo duce Athenienses victi a Lacedæmoniis fuerant, interficitur. Pausanias quoque, alter dux Lacedæmoniorum, proditiōis accusatus in exilium abiit. Igitur Thebani potiti victoria universum exercitum ad urbem Lacedæmoniorum ducunt, facilem expugnationem rati, quoniam deserti a sociis omnibus erant; quod metuentes Lacedæmonii, regem suum Agesilaum ex Asia, qui ibi magnas res gerebat, ad defensionem patriæ arcessunt. Occiso enim Lysandro nullius alterius fiduciam ducis habebant. Cujus quoniam serus adventus erat, conscripto exercitu, obviam hosti procedunt. Sed victis adversus paulo ante victores nec animus, neque vires pares fuere. Prima igitur congressione funduntur. Deletis jam suorum copiis supervenit rex Agesilaus, qui restituto prælio, non difficulter, recepti & multis expeditionibus indurato milite, hostibus victoriam eripuit; ipse tamen graviter sauciatur.

CAP. V. Quibus rebus cognitis, Athenienses verentes ne, iterum Lacedæmoniis victoribus, in pristinam sortem servitutis redigerentur, exercitum contrahunt, cumque in auxilium Bœotiorum per Iphicraten, vi-

power, and to the Lacedemonians the end of enjoying it. For, as if they had lost their courage with their dominion, they begun to be despised by their neighbours. Wherefore first the Thebans made war upon them, the Athenians assisting them. Which state was raised from the lowest improvements, by the conduct of Epaminondas their general, to the hopes of the Empire of Greece. Wherefore a battle is fought by land, with the same fortune of the Lacedemonians, with which they had fought against Conon in the battle by sea. In that battle Lysander, by which general the Athenians had been conquered by the Lacedemonians, is slain. Pausanias too, the other general of the Lacedemonians, being accused of treachery, went into banishment. Wherefore the Thebans having got the victory, lead their whole army to the city of the Lacedemonians, thinking the taking of it would be easy, because they had been deserted by all their allies. Which the Lacedemonians fearing, send for their king Agesilaus out of Asia, who performed great exploits there, for the defence of his country. For Lysander being slain, they had a confidence in no other general. Whose coming, because it was tardy, raising an army they got to meet the enemy. But the conquered had neither courage, nor strength sufficient against those that had been conquerors a little before. Wherefore they are routed in the very first shock. Agesilaus came up, after the army of his countrymen was already cut off; who renewing the fight, did without any difficulty snatch the victory from the enemy with his soldiers that were fresh and hardened in many expeditions; yet he himself is grievously wounded.

CHAP. V. Which things being known, the Athenians fearing lest the Lacedemonians being again conquerors, they should be reduced to their former condition of slavery, draw together an army, and order it to be led to the assistance of the Bœotians by Iphicrates, twenty years old

ginti

ginti quidem annos natum, sed magnæ indolis juvenem, duci jubent. Hujus adolescentis supra ætatem virtus admirabilis fuit; nec unquam ante eum Athenienses, inter tot tantosque duces, aut spei majoris, aut indolis maturioris, imperatorem habuerunt; in quo non imperatoriæ tantum, verum & oratoriæ artes fuere. Conon quoque; audito reditu Agesilai, & ipse ex Asia ad depopulandos Lacedæmoniorum agros revertitur. Atque ita, undique belli formidine circumstrepente, clausi Spartani ad summam desperationem rediguntur. Sed Conon vastatis hostium terris Athenas pergit; ubi magno civium gaudio exceptus, plus tamen tristitiæ ipse ex incensa & diruta a Lacedæmoniis patria quam lætitiæ ex recuperata post tantum temporis cepit. Itaque; quæ incensa fuerant, prædarum sumptu & exercitu Persarum restituit; quæ diruta, reficit. Factum illud Athenarum fuit, ut ante a Persis crematæ, manibus eorum; & nunc a Lacedæmoniis dirutæ, ex spoliis Lacedæmoniorum restituerentur; versa quoque; vice, nunc haberent socios, quos tunc hostes habuerant; & hostes nunc paterentur, cum quibus juncti tunc arctissimis societatis vinculis fuerant.

CAP. VI. Dum hæc geruntur, Artaxerxes rex Persarum legatos in Græciam mittit, per quos jubet omnes ab armis discedere, qui aliter fecisset, eum se pro hoste habiturum. Civitatibus libertatem suamque omnia restituit; quod non Græciæ laboribus, assiduisque bellorum internecivis odiis consulens fecit, sed ne occupato sibi Ægyptio bello, quod propter auxilia adversus præfectos suos Lacedæmoniis missa susceperat, exercitus sui in Græcia

only indeed, but a young man of a great genius. The conduct of this youth was wonderful and above his age. Nor had the Athenians ever before him, amongst so many and such great generals, a commander either of greater hopes, or a riper genius; in whom were all the qualifications not only of a general, but an orator too. Conon likewise having heard of the return of Agesilaus, comes back himself from Asia, to lay waste the lands of the Lacedæmonians. And thus the terror of war roaring on all hands of them, the Spartans being shut up within their walls, are reduced to the utmost despair. But Conon having wasted the enemy's country, goes to Athens; where being received with the great joy of his countrymen, yet he had more sorrow for his native city's being burnt and pulled down by the Lacedæmonians, than joy for his recovering it after so long a time. Wherefore he rebuilds what had been burnt, out of the expence of the spoil, and with the army of the Persians; what had been pulled down, he repairs. That was the fate of Athens, that being burnt before by the Persians, it was restored by their hands; and now being demolished by the Lacedæmonians, it was rebuilt out of the spoils of the Lacedæmonians; the tables being turned too, it had now those for allies, whom it then had for enemies; and now felt those its enemies, with whom it had then been bound in the strictest bonds of alliance.

CHAP. VI. Whilst these things are a doing, Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, sends ambassadors into Greece; by whom he orders all to quit their arms, and that he would treat him as an enemy, that should do otherwise. Here restores the cities their liberty, and all belonging to them; which he did not do out of any concern for the troubles of Greece, and the continual destructive feuds of war, but lest his armies should be detained in Greece, whilst he was busy in the Egyptian war, which he had undertaken, because of the aid sent the Lacedæmonians

detinerentur. Fessi igitur tot bellis Græci cupide paruere. Hic annus non eo tantum insignis fuit, quod repente pax tota Græcia facta est; sed etiam eo, quod eodem tempore urbs Romana a Gallis capta est. Sed Lacedæmonii securis insidiantes, absentiam Arcadum speculati, castellum eorum expugnant, occupatoque præsidium imponunt. Itaque armato instructoque exercitu Arcades, adhibitis in auxilium Thebanis, amissa bello repetunt. In eo prælio Archidamus, dux Lacedæmoniorum, vulneratur; qui, cum cædi suos jam ut victos videret, per præconem corpora interfectorum ad sepulturam poscit. Hoc est enim signum apud Græcos victoriæ traditæ. Qua confessione contenti Thebani signum parcendi dedere.

CAP. VII. Paucis deinde post diebus, neutris quicquam hostile facientibus, cum quasi tacito consensu induciæ essent, Lacedæmonii alia bella adversus finitimos gerentibus, Thebani Epaminonda duce occupandæ urbis eorum spem ceperunt. Igitur principio noctis taciti Lacedæmonia profiscuntur: non tamen aggredi incautos potuerunt. Quippe senes & cætera imbellis ætas, cum adventum hostium præsensissent, in ipsis portarum angustiis armati occurrunt; & adversus quindecim millia militum, non amplius centum jam effœtæ ætatis viri pugnam se offerunt. Tantum animorum, viriumque patriæ & penatium conspectus subministrat; tantoque præsentia, quam recordatione sui, majores spiritus largiuntur. Nam, ut videre inter quæ, & pro quibus starent, aut vincendum sibi aut moriendum censuerunt. Pauci igitur sustinuerunt

against his governors. Wherefore the Greeks being tired out with so many wars, gladly obeyed. This year was not only famous for this, that a peace was made all on a sudden throughout all Greece; but for this too, that at the same time the city Rome was taken by the Gauls. But the Lacedæmonians lying in wait for those that were secure, having watched the absence of the Arcadians, storm a castle of theirs, and having seized it, put a garrison therein. Wherefore the Arcadians having armed and marshalled an army, taking the Thebans to their assistance, demand by war what they had lost. In that battle Archidamus, general of the Lacedæmonians, is wounded; who seeing his men now slaughtered, his being indeed conquered, demands by a cryer the bodies of the slain for burial. For this is a sign among the Greeks of the victory's being yielded up. With which confessions the Thebans being content, they gave a signal to give quarters.

CHAP. VII. Then a few days after, neither side committing any hostilities, there being a truce, as it were by tacit consent, whilst the Lacedæmonians were carrying on other wars against their neighbours, the Thebans under their general Epaminondas conceived hopes of seizing their city. Wherefore in the beginning of the night, they march privately to Lacedæmon. Yet they could not come upon them unawares. For the old men, and others of an age unfit for wars, having perceived the approach of the enemy, met them armed in the very entrance of the gate; and no more than one hundred men of an age quite worn out, offer themselves to battle against fifteen thousand. So much courage and strength does the sight of one's country and home furnish one with; and so much greater spirit do they give by their presence, than by the remembrance of them. For when they saw amongst what, and for what they stood, they resolved either to conquer, or die. Wherefore a few old men held out against an army, to which the day before all their youth could not be a match. In that battle two generals of
senes

senes aciem, cui par ante diem universa juvenus esse non potuit. In eo prælio duo duces hostium cecidere. Cum interim. Agefilai adventu nunciato, Thebani recessere. Nec bellum diu dilatatum; siquidem Spartanorum juvenus senum virtute & gloria incensa teneri non potuit, quin ex continenti acie decerneret. Cum victoria Thebanorum esset, Epaminondas, dum non ducis tantum, verum etiam fortissimi militis officio fungitur, graviter vulneratur. Quo audito, his ex dolore metus, illis ex gaudio stupor injicitur; atque ita veluti ex tacito consensu a prælio disceditur.

CAP. VIII. Post paucos deinde dies Epaminondas decedit, cum quo vires reipublicæ ceciderunt. Nam sicuti telo si primam aciem præfregeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi sustuleris; sic illo, velut mucrone teli, ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ sunt; ut non tam illum amisisse, quam cum illo interiisse omnes viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum gessere, nec postea virtutibus, sed cladibus insignes fuisse; ut manifestum sit, patriæ gloriam & natam & extinctam cum eo fuisse. Fuit autem incertum, vir melior, an dux, esset. Nam & imperium non sibi semper, sed patriæ quæsit, & pecuniæ adeo parvus fuit, ut sumptus funeri defuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniæ; quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt; honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitati videretur. Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis mi-

the enemy's were slain, whilst in the mean time news being brought of the coming of Agefilaus, the Thebans retreated. Nor was a battle long deferred; for the youth of the Spartans were inflamed by the gallantry and glory of the old men and could not be kept from engaging in battle forthwith. As the victory was the Thebans, Epaminondas, whilst he performs the office, not only of a general, but of a very gallant soldier too, is grievously wounded. Which being heard, one side is struck with fear from their concern, the other with amazement for joy; and accordingly they quit the battle, as it were by tacit consent.

CHAP. VIII. A few days after Epaminondas dies, with whom too fell the power of the commonwealth; for as if you break the point of a weapon, you take away from the rest of the iron the power of hurting; so that general of the Thebans being taken off as it were the point of a weapon, the strength of the republic too was blunted, that they did not seem so much to have lost him, as to have all perished with him. For they neither carried on any memorable war before his general, nor were they afterwards remarkable for their virtues, but the calamities of war; that it's plain the glory of his country was both born, and died with him. And it was uncertain, whether he was a better man or general. For he sought not dominion for himself, but for his country always; and was so bare of money, that he had not what was necessary to defray the expence of his funeral. He was too not more greedy of glory, than of money; for all his places were put upon him against his will; and he bore the offices conferred upon him so, that he did not seem to receive, but give a lustre to the post of honour he was in. Then his application to letters, his skill in philosophy was so great, that it seemed wonderful, how there could be so considerable an insight into war, in a man that was born

litiae scientia homini inter literas nato. Neque ab hoc vitae proposito mortis ratio dissenfit. Nam ut relatus in castra semi-animis vocem spiritumque collegit, id unam a circumstantibus requisivit, num cadenti sibi scutum ademisset hostis. Quod ut servatum audivit, allatumque; vellet laborum gloriaeque socium osculatus est. Iterum quaesivit utri vicissent. Ut audivit, Thebanos, bene habere se rem, dixit: atqua ita velut gratulabundus paræ expiravit.

CAP. IX. Hujus morte etiam Atheniensium virtus intercidit. Siquidem amisso, cui æmulari consueverant, in segnitie torporeque; resoluti, non ut olim in classem exercitusque; sed in dies festos apparatusque ludorum, redditus publicos effundunt; & cum auctoribus nobilissimis poetis; theatra celebrant, frequentius scenam quam castra visentes; versificatoresque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo ante milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi coeptum. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret: & Philippus obses triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondæ & Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus regnum Macedoniae, Græciae & Asiae cervicibus, velut jugum servitutis, imponeret.

amongst letters. Nor did the manner of his death disagree with his way of life. For as soon as he was brought back half dead into the camp, and recovered his voice and breath, he asked this question only of those who stood about him, whether the enemy had taken his shield from him, when he fell. Which when he heard was secured, he kissed it upon its being brought to him, as the companion of his toil and glory. Then again he enquired which side had conquered. When he heard the Thebans had, he said, the matter was well; and so expired, as it were congratulating his country.

CHAP. IX. The mettle of the Athenians too fell away to nothing upon his death. For after he was gone whom, they had been accustomed to emulate, they dissolved in sloth and laziness, they spend the public revenue, not as formerly upon fleets and armies, but upon festivals, and the furniture of public diversions; and frequent the theatres with celebrated actors and poets, visiting the stage oftener than the camp, and commending good versifiers more than good generals. Then the public taxes, upon which soldiers and rowers were maintained before, begun to be shared with the people of the city. By which means, it came to pass, that the sordid and obscure name of the Macedonians begun to grow famous, during this idle disposition of the Greeks: and Philip who had been kept as a hostage three years at Thebes, being instructed in the virtues of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, laid the kingdom of Macedonia as a yoke of slavery upon the necks of Greece and Asia.

L I B E R VII.

B R E V I A R I U M C A P I T U M.

1. *Macedoniæ vetus nomen, populus, primi reges.*
2. *Perdiccæ regis familia illustris, & infantis Europi nobile fatum.*
3. *Legati Persarum ad Amyntam petulantia suæ dant pœnas.*
4. *Pax Macedoniæ Bubaris, Reguli Persæ, opera conciliatur. Tragedia in familia Amyntæ, Alexandri Macedonis avi.*
5. *Philippi Macedonis varii casus: fratribus dolo materno vita sublata, a populo compulsus regnum suscipit.*
6. *Initia regni Philippici, laude & observatione dignissima; bella, conjugium, vitia & virtutes ejusdem.*

C A P U T I.

Macedonia ante a nomine Emathionis regis, cujus prima virtutis experimenta in illis locis extant, Emathia cognominata est. Hujus sicuti incrementa modica, ita termini perangusti fuere. Populus Pelasgi, regio Pœonia dicebatur. Sed postea virtute regum & gentis industria, subactis primo finitimis, mox populis nationibusq; imperium usq; extremos Orientis terminos prolatum. In regione Pœonia, quæ nunc portio est Macedoniæ, regnasse fertur Pelegonus pater Asteropœi, cujus Trojano bello inter clarissimos vindices urbis nomen accepimus. Ex alio latere in Europa regnum Europus nomine tenuit. Sed & Caranus cum magna multitudine Græcorum sedes in Macedonia responso oraculi jussus quærere, cum in Emathiam venisset, urbem Edeffam, non sentientibus oppidanis, propter imbrium & nebulæ magnitudinem, gregem caprarum imbrem fugientium secutus, occupavit, revocatusq; in memoriam oraculi quo jussus

Macedonia was formerly called Emathia, from the name of king Emathion; the instances of whose good management are the first upon record in those parts. As the improvements of this country were moderate, so were the boundaries thereof within a very narrow compass. The people were called Pelasgians, and the country Pœonia. But afterwards, first their neighbours, and after that other people and nations being subdued by the bravery of their princes, and the industry of the nation, their empire was advanced as far as the utmost confines of the East. Pelegonus the father of Asteropœus whose name we have upon record amongst the most celebrated defenders of the city in the Trojan war, is said to have reigned in the country of Pœonia, which is now a part of Macedonia. One Europus by name had the sovereignty in a country called Europa on another side. But Caranus too being ordered by an answer of an oracle, with a great number of Greeks, to seek a settlement in Macedonia, after he was come into Emathia, following a flock of goats flying from a shower of rain, seiz'd the city Edeffa, the townspeople not perceiving him, by reason of the greatness of the rains, and a mist; and being put in mind of the oracle, by which he had been ordered to seek

erat, *ducibus capris imperium quærere*, regni sedem statuit; religioſeque poſtea obſervavit, quocumque agmen moveret, ante ſigna eaſdem capras habere, cœptorum duces habiturus, quas regni habuerat auctores. Urbem Edeſſam ob memoriam muneris, *Ægeam*, populum *Ægeadas*, vocavit. Pulſo deinde Mida (nam iſ quoque portionem Macedoniæ tenuit) aliisſque regibus pulſis, in locum omnium ſolus ſucceſſit, primuſque adunatis gentibus variorum populorum velati unum corpus Macedoniæ fecit, creſcentique regno valida incrementorum fundamenta conſtituit.

CAP. II. Poſt hunc perdiccas regnavit, cujus & vita illuſtris, & mortis poſtrema, veluti ex oraculo præcepta, memorabilia fue-*re*: ſiquidem ſenex moriens Argæo filio monſtravit locum, quo condi vellet, ibique non ſua tantum, ſed & ſuccedentium ſibi regum oſſa poni juſſit; præfatus, quoad ibi conditæ poſteriorum reliquiæ forent, regnum in familia manſurum; creduntque hac ſuperſtitione extinctam in Alexandro ſtirpem, quia locum ſepulturæ mutaverit. Argæus moderate & cum amore popularium adminiſtrato regno ſucceſſorem filium Philippum reliquit; qui immatura morte raptus *Æropum* parvulum admodum inſtituit hæredem. Sed Macedonibus aſſidua certamina cum Thracibus & Illyriis fue-*re*, quorum armis veluti quotidiano exercitio indurati gloria bellicæ laudis finitimos terrebant. Igitur Illyrii, infantiam regis pupilli contem-*nentes* bello Macedonas aggrediuntur; qui prælio pulſi, rege ſuo in cunis prolato, & pone

a kingdom by the direction of goats, as his guides, he made it the ſeat of his government; and afterwards religiouſly took care, *whithersoever he march'd his army*, to have the ſame goats before his ſtandards, that he might have them as his leaders in his undertakings, whom he had had for his directors in the ſettlement of his kingdom. He called the city Edeſſa, in memory of this kindneſs, *Ægeas*, and the people *Ægeadæ*. After that, diſlodging Mida (for he likewiſe was in poſſeſſion of a part of Macedonia) and driving other kings out of their territories, he alone ſucceeded in place of them all, and was the firſt who, by uniting nations of different people, did, as it were, make one body of Macedonia, and laid a ſolid foundation for the improvement of his growing kingdom.

CHAP. II. After him Perdiccas reign'd, *whoſe life was illuſtrious*, and the circumſtances of his death, as if ordered by an oracle, were memorable. For dying when old, he ſhew'd his ſon Argæus a place, in which he was deſirous to be buried; and there he ordered not only his bones, but the bones of the kings that ſhould ſucceed him, to be laid; declaring that as long as the relicks of his poſterity ſhould be depoſited there, the kingdom would continue in the family: and upon this ſuperſtitious whimſy, they ſuppoſe, that the family was extinct in Alexander, becauſe he changed the place of burial. Argæus having managed the government with moderation, and the love of his ſubjects, left his ſon Philip his ſucceſſor, who being taken off by an untimely death made *Æropus* that was very little, his heir. But the Macedonians had continual diſputes with the Thracians and Illyrians, by *whoſe arms being hardened as it were by daily exerciſe*, they terrified their neighbours by the ſplendor of their reputation for war. Wherefore the Illyrians deſpiſing the infancy of their young king, fall upon the Macedonians in war: who being defeated in the battle, bringing out their king in his cradle, and placing him behind the army, they renewed the fight

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aciem posito, acrius certamen repetivere; tanquam ideo victi fuissent antea, quod bellantibus sibi regis sui auspicia defuissent; futuri vel propterea victores, quod ex superstitione animum vincendi ceperant. Simul & miseratio eos infantis tenebat, quem, si victi forent, captivum de rege facturi videbantur. Conserto itaq; prælio, magna cæde Illyrios fudere, ostenderuntque hostibus suis priore bello regem Macedonibus, non virtutem defuisse. Huic Amyntas succedit, & propria virtute & Alexandri filii egregia indole insigniter clarus cui Alexandro tanta omnium virtutum natura ornamenta extitere, ut etiam Olympio certamine, vario ludicrorum genere contenderit.

CAP. III. Cum interim Darius rex Persarum, turpi ab Scythia fuga summotus, ne ubique deformis militiæ damnis haberetur, mittit cum parte copiarum Megabazum ad subigendam Thraciam, cæteraq; ejus tractus regna: quibus pro ignobili momento erat accessura Macedonia. Qui brevi tempore executo regis imperio, legatis ad Amyntam regem Macedonia missis, obfides in pignus future pacis dari sibi postulabat. Sed legati benigne excepti, inter epulas ebriitate crescente rogant Amyntam, ut apparatus epularum adjiciat jus familiaritatis, adbibitis in convivium suis ac filii uxoribus; id apud Persas haberi pignus ac fœdus hospitii. Quæ ut venerunt, petulantius Persis eos contristantibus, filius Amyntæ Alexander rogat patrem, respectu ætatis ac gravitatis suæ, abiret convivio, pollicitus, se hospitum temperatum jocos. Quo digressio, mulieres quoque paululum e con-

more briskly; as if they had been therefore conquered before, because the fortune of their prince had been wanting to them in the battle; being likely now to be conquerors, because out of a superstitious fancy they had taken a resolution for conquering. At the same time too, pity for the infant moved them, whom, if they were conquered they thought they should make a prisoner of a king. Wherefore a battle being fought, they routed the Illyrians with great slaughter, and shewed their enemies, that the Macedonians wanted a king, and not courage in the former battle. Amyntas succeeds him, remarkably famous both for his own conduct, and the excellent genius of his son Alexander; which Alexander had by nature such considerable ornaments of all manner of good qualities, that he contended for the prize in the Olympick games, in various sorts of diversions.

CHAP. III. Whilst in the mean time Darius king of the Persians, being repulsed from Scythia by a shameful flight, that he might not be accounted every where inglorious by the losses of war, sends with a part of the army Megabazus to conquer Thrace, and the other kingdoms of that quarter; to which Macedonia was to be added as a sorry accession. Who having in a short time executed the king's order, sending Embassadors to Amyntas king of Macedonia, demanded hostages to be given him as a pledge of the future peace. But the Embassadors being civilly entertained, drunkenness growing upon them at a feast, beg of Amyntas, that he would add the right of familiarity to the other provision of his entertainment, by admitting his and his son's wives to the banquet; that was reckoned a pledge and bond of hospitality among the Persians: Which as soon as they were come, the Persians handling them a little wantonly, Alexander the son of Amyntas, desires his father, in regard to his age and gravity, to quit the entertainment, promising that he would put a stop to the frolics of their guests. Who departing accordingly, he takes out the women from convivio

vivio evocat, cultius exornaturus gratioresque reducturus. In quarum locum matronali habitu exornatos juvenes supponit; eosque petulantiam legatorum, ferro, quod sub veste gerebant, compescere jubet. Atque ita interfectis omnibus, ignarus rei Megabazus, cum legati non redirent, mittit eo cum exercitus parte Bubarem, ut in bellum facile & mediocre; dedignatus ipse ire, ne dehonestaretur prælio tam sædæ gentis. Sed Bubares ante bellum amore filiae Amyntæ captus, omisso bello nuptias facit, depositisque hostilibus animis, in affinitatis jura succedit.

CAP. IV. Post discessum a Macedonia Bubaris, Amyntas rex decedit, cujus filio & successor Alexandro, cognatio Bubaris non Darii tantum temporibus pacem præstitit; verum etiam Xerxem adeo conciliavit, ut, cum Græciam, veluti tempestas quædam, occupasset, inter Olympum Hæmumque montes totius regionis eum imperio donaverit. Sed nec virtute minus, quam Persarum liberalitate, regnum ampliavit. Per ordinem deinde successionis, regnum Macedoniae ad Amyntam, fratris ejus Menelai filium, pervenit. Hic quoque insignis industria & omnibus imperatoriis virtutibus instructus fuit; qui ex Eurydice tres filios sustulit, Alexandrum, Perdiccam, & Philippum, Alexandri Magni Macedonis patrem, & filiam Euryonem: Ex Cygnæa autem Archelaum, Archideum, Menelaum. Cum Illyriis deinde & cum Olynthiis gravia bella gessit. Insuper autem Eurydices uxoris, quæ nuptias generi pacta, occidendum virum, regnumque adultero tra-

the feast for a while, as if he would dress them finer, and bring them back again more agreeable. In whose place he substitutes young men dressed up in the habit of married ladies, and orders them to correct the rudeness of the Embassadors with the swords which they carried under their cloaths. And thus having slain them all, Megabazus being ignorant of the matter, because the Embassadors did not return, sends Bubares thither with a part of the army as to an easy insignificant war; disdainng to go himself that he might not be disparaged with a battle of so pitiful a nation. But Bubares before the fight falling in love with the daughter of Amyntas, laying aside all thoughts of war, makes a wedding of it, and dropping his hostile intentions, comes under the ties of affinity to the king.

CHAP. IV. After the departure of Bubares from Macedonia, king Amyntas dies; to whose son and successor Alexander, the relation of Bubares not only procured a peace during the time of Darius, but likewise made Xerxes so much his friend, that when he had fallen upon Greece, like a tempest, he presented him with the sovereignty of all the country betwixt the mountains of Olympus and Hæmus. But he enlarged his kingdom no less by his own good conduct, than the liberality of the Persians. After that, by the order of succession, the kingdom of Macedonia came to Amyntas the son of his brother Menelaus. He likewise was remarkable for his application to business, and furnished with all the good qualities of a general; who had three sons by Eurydice, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip the father of Alexander the Great, and a daughter named Euryone; and by Cygnæa, Archelaus, Archideus, and Menelaus. After that he had terrible wars with the Illyrians and Olynthians. But he had certainly been taken off by a plot of his wife Eurydice, who having agreed to marry her son-in-law, had undertaken to kill her husband, and deliver up the kingdom to her gallant, if the daughter had not betrayed her mother's dis-

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dendum suscepit, occupatus fuisset, ni filia pellicatum matris, & sceleris confilia prodidisset. Functus itaq; tot periculis, senex decessit, regno, maximo ex filiis Alexandro, tradito.

CAP. V. Igitur Alexander inter prima initia regni, bellum ab Illyriis, pacta mercede, & Philippo fratre dato obside, redemit. Interjecto quoq; tempore, per eundem obsidem cum Thebanis gratiam pacis reconciliat: quæ res Philippo maxima incrementa egregiæ indolis dedit. Siquidem Thebis triennio obses habitus, prima pueritiæ rudimenta, in urbe severitatis antiquæ, & in domo Epaminondæ, summi & philosophi & imperatoris, deposuit. Nec multo post Alexander insidiis Eurydices matris appetitus occumbit; cui Amyntas, in scelere deprehensæ, propter communes liberos, ignarus eisdem quandoque exitiosam fore, pepercerat. Frater quoque ejus Perdiccas pari insidiarum fraude decipitur. Indignum prorsus, libidinis causa liberos a matre vita privatos, quam scelerum suorum suppliciis liberorum contemplatio vindicaverat. Perdiccæ hoc indignior cædes videbatur, quod ei apud matrem misericordiam nec parvulus quidem filius conciliaverat. Itaque Philippus diu non regem, sed tutorem pupilli egit. At ubi graviora bella imminabant, serumq; auxilium in expectatione infantis erat, compulsus a populo regnum suscepit.

CAP. VI. Ut est ingressus imperium, magna de illo spes omnibus fuit; & propter ipsius ingenium quod magnum spondebat virum; & propter vetera Macedoniae fata, quæ cecinerant, uno ex Amyntæ filiis regnante,

neffly and the villainous design. Wherefore having weathered so many dangers, he died old, leaving his kingdom to Alexander the eldest of his sons.

CHAP. V. Wherefore Alexander at the first beginning of his reign, bought off the war from the Illyrians, for a sum agreed upon, his brother Philip being given as an hostage. Some time after too, he makes a peace with the Thebans by the same hostage: which thing procured Philip a mighty improvement of his extraordinary genius. For being kept three years at Thebes as an hostage, he laid down the first rudiments of his youth, in a city of ancient strictness, and in the house of Epaminondas, both a very great Philosopher and commander. And not long after Alexander, being attempted by a plot of Eurydice his mother, is taken off; whom tho' caught in a villainous design against him, Amyntas had spared upon the account of their common children, little knowing that she would be one time the ruin of them. His brother Perdiccas too is trepanned by the like treachery of a plot. Abominable indeed that children should be deprived of their lives by a mother, for the sake of gratifying her lust, whom a regard to those very children had delivered from the punishment of her villainy. The murder of Perdiccas seemed so much the more horrid, that even his little son could not procure him any pity with his mother. Wherefore Philip, a long time acted not the part of a king, but that of a guardian to the orphan. But when dangerous wars threatened the Macedonians, and the assistance to be had in waiting till the child was grown up, was too late, being compelled by the people, he undertook the kingdom.

CHAP. VI. As soon as he entered upon the government, all people had great hopes of him, both upon account of his parts, which promised he would be a great man, and because of the old oracles of Macedonia, which had given out that the state of Macedonia would be very flourishing,
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florentissimum fore Macedoniae statum; cui spei scelus matris hunc residuum fecerat. Principio regni, cum hinc caedes fratrum indigne peremptorum, inde hostium multitudo; hinc infidiarum metus, inde inopia continuis bellis exhausti regni, immaturam aetatem tyronis urgerent: bella, quæ, velut confiratione quadam, ad opprimendam Macedoniam, multarum gentium ex diversis locis uno tempore confluebant, quoniam omnibus par esse non poterat, dispensanda ratus; alia interposita pactione componit, alia redimit, facillimis quibusque aggressis, quorum victoria, & militum trepidos animos firmaret & contemptum sibi hostium dederet. Primum illi cum Atheniensibus certamen fuit; quibus per insidias victis, metu belli gravioris, cum interficere omnes posset, incolumes sine pretio dimisit. Post hæc, bello in Illyrios translatò, multa millia hostium cædit. Urbem nobilissimam Larissam capit. Hinc Thessaliam, non prædæ cupiditate, sed quod exercitui suo robur Thessalorum equitum adjungere gestiebat, nil minus quam bellum metuentem, improvisus expugnat; unumque corpus equitum pedestriumque copiarum invicti exercitus fecit. Quibus rebus feliciter provenientibus, Olympiadem, Neoptolemi regis Molossorum filiam, uxorem ducit, conciliante nuptias fratre patruale, altore virginis, Arruba, rege Molossorum; qui sororem Olympiadis Troadem in matrimonium habebat; quæ causa illi exitii, malorumque omnium initium fuit. Nam, dum regni incrementa affinitate Philippi acquisitum se sperat, proprio regno ab eodem privatus in exi-

when one of the sons of Amyntas should reign: for the fulfilling of which hopes the wickedness of his mother had only left him. In the beginning of his reign, whilst on one hand, the murder of his brothers most basely slain, on the other the multitude of enemies; on one side the fear of plots, on the other the poverty of the kingdom, exhausted by continual wars, bore hard upon the immature age of the young Prince; thinking it proper to divide the wars, which came on as it were by consent, from different places of many nations to crush Macedonia, since he could not be a match for them all; some he makes up by agreement, others he buys off, attempting the most easy, by his success in which he might encourage the timorous minds of his soldiers, and take from off himself the enemy's contempt. His first dispute was with the Athenians, who being overcome by a wile, he dismissed them all safe without price, when he might have killed them, for fear of a greater war. After this the war being carried among the Illyrians, he slays many thousands of the enemies, takes the most noble city Larissa. After this he unexpectedly over-runs Thessaly, fearing nothing less than a war, not out of a desire of plunder, but because he was mighty earnest to join the strength of the Thessalian horse to his army, and makes one body of horse and foot of an invincible army. Which things succeeding happily, he marries Olympias daughter of Neoptolemus king of the Molossians, her cousin, the virgin's tutor, Arrubas king of the Molossians, who had Troas the sister of Olympias in marriage, making up the match. Which thing was the cause of his ruin, and the beginning of all his misfortunes. For whilst he hopes he should acquire an increase of his kingdom by the affinity of Philip, being stripped by the same of his own kingdom, he grew old in banishment. These things being thus done, Philip being not now content to repel war, very forwardly attacks even those that were quiet. Whilst he was assaulting the city Methona, an arrow shot from the walls at him, as he

ilio consenuit. His ita gestis, Philippus, jam non contentus summovere bella, ultra etiam quietos laceffit. Cum Methonam urbem expugnaret, in præterentem de muris sagitta jacta dextrum oculum regis effodit. Quo vulnere nec segnior in bellum, nec iracundior adversus hostes factus est; adeo ut interjectis diebus pacem deprecantibus dederit; nec moderatus tantum, verum etiam mitis adversus victos fuerit.

LIBER VIII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Græciæ clades sub Philippo Macedone. Thebani & Phocenses civilis belli faces.
2. Thebani Philippum accersunt, qui Phocenses opprimit, Athenienses salutis publicæ pro virili consulunt.
3. Contra, Philippus Græciam lacerat, Cappadociam Macedoniæ adjungit. Olynthios delet. Latrocinium exercet variis modis.
4. Atheniensibus, Theffalis, Bæotiis & Phocensibus calide imponit.
5. Phocenses ad deditionem, & reliquos Græcos cogit ad servile obsequium.
6. Monarchiam cum summa injustitia constituit.

CAPUT I.

GRÆCIÆ civitates, dum imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidērunt: quippe in mutuum exitium sine modo ruentes; omnibus perire quod singulæ amitterent, non nisi oppressi tulerunt. Siquidem Philippus rex Macedoniæ, velut e specula quadam, libertati omnium insidiatus, dum contentiones civitatum alit, auxilium inferioribus ferendo, victos pariter victoresque; subire regiam servitutem coegit. Causa & origo hujus mali Thebani fuere; qui, cum rerum potirentur, secundam fortunam imbecillo animo ferentes, victos armis Lacedæmonios & Phocenses quasi parva supplicia cædibus & rapinis luisse, apud com-

THE cities of Greece, whilst each of them are desirous to bear the sway, all lost the dominion they effected, for rushing upon mutual destruction without measure, they did not perceive, 'till conquered, that what each of them lost was a loss to all. For Philip, king of Macedonia, slyly observing his opportunity, as it were from a watch tower, against the liberty of them all, whilst he fomented the contentions of the cities with one another, by giving assistance to the weaker, he obliged the conquered and conquerors alike to submit to his royal yoke. The Thebans were the cause and original of this calamity, who when they were uppermost, bearing their good fortune with a weak mind, proudly acced before the common assembly of the states of Greece the Lacedæmonians and Phocensians whom they had conquered by their arms, as if

mune Græciæ consilium superbe accusaverunt. Lacedæmoniis crimini datum, quod arcem Thebanam induciarum tempore, occupassent; Phocensibus, quod Bœotiam depopulati essent: prorsus, quasi post arma & bellum, locum legibus reliquissent. Cum iudicium arbitrio victorum exerceretur, tanta pecunia damnatur, quanta exsolvi non posset. Igitur Phocenses, cum agris, liberis, conjugibusque; privarentur, desperatis rebus, Philomelo quodam duce, velut deo irascentes, templum ipsum Apollinis Delphis occupavere. Inde auro & pecunia divites, conducto mercenario milite, bellum Thebanis intulerunt. Factum Phocensium, tametsi omnes execrarentur propter sacrilegium, plus tamen invidiæ Thebanis, a quibus ad hanc necessitatem compulsi fuerant, quam ipsis intulit. Itaque auxilia his, & ab Atheniensibus, & a Lacedæmoniis, missa. Prima igitur congressione Philomelus Thebanos castris exiit. Sequenti prælio primus inter confertissimos dimicans cecidit, & sacrilegii pœnas impio sanguine luit. In hujus locum dux Onomarchus creatur.

CAP. II. Adversus quem Thebani Thessalique non ex civibus suis, ne victoris potentiam ferre non possent, sed Philippum, Macedoniae regem, ducem eligunt; & externæ dominationi, quam in suis timuerunt, sponte succedunt. Igitur Philippus, quasi sacrilegii, non Thebanorum ultor esset, omnes milites coronas laureas sumere jubet, atque ita, veluti deo duce, in prælium pergit. Phocenses, insignibus dei conspectis, conscientia delictorum territi, abjectis armis fugam capeffunt, pœnasque violatæ religionis, sanguine &

they had made but small satisfaction by the havoc and ravage they had suffered. The crime laid to the charge of the Lacedæmonians was, that they had seized the citadel of Thebes in the time of the truce; to the Phocensians, that they had laid waste Bœotia, as if indeed they had left any room for the laws, after arms and war. As the tryal was managed at the pleasure of the conquerors, they are fined in so great a sum of money as could not be paid. Wherefore the Phocensians being stripped of their lands, children, and wives, their case being desperate, they seized upon the temple of Apollo at Delphos, under one Philomelus as their leader, as if they were angry with the God. Being thereby enriched with gold and money, and having got together an army of mercenaries, they made war upon the Thebans. This act of the Phocensians, although all people abominated it for the sacrilege of it, yet brought more of odium upon the Thebans, by whom they had been compelled to this necessity, than upon themselves. Wherefore assistance was sent to them both by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. Philomelus in the first engagement strips the Thebans of their camp. In the following battle he fell first, fighting among the thickest, and suffered the punishment due to his sacrilege by shedding his impious blood. Onomarchus is made general in his stead.

CHAP. II. Against whom the Thebans and Thessalians chuse a general, not from among their countrymen, lest they should not be able to bear his power, if conqueror, but Philip the king of Macedonia, and voluntarily submit themselves to a foreign yoke, which they had been afraid of in their own countrymen. Wherefore Philip, as if he was the avenger of the sacrilege, not of the Thebans, orders all the soldiers to take laurel crowns; and so proceeds to battle, with the God as it were his leader. The Phocensians having seen these badges of the God, being affrighted with the consciousness of their crimes, throwing away their arms fall to flight, and suffer punishment for the violation of religious

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cædibus suis pendunt. Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. *Illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum: quod orbis viribus expiari debuit, solum qui piacula exigeret extitisse.* Dignum itaq; qui diis proximus haberetur, per quem deorum majestas vindicata sit. Sed Athenienses, audito belli eventu, ne in Græciam Philippus transfret, angustias Thermopylarum pari ratione sicuti antea advenientibus Persis occupavere: sed nequaquam simili aut virtute aut causa: siquidem tunc pro libertate Græciæ, nunc pro sacrilegio publico; tunc a rapina hostium templa vindicaturi, nunc adversus vindices templorum raptores defensuri: aguntque propugnatores sceleris, cujus turpe erat alios vindices fuisse, immemores prorsus, quod in dubiis rebus suis illo deo etiam consiliorum auctori usi fuerant; quod illo duce tot bella victores inierant: tot urbes auspicio condiderant; tantum imperium terra marique quæsierant; quod nihil, sine majestate numinis ejus, aut privata unquam, aut publicæ rei gesserant. Tantum facinus admisisse ingenia omni doctrina exulta, pulcherrimis legibus institutisque formata, ut quid posthac succensere jure Barbaris possent, non haberent.

CAP. III. Sed nec Philippus melioris fidei adversus socios fuit; quippe veluti timens, ne ab hostibus sacrilegii scelore vinceretur, civitates quarum paulo ante dux fuerat, quæ sub auspiciis ejus militaverant, quæ gratulæ illi sibi que victoriam fuerant, hostiliter occupatas diripu-

on, by the shedding of their blood, and the slaughter made of them. It's incredible to say how much credit that thing gave Philip amongst all nations: That he was the avenger of sacrilege, the vindicator of injured religion; that he was the only one to exact satisfaction, for what ought to have been expiated by the joint strength of the whole world. He therefore was worthy to be accounted next to the Gods, by whom the majesty of the Gods was maintained. But the Athenians having heard of the event of the war, lest Philip should pass into Greece, seized upon the narrow pass of Thermopylæ, in like manner as they had done before upon the Persians coming; but by no means either by the like courage, or in the like cause. For then they did it for the liberty of Greece, now for public sacrilege; then to defend the temples from the ravages of the enemy, now to defend the risers of temples against the punishers of them: and act as defenders of a crime, of which it was a shame any others should have been the punishers; being wholly unmindful, that in their dangerous circumstances, they had made use of that God, as their counsellor; that they had successfully undertaken so many wars under him, as their leader; had fortunately built so many cities; had acquired so great an empire by land and by sea; that they had done nothing ever either of public or private business, without the authority of that God. Strange, that an ingenious people, polished by learning, fashioned by the finest laws and customs, should have committed such a crime, that they could not have any thing for which they might hereafter be justly angry with the Barbarians.

CHAP. III. But neither was Philip a man of more honesty to his allies; for as if afraid, lest he should be outdone in the roguery of sacrilege, by the enemies, he plundered the cities whereof he had been leader a little before, which had served under his command, and who had congratulated him and themselves for the late victory, being seized in hostile mar-

it. Conjuges liberosq; omnium sub corona vendidit; non deorum immortalium templis, non ædibus sacris, non diis penatibus publicis privatisq; ad quos paulo ante ingressus hospitaliter fuerat, pepercit; prorsus ut non tam sacrilegii ultor extitisse, quam sacrilegiorum licentiam quæsisse videretur. Inde veluti rebus egregie gestis, in Cappadociam trajicit, ubi bello pari perfidia gello, captisq; per dolum & occisis finitimis regibus, universam provinciam imperio Macedoniae adjungit. Deinde ad abolendam invidiæ famam, qua insignis præter cæteros tunc temporis habebatur, per regna mittit & opulentissimas civitates, qui opinionem sererent, regem Philippum magna pecunia locare & muros per civitates, & fana & templa facienda, & ut per præcones susceptores sollicitarent. Qui cum in Macedoniam venissent, variis dilationibus frustrati, vim regis majestatis timentes, taciti proficiscebantur. Post hæc Olynthios aggreditur; receperant enim per misericordiam, post cædem unius, duos fratres ejus, quos Philippus ex noverca genitos, veluti participes regni, interficere gestiebat. Ob hanc igitur causam urbem antiquam & nobilem excindit, & fratres olim destinato supplicio tradit, prædaq; ingenti pariter & parricidii voto fruitur. Inde quasi omnia, quæ agitasset animo, ei licerent, auraria in Thessalia, argenti metalla in Thracia occupat. Et ne quod jus vel fas inviolatum prætermitteret, piraticum quoque exercere instituit. His ita gestis, forte evenit, ut eum fratres duo, reges Thraciæ, non contemplatione justitiæ ejus, sed invicem metuentes, ne alterius virus

ner. *He sold the wives and children of them all under a crown; he spared not the temples of the immortal Gods, nor chapels, nor the public and private Tutelar Gods, to whom he had entered a little before as a guest; so that he did not seem to have been so much the avenger of sacrilege, as to have sought a licence for committing sacrilege. Then, as if he had done his business excellently well, he goes over into Cappadocia, where the war being managed with the like perfidiousness, the neighbouring kings being taken by treachery, and slain, he joins all that province to the empire of Macedonia. Then to wipe off the odious character, for which he was reckoned remarkable at that time above other men, he sends some persons through the neighbouring kingdoms, and most opulent cities, to spread a report, that king Philip would let out at a vast sum the walls up and down the several cities, and the chappels and temples to be built, and to invite undertakers by public cryers. Who when they were come into Macedonia, being fooled by various delays, dreading the power of the king's majesty they silently departed. After this he falls upon the Olyntheans; for they had received out of pity, after the murther of one, two of his brothers, whom being begot of a step-mother, Philip was desirous to kill, as pretending to be his partners in the kingdom. For this reason therefore, he destroys that ancient and noble city, and delivers up his brothers to the punishment long before intended for them, and gets a great deal of plunder, and his parricidious wish together. Then as if all things were lawful for him, which he had once thought of in his mind, he seizes upon the gold mines in Thessaly, and the silver mines in Thrace. And that he might let pass no right or law unviolated, he resolved to practice piracy. These things being thus done, by chance it happened, that two brothers, kings of Thrace, chose him as their judge of their differences, not out of any consideration of his justice, but fearing on each side, lest he should join the other's strength. But Philip, ac-*

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accederet, disceptationum suarum judicem eligerent. Sed Philippus, more ingenii sui, ad iudicium, veluti ad bellum, inopinantibus fratribus, instructo exercitu supervenit; & regno utrumque, non iudicis more, sed fraude latronis ac scelere, spoliavit.

CAP. IV. Dum hæc aguntur, legati Atheniensium, petentes pacem, ad eum venerunt. Quibus auditis, & ipse legatos Athenas cum pacis conditionibus misit: ibique ex commodo utrorumque pax facta. Ex cæteris quoque Græciæ civitatibus, non pacis amore, sed belli metu, legationes venere. Siquidem, crudescente ira, Thessali, Bæotiiq; orant, ut professum adversum Phocenses ducem Græciæ exhibeat: tanto odio Phocensium ardentes, ut obliti cladium suarum, perire ipsi, quam non perdere eos præoptarent; experitamque Philippi crudelitatem pati, quam parcere hostibus suis mallent. Contra, Phocensium legati, adhibitis Lacedæmoniis & Atheniensibus, bellum deprecabantur, cujus ab eo dilationem ter jam emerant. Fœdum prorsus miserandumque spectaculum, Græciam, etiam nunc, & viribus, & dignitate, orbis terrarum principem; regum certe gentiumq; semper victricem, & multarum adhuc urbium dominam; alienis excubare sedibus, aut rogantem bellum, aut deprecantem: in alterius ope omnem spem posuisse orbis terrarum vindices: eoq; discordia sua civilibusq; bellis redactos, ut adulentur ultro sordidam paulo ante clientelæ suæ partem: & hæc potissimum facere Thebanos, Lacedæmoniosq; antea inter se imperii, nunc Græciæ imperantis æmulos. Philippus, venditione gloriæ suæ tanta-

cording to the custom of his disposition, came with an army well accoutred to the trial, as if to a battle, the brothers little thinking of any such thing, and stript them both of their kingdoms, not after the way of a judge, but with the knavery and villainy of a robber.

CHAP. IV. Whilst these things are doing, the ambassadors of the Athenians came to him, begging peace. Which being heard, he likewise sent ambassadors to Athens with articles of peace; and there a peace was made for the advantage of both sides. Embassies came likewise from the other cities of Greece, not out of love of peace, but fear of war. For the Thessalians and Bæotians, with fresh anger beg, that he would shew himself the general of Greece against the Phocensians, which he had professed himself to be: burning with so great a hatred of the Phocensians, that forgetting their own losses, they chose rather to perish, than not to ruin them, and to suffer the experienced cruelty of Philip, than spare their enemies. On the other hand, the Ambassadors of the Phocensians, the Lacedæmonians being taken with them, deprecated the war, the putting off of which they had bought of him three times already. It was a very shameful and miserable sight, that Greece, even then the most considerable country in the world, both for strength and dignity, that had always been the conqueror of kings and nations, and was as yet lady of many cities, should attend at a foreign court, either begging of war, or begging it off: that the defenders of the world should place all their hopes in the help of another, and should be reduced to that pass by their jarring and civil wars, as to flatter what had been a little before a mean part of their vassalage: and that the Thebans especially, and Lacedæmonians should do these things, formerly rivals for power, but now for the favour of him that bore all the sway. Philip, to set off his glory, shews a disdain for these great cities;

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rum urbium fastidium agitat; atque utros potius dignetur, æstimat. Secreto igitur auditis utrisque legationibus, his veniam belli polliciter, jurejurando, adactis, responsum nemini prodituros; illis contra, venturum se, auxiliumque laturum. Utrosque vetat parare bellum, aut metuere. Sic variato responso, securis omnibus, Thermopylarum angustias occupat.

C A P. V. Tunc primum Phocenses, captos se fraude Philippi animadvertentes, trepidi ad arma confugiant. Sed neque spatium erat instruendi belli, nec tempus ad contrahenda auxilia; & Philippus excidium minabatur, nisi fieret deditio. Victi igitur necessitate pacta salute se dediderunt. Sed pactio ejus fidei fuit, cujus antea fuerat deprecanti belli promissio. Igitur caduntur passim rapiunturque. Non liberi parentibus, non conjuges maritis, non decorum simulachra templis suis relinquuntur. Unum tantum miseris solatium fuit, quod, cum Philippus portione prædæ socios fraudasset, nil rerum suarum apud inimicos viderunt. Reversus in regnum, ut pecora pastores nunc in hibernos, nunc in æstivos saltus trajiciunt, sic ille populos & urbes, ut illi vel replenda, vel derelinquenda quæque loca videbantur, ad libidinem suam transfert. Miseranda ubique facies, & excidio similis erat; non quidem pavor ille hostilis, nec discursus per urbem militum erat; non tumultus armorum; non bonorum atque hominum rapina; sed tacitus mœror & luctus, verentibus ne ipsæ lachrymæ pro contumacia haberentur. Crescit dissimulatione ipsa dolor; hoc altius demissus, quo minus profiteri licet. Nunc sepulchra

and considers which he should rather vouchsafe to favour. Wherefore having heard both embassies privately, he promises the one a security from war, being obliged by oath, that they should discover his answer to nobody; the other, on the other hand, that he would come and bring them assistance. He forbids both to prepare for war, or to be afraid. Thus a different answer being given, while all were secure, he seizes upon the narrow pass of Thermopylae.

C H A P. V. Then first of all, the Phocensians perceiving them all trepanned by the roguery of Philip, run to arms in a fright. But there was neither time to prepare duly for the war; and Philip threatened their ruin, unless a submission was made. Wherefore being conquered by necessity, they surrendered themselves, their lives being agreed for. But the agreement was just as faithfully kept, as the promise before relating to war deprecated. Wherefore they were slaughtered every where, and made prisoners. Children are not left to their parents, nor wives to their husbands, nor the statues of the Gods to the temples. The miserable people had only one comfort, that as Philip cheated his allies of their part of the plunder, they saw none of their goods in the hands of their enemies. Returning into his kingdom, as shepherds remove their cattle, one while into winter pastures, another while into summer-pastures, so does he transplant, according to his pleasure, people and cities, as any place appeared to him either proper to be replenished or forsaken. There was every where a miserable appearance, and like the destruction of a country by an enemy. There was not indeed the fear of an enemy, nor the running of soldiers up and down a city, nor indeed the seizing of goods and men; but a tacit sadness and mourning; they being afraid, lest their very tears should be accounted for stubbornness. Their grief increases by the very concealing of it, sinking so much the deeper, by how much the less they are allowed to utter it. One while they consi-

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majorum, nunc veteres penates, nunc tecta, in quibus geniti erant, in quibusque genuerant, considerabant; miserantes nunc vicem suam, quod in eam diem vixissent; nunc filiorum, quod non post eam diem nati essent.

CAP. VI. Alios populos in finibus ipsis hostibus opponit; alios in extremis [regni terminis] statuit: quosdam bello captos in supplementis urbium dividit. Atque ita ex multis gentibus nationibusque; unum regnum populumque constituit. Compositis ordinatisque; Macedoniae rebus, Dardanos, ceterosque finitimos, fraude captos, expugnat. Sed nec a proximis manus abstinet. Siquidem Arrybam, regem Epiri, uxori suae Olympiadi artificissima cognatione junctum, pellere regno statuit; atque Alexandrum, privignum ejus, uxoris Olympiadis fratrem, puerum honestae pulchritudinis, in Macedoniam nomine sororis arcessit; omnique studio sollicitatum, spe regni, simulato amore, ad stupri consuetudinem perpulit, majora in eo obsequia habiturus, sive conscientiae pudore, sive regni beneficio. Cum igitur ad viginti annos pervenisset, creptum Arrybae regnum puero admodum tradit, scelestus in utroque. Nam nec in eo jus cognationis servavit, cui ademittit regnum; & eum, cui dedit, impudicum fecit antequam regem.

dered the sepulchres of their ancestors, another while their household Gods, another while the house in which they had been begot, and in which they had begot children: lamenting one while their own fate, that they had lived to that day; another while that of their children, that they had lived after that day.

CHAP. VI. Some people he placed upon the borders against his enemies, others he settled in the extreme parts of his kingdom. He distributed some he had taken in war, for the filling up of cities. And thus he made one kingdom and people out of many nations and peoples. The affairs of Macedonia being settled, and put in order, he reduces the Dardanians, and the rest of his neighbours, being trepanned by fraud. But neither does he keep his hands from his relations. For he resolved to drive Arrybas king of Epirus, allied to his wife Olympias in a very close relation, out of his kingdom. And he sends for Alexander his stepson, the brother of his wife Olympias, a boy of great beauty, into Macedonia, in the name of his sister; and having solicited him with the utmost application, by the hopes of a kingdom, pretending a mighty love for him, he engaged him in a criminal commerce; very likely to have the greater compliances from him, whether from the shame of his own guilt, or the benefit of a kingdom conferred upon him. When therefore he was come to twenty years of age, he delivered the kingdom taken from Arrybas to him but a boy, wicked in both. For he neither kept the law of kinship in him, from whom he took the kingdom; and he made him, to whom he gave it, a debauchee before he made him a king.

L I B E R IX.

B R E V I A R U M C A P I T U M.

1. *Philippus cogitat de Græcia subjuganda; ideo Byzantium, sed frustra obsidet.*
2. *A Scytharum rege variis modis deluditur, unde pugna, & præda abducta.*
3. *Triballi Philippum præda spoliant. Athenienses & Thebanos Philippus prælio atterit.*
4. *Victoria moderate utitur: sævit in Thebanos qui fortiter se gerunt.*
5. *Græciam pacare studet, ut Persas bello adoriatur.*
6. *Pausanias Philippum obtruncat, ultionem ab iniquo iudice exigens.*
7. *Philippus, Olympiade & Alexandro confectis, interficitur.*
8. *Philippi elogium, ejusdemque cum Alexandro filio, & successore, comparatio.*

C A P U T I.

IN Græciam Philippus cum venisset, sollicitatus paucarum civitatum dirptione; & ex præda modicarum urbium, quantæ opes universarum essent, animo prospiciens; bellum toti Græciæ inferre statuit. Ad cujus emolumentum egregie pertinere ratus, si Byzantium, nobilem & maritimam urbem, receptaculum terra marique copiis suis futuram, in potestatem redegisset, eam em, claudentem sibi portas, obsidione cinxit. Hæc namque urbs condita primo a Pausania, rege Spartanorum, & per VII annos possessa fuit; deinde variante victoria, nunc Lacedæmoniorum, nunc Atheniensium juris habita est. Quæ incerta possessio effecit, ut nemine quasi suam auxiliis juvante, libertatem constantius tueretur. Igitur Philippus, longa obsidionis mora exhaustus, pecuniæ commercium de piratica mutuatur. Captis itaq; centum septuaginta navibus, mercibusq; distractis, anhelantem inopiam paululum re-

AFTER Philip was come into Greece, being tempted with the plunder of a few cities, and foreseeing in his mind by the plunder of small cities, how great the riches of all would be, he resolved to make war upon all Greece. For the advantage of which, thinking it would conduce extraordinarily, if he could bring under his power Byzantium, a noble city and a sea-port, that would be a place of reception for his troops by land and by sea, he begirt by a close siege the same, shutting its gates upon him. For this city was built first by Pausanias king of the Spartans, and possessed for seven years: then as victory changed sides, it was one while reckoned the Lacedæmonians, and another while the Athenians. Which uncertain possession was the reason, that whilst nobody assisted it with troops as their own, it maintained its liberty more courageously. Wherefore Philip being exhausted by the long continuance of the siege borrows money from piracy. For having taken a hundred and seven ships, and sold off the commodities on board, he refreshed his breathless poverty a little. Then that so great an army might not be kept employed in the attacking of one city

creavit

creavit. Deinde, ne unius urbis oppugnatione tantus exercitus teneretur, profectus cum fortissimis, multas Cherſonenſium, urbes expugnat; filiumq; Alexandrum, decem & octo annos natum, ut, ſub militia patris tirocinii rudimenta deponeret, ad ſe arceſſit. In Scythiam quoque prædandi cauſa profectus eſt, more negotiantium, impenſas belli alio bello reſecturus.

CAP. II. Erat eo tempore rex Scytharum Atheas, qui, cum bello Iſtrianorum premeretur, auxilium a Philippo per Apollonienses petit, in ſucceſſionem eum regni Scythiæ adoptaturus. Cum interim Iſtrianorum rex decedens, & metu belli & auxiliorum neceſſitate Scythas ſolvit. Itaque Atheas, remiſſis Macedonibus, renunciari Philippo jubet, neque auxilium ejus ſe petiſſe, neque adoptonem mandaſſe. Nam neque vindicta Macedonum egere Scythas, quibus meliores forent: neque hæredem ſibi, incolumi filio, deſſe. His auditis Philippus legatos ad Atheam mittit, impenſæ obſidionis portionem petentes, ne inopia deſerere bellum cogatur. Quod eo promptius eum facere debere, quod miſſis a ſe in auxilium ejus militibus, ne ſumptum quidem vitæ, non modo officii prætiæ dederit. Atheas inclementiam cœli & terræ ſterilitatem cauſatus, quæ non patrimoniis ditet Scythas, ſed vix alimenta exhibeat, reſpondit, nullas ſibi opes eſſe, quibus tantum regem expleat; & turpius putare, parvo deſungi, quam totum abnuere: Scythas autem virtute animi, & duritia corporis non opibus cenſeri. Quibus deſiſus Philippus, ſoluta obſidione Byzantii, Scythica bella aggreditur, præmiſſis legatis, quo ſecuriores faceret, qui nun-

only, marching away with the ſtoutest of the ſoldiers, he takes many cities of the Cherſoneſians, and ſends for his ſon Alexander to him, eighteen years old, that he might under the command of his father, lay down the rudiments of the firſt inſtructions in war. He likewiſe marched into Scythia to plunder, after the manner of your trading people, deſigning to make up the expences of one war by another.

CHAP. II. Atheas was at that time king of the Scythians, who being diſtreſſed by a war of the Iſtrians, begs aſſiſtance of Philip by the Apollonians, intending to adopt him for the ſucceſſion of Scythia. Whiſt in the mean time the king of the Iſtrians dying, delivers the Scythians both from the fear of war, and the neceſſity of aſſiſtance. Wherefore Atheas ſending back the Macedonians, orders this word to be carried to Philip, that he had neither deſired his aſſiſtance, nor charged his embaſſadors with the affair of adoption. For neither did the Scythians ſtand in need of the protection of the Macedonians, than whom they were better; nor would an heir be wanting to him, whiſt his ſon was alive. Philip upon hearing theſe things, ſent embaſſadors to Atheas deſiring a part of the expence of the ſiege, that he might not be obliged to drop the war for want of money: which he ought, he ſaid, to do the more readily, becauſe he had not only not given the due rewards of their ſervices to the ſoldiers ſent to his aſſiſtance, but not ſo much as the expence of their march. Atheas alledging the rigour of the climate, and the barrenneſs of the land, which did not enrich the Scythians with wealth, but ſcarce ſupplied them with food, replied, that he had no riches, wherewith he might ſatisfy ſo great a king; and that he thought it more ſcandalous to do but a little, than to reſuſe the whole; and that the Scythians were looked upon for the mettle of their minds, and the hardineſs of their bodies, not their wealth. By which words Philip being bantered, raiſed the

tient Athæ, dum Byzantium obsidet, vovisse se statuam Herculi, ad quam in ostio Istræ ponendam se venire, pacatum accessum ad religionem dei petens, amicus ipse Scythiis venturus. Ille, si voto fungi vellet, statuam sibi mitti jubet; non modo ut ponatur, verum etiam ut inviolata maneat, pollicetur. Exercitum autem fines ingredi negat se passurum. At si invitis Scythiis statuam ponat; eo digressio sublatum, versurumque æs statuæ in aculeos sagittarum. His utrimq; irritatis animis prælium committitur. Cum virtute & numero præstarent Scythæ, astu Philippi vincuntur. Viginti millia puerorum ac sæminarum capta, pecoris magna vis, auri argentique nihil. Ea primum fides inopiæ Scythicæ fuit. Viginti millia nobilium equarum ad genus faciendum in Macedoniam missa.

cattle, but nothing of gold or silver. That was the first proof of the Scythians poverty. Twenty thousand fine mares were sent into Macedonia to raise a breed.

CAP. III. Sed revertenti ab Scythia Triballi Philippo occurrunt; negat se transitum daturus, nisi portionem accipiant prædæ. Hinc iurgium & mox prælium; in quo ita in femore vulneratus est Philippus, ut per corpus ejus equus interficeretur. Cum omnes occisum putarent, præda amissa est. Ita Scythica, velut devota, spolia pene luctuosa Macedonibus fuere. Ubi vero ex vulnere primum convaleuit, diu dissimulatum bellum Atheniensibus infert, quorum causæ Thebani se junxere, metuentes, ne victis Atheniensibus veluti vicinum incendium, bellum ad se transfret. Facta igitur inter duas paulo ante infestissimas civitates societate, legationibus Græciam fatigant; communem hostem putant communibus viribus submovendum;

siege of Byzantium, he enters upon a war against Scythia, ambassadors being sent before to render them more secure, and tell Athæas, that whilst he was besieging Byzantium he had vowed a statue to Hercules, to erect which at the mouth of the Istræ, he was coming, requesting a peaceable access to pay his devotion to the God, since he would come as a friend to the Scythians. He orders the statue to be sent him, if he had a mind to fulfil his vow: he promises not only that it should be set up, but also that it should remain unmeddled with; but denies that he would suffer any army to enter his country; and if he set up the statue in spite of the Scythians, after he was gone, he would take it away, and turn the brags of the statue into the points of arrows. Their minds being irritated on both sides by these means, a battle is fought. Tho' the Scythians excelled in valour and number, they are conquered by the subtle management of Philip. Twenty thousand boys and women were taken, and a vast number of

CHAP. III. But the Triballi meet Philip as he was returning from Scythia, and refuse to grant him a passage unless they had a share of the booty. Upon this ensued a wrangle, and presently a battle, in which Philip was so wounded in the thigh, that his horse was killed through his body. Whilst all thought he was slain, the plunder was lost. Thus the spoils of Scythia, as if accursed, were almost fatal to the Macedonians. But as soon as he recovered of his wound, he makes war upon the Athenians, the design of which had been so long dissimbled; to whose cause the Thebans joined themselves, fearing lest, after the Athenians were conquered, the war, like a fire in the neighbourhood, should spread to them. Wherefore an alliance being made betwixt the two cities, but a little before the most violent enemies to one another, they weary Greece with their embassies. They think that the common enemy was to be repelled by their common strength. For that Philip

neque

neq; enim cessaturum Philippum, si prospere prima successerint, nisi omnem Græciam domuerit. Motæ quædam civitates Atheniensibus se jungunt; quasdam autem ad Philippum belli metus traxit. Prælio commisso, cum Athenienses longe majore militum numero præstarent, assiduis bellis indurata virtute Macedonum vincuntur. Non tamen immemores pristinae gloriæ cecidere; quippe adversis vulneribus, omnes loca, quæ tuenda a ducibus acceperant, morientes corporibus texerant. Hic dies universæ Græciæ & gloriam dominationis & vetustissimam libertatem finivit.

CAP. IV. Hujus victoriæ callide dissimulata lætitia est. Denique non solita sacra Philippus illa die fecit; non in convivio risit; non ludos inter epulas adhibuit; non coronas aut unguenta sumpsit; &, quantum in illo fuit, ita vicit, ut victorem nemo sentiret. Sed nec regem se Græciæ, sed ducem appellari iussit. Atque ita inter tacitam lætitiā & dolorem hostium temperavit ut neque apud suos exultasse neque apud victos insultasse videretur. Atheniensibus, quos passus inferissimos fuerat, & captivos gratis remisit, & bello consumptorum corpora sepulturæ reddidit; reliquiasque funerum ut ad sepulcra majorum deferrent, ultro hortatus est. Super hæc Alexandrum filium cum amico Antipatro, qui pacem cum his amicitiamq; jungerent, Athenas misit. Thebanorum porro non solum captivos, verum etiam interfectorum sepulturam vendidit. Principes civitatis alios securi percussit; alios in exilium redegit, denaque omnium occupat. Pulsos deinde per injuriam in patriam restituit: ex

would not give over, if his first attempts succeeded well, 'till he had subdued all Greece. Some cities being wrought upon, joined themselves to the Athenians; but the fear of the war drew some over to Philip. A battle being fought, tho' the Athenians exceeded him far away in number of men, they are conquered by the courage of the Macedonians, that had been tempered by continual wars. Yet they did not fall unmindful of their former glory. For dying all with wounds received in the fore part of the body, they covered the places they had received from their leaders to maintain, with their bodies. This day ended both the glory of the mighty few, and the most antient liberty of all Greece.

CHAP. IV. The joy for this victory was craftily concealed. In fine, Philip did not perform the usual sacrifices that day. He did not laugh at table, nor mix any diversions with his entertainment. He used not crowns or ointments; and as much as was in him, he conquered so, that no body might perceive him to be a conqueror. But neither did he call himself the king, but the general of Greece. And he so managed himself betwixt a secret joy, and a regard to the enemies' sorrow, that he might neither appear among his subjects to rejoice, nor among the vanquished to insult them. He both released their prisoners for nothing to the Athenians, whom he had experienced to be his bitterest enemies; and restored the bodies of those that were slain in the battle for burial; and advised them to carry the relics of their dead into the sepulchres of their ancestors. Besides this, he sent Alexander his son with his friend Antipater to Athens, to make a peace and an alliance with them. But he not only sold the prisoners of the Thebans, but likewise the burial of their slain. Some leading men of the city he beheaded, others he forced into banishment, and seized upon all their estates. After that he restored to their country those that had been unjustly driven from thence: he made three hun-

horum

horum numero ccc exules iudices rectoresq; civitati dedit; apud quos cum potentissimi quique rei ejus ipsius criminis postularentur, quod per injuriam se in exilium egissent, hujus constantiæ fuerunt ut omnes se auctores faterentur, meliusque cum republica actum, cum damnati essent, quam cum restituti, contenderent. Mira prorsus audacia; de iudicibus vitæ necisq; suæ, quemadmodum possunt, sententiam ferunt; contemnuntque absolutionem, quam dare inimici possunt: & quoniam rebus nequeunt ulcisci, verbis usurpant libertatem.

CAP. V. Compositis in Græcia rebus, Philippus omnium civitatum legatos ad formandum rerum præsentium statum evocari Corinthum jubet. Ibi pacis legem universæ Græciæ pro meritis singularum civitatum statuit: consiliumque omnium, veluti unum senatum, ex omnibus legit. Soli Lacedæmonii & legem & regem contempserunt; servitutem non pacem rati, quæ non ipsis civitatibus conveniret, sed a victore ferretur. Auxilia deinde singularum civitatum describuntur, sive adjuvandus ea manu rex oppugnante aliquo foret, seu duce illo bellum inferendum. Neque enim dubium erat imperium Persarum his apparatibus peti. Summa auxiliorum ducenta millia peditum fuere & equitum quindecim millia. Extra hanc summam & Macedoniæ exercitus erat, & confinis domitarum gentium barbaries. Initio veris tres duces in Asiam Persarum juris præmittit, Parmenionem, Amyntam, & Attalum, cujus sororem, nuper expulsæ Alexandri matris Olympiæ propter stupri suspicionem, in matrimonium receperat.

dred of their number judges and governors; before whom, when all the most powerful men were called to account, as guilty of the very same crime, for having unjustly forced them into banishment, they were persons of that great courage, that they all confessed themselves the promoters of that matter, and stood to it, that it went better with the commonwealth, when they were condemn'd than when they were restored. Wonderful boldness indeed! they pass sentence upon the judges of their life and death, as far as they can; and despise the acquittal which their enemies can give them. And because they cannot revenge themselves by facts, they use a freedom however in their words.

CHAP. V. Affairs being settled in Greece, Philip orders deputies from all the cities to be summoned to Corinth to regulate the state of the present affairs. There he fixes articles of peace for all Greece, according to the deserts of every city; and chuses a council of them all, as it were one senate out of all. Only the Lacedæmonians despise both the law and the king; thinking it a state of slavery not peace, which had not been agreed upon by the cities themselves, but was made by the conqueror. Then the quotas of soldiers for every city are determined, whether the king was to be assisted by that army, in case of any one's attacking him, or a war was to be made upon any one under him as their general. For it was not doubted the empire of the Persians was aimed at by these preparations. The sum of the troops was two hundred thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Besides this sum too, there was the army of the Macedonians, and the neighbouring barbarians of the conquered nations. In the beginning of spring he sends before him three generals into Asia under the jurisdiction of the Persians, Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, whose sister he had taken in marriage, having lately divorced Olympias the mother of Alexander, upon suspicion of adultery.

CAP. VI. Interea, dum auxilia a Græcia coeunt, nuptias Cleopatæ filiæ & Alexandri, quem regem Epiri fecerat, celebrat. Dies erat pro magnitudine duorum regum & collocantis filiam & uxorem ducentis apparatibus insignis. Sed nec ludorum magnificentia deerat; ad quorum spectaculum Philippus dum sine custodibus corporis medius inter duos Alexandros, filium, generumque, contenderet; Pausanias, nobilis ex Macedonibus adolescens, nemini suspectus, occupatis angustiis, Philippum in transitu obtruncat; diemque lætitiæ destinatum, fœdum luctu funeris facit. Hic Pausanias primis pubertatis annis stuprum per injuriam passus ab Attalo fuerat; cujus indignitati hæc etiam fœditas accesserat; nam perductum in convivium solumque mero, Attalus, non suæ tantum, verum & convivarum libidini, velut scortum vile, subjecerat; ludibriumque, omnium inter æquales reddiderat. Hanc rem ægre ferens Pausanias querelam Philippo sæpe detulerat. Cum variis frustrationibus non sine risu differretur, & honoratum insuper ducatu adversarium cerneret; iram in ipsum Philippum vertit, ultionemque, quam ab adversario non poterat, ab iniquo iudice exegit.

CAP. VII. Creditum est etiam immisum ab Olympiade matre Alexandri fuisse; nec ipsum Alexandrum ignarum paternæ cædis extitisse: quippe non minus Olympiadem repudium, & prælatam sibi Cleopatram, quam stuprum Pausaniam doluisse. Alexandrum quoque, regni æmulum, fratrem ex noverca susceptum, timuisse: eoque factum, ut in convivio antea

CHAP. VI. In the mean time, whilst the troops draw together from Greece, he celebrates the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, and Alexander, whom he had made king of Epir. The day was remarkable for the pomp of it, suitable to the grandeur of the two kings, as well him that gave his daughter in marriage, as him that married her. But neither was the magnificence of games wanting; to the sight of which as Philip was going without his guards, in the midst betwixt the two Alexanders, his son and son-in-law, Pausanias, a noble youth of the Macedonians, suspected by nobody, having seized a narrow pass, kills Philip in his going through it, and makes the day destined to joy, dismal with the mourning of a funeral. This Pausanias, in the first year of his puberty, had by an outrage suffered a most scandalous abuse from Attalus, to the indignity of which this filthiness was added; for Attalus had subjected him, being brought into a feast, and drunk with wine, not only to his own lust, but also to that of the company, as if he had been a sorry whore; and had made him a laughing-stock among his fellows. Pausanias taking this thing heinously ill, had often carried his complaint to Philip. Being put off with divers baulks, not without being laughed at, and seeing his adversary, honoured moreover with a general's commission, he turns his rage upon Philip himself, and took his revenge, which he could not have of his enemy, of his unjust judge.

CHAP. VII. It was believed he was put upon this by Olympias, the mother of Alexander; and that Alexander was not ignorant of his father's death: for that Olympias had no less resented her divorce, and that Cleopatra had been preferred before her, than Pausanias had resented his abuse. That Alexander too feared his brother begot of his step-mother, as his rival for the kingdom; and had been thereby moved to quarrel at an entertainment, first with Attalus, and pre-

primum

primum cum Attalo, mox cum ipso patre iurgaret; adeo ut etiam stricto gladio eum Philippus confectatus sit, ægreque a filii cæde, amicorum precibus exoratus. Quamobrem Alexander ad avunculum se in Epirum cum matre, inde ad regem Illyriorum contulerat: vixq; revocanti mitigatus est patri, precibusque cognatorum ægre redire compulsus. Olympias quoque fratrem suum Alexandrum, Epiri regem, in bellum subornabat; pervicissetque, ni filiae nuptiis pater generum occupasset. His stimulis irarum utriq; Pausaniam, de impunitate stupri sui querentem, ad tantum facinus impulisse creduntur. Olympias certe fugienti percussori equos quoque præparatos habuit. Ipsa deinde, audita regis nece cum titulo officii ad exequias cucurrisset, in cruce pendentis Pausaniæ capiti, eadem nocte qua venit, coronam auream imposuit, quod nemo alius audere, nisi hæc, superstitute Philippi filio, potuisset. Paucos deinde post dies, relictum corpus interfectoris super reliquias mariti cremavit, & tumulum ei eodem fecit in loco, parentarique eidem quotannis, incussa populo superstitione, curavit. Post hæc Cleopatram, a qua pulsa Philippi matrimonio fuerat, in gremio ejus prius filia interfecta, finire vitam suspendio coegit, spectaculoque pendentis ultionem potita est, ad quam per parricidium festinaverat. Novissime gladium, quo rex percussus est, Apollini sub nomine Myrtalis consecravit; hoc enim nomen ante Olympiadis, parvulæ fuit. Quæ omnia ita palam facta sunt, ut timuisse videatur, ne facinus ab ea commissum non probaretur.

sently after with his father. So that Philip pursued him even with his drawn sword, and was hardly dissuaded from the killing of his son, by the entreaties of his friends. Wherefore Alexander had withdrawn himself from his mother into Epirus to his uncle, and from thence to the king of the Illyrians, and was with difficulty reconciled to his father recalling him, and not easily obliged by the entreaties of his relations to return. Olympias too was instigating her brother Alexander king of Epirus to a war with him, and would have prevailed, unless the father had prevented the son-in-law, by the marriage of his daughter to him. Upon these provocations to resentment, both of them are thought to have encouraged Pausanias complaining of the impunity of his abuse, to so great a villainy. Olympias certainly had horses too prepared for the flying murderer. And then she, upon hearing of the death of the king, coming to his funeral under a pretence of duty, the same night that she came, put a crown of gold upon the head of Pausanias, as he was hanging upon the cross; which no body could have dared to have done but she, whilst the son of Philip was alive. Then a few days after she burnt the body of the murderer, being taken down, upon the relics of her husband, and made him a tomb in the same place; and took care to have a ceremony of atonement performed to him every year, possessing the people with a superstitious whim for that purpose. After this she forced Cleopatra, by whom she had been dispossessed of her husband Philip, to end her life by hanging, having first slain her daughter on her lap, and enjoyed herself in the sight of her suffering this vengeance, to which she had hastened by parricide. At last she consecrated the sword with which the king was slain, to Apollo, under the name of Myrtale; for this was before the name of Olympias, when she was a little one. All which things were done so openly, that she seems to have been afraid, lest it should not be proved, that the villainy had been committed by her.

CAP.

CAP. VIII. Deceffit Philippus XL & VII annorum, cum annis XXV regnasset. Genuit ex Larissæa saltatrice filium Aridæum, qui post Alexandrum regnavit. Habuit & alios multos & variis matrimoniis regio more susceptos, qui partim fato, partim ferro periire. Fuit rex armorum quam conviviorum apparatibus studiosior; cui maximæ opes erant instrumenta bellorum; divitiarum quæstu quam custodia solertior; itaque inter quotidianas rapinas semper inops erat. Misericordia in eo & perfidia pari jure dilectæ. Nulla apud eum turpis ratio vincendi. Blandus pariter & insidiosus alloquio, qui plura promitteret, quam præstaret: in seria & jocos artifex. Amicitias utilitate non fide colebat. Gratiam fingere in odio, in gratia offensam simulare, instruere inter concordantes odia, apud utrumque gratiam quærere, solennis illi consuetudo. Inter hæc eloquentia insignis, oratio acuminis & solertiæ plena, ut nec ornatui facilitas, nec facilitati inventio, nec inventionibus deesset ornatus. Huic Alexander filius successit, & virtute & vitiis patre major. Itaque vincendi ratio utriusque diversa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hostibus, hic palam fufis. Prudentior ille consilio, hic animo magnificentior. Iram pater dissimulare, plerumque etiam vincere; hic ubi exarsisset, nec dilatio ultionis, nec modus erat. Vini nimis uterque avidus, sed ebrietatis diversa vitia. Pater de convivio in hostem procurrere, manum conferere, periculis se temere offerre; Alexander non in hostem, sed in suos sævire. Quamobrem Philippum sæpe vulneratum prælia remittere; hic amicorum

CHAP. VIII. Philip died forty seven years old, after he had reigned twenty five years. He had by a dancing mistress of Larissa, a son named Aridæus, who reigned after Alexander. He had likewise many others, which he had by several wives, after the manner of kings; who died partly by a natural death, and partly by the sword. He was a king more industrious in his preparations of arms, than feasts, whose great riches were the instruments of war; more dextrous at the getting of wealth, than the keeping of it: wherefore he was always poor among his daily ravages. In him mercy and perfidiousness were equally beloved. No way of conquering was scandalous with him. He was equally smooth and treacherous in his addresses, who would promise more than he would perform; well cut out either for serious conversation, or banter. He contracted alliances more from a principle of interest, than honour. It was a common practice with him, to pretend kindness in hatred; to counterfeit a disgust, where he had a kindness; to breed differences betwixt friends, and to curry favour with both sides. Among these qualities, his eloquence was remarkable, his language full of acuteness and art, that neither easiness was wanting to his dress, nor invention to his easy way, nor dress to his invention. Alexander his son succeeded him, greater than his father both in his good qualities, and his vices. Wherefore each had a different way of conquering. This prince managed his wars openly, the other by wiles. He rejoiced to impose upon his enemies, the other to rout them openly. He was more prudent in counsel, the other more magnificent in his temper. The father would dissemble his resentment, and often subdue it: when the other was angry, there was no delay of his revenge, nor any moderation in it. They were both too greedy of wine, but the faults of their drunkenness quite different. The father would run from an entertainment against his enemy, engage him, and rashly expose himself to dangers. Alexander vented his rage, not upon his inter-

interfector convivio frequenter excessit. Regnare ille cum amicis volebat, hic in amicos regna exercebat. Amari pater malle, hic metui. Literarum cultus utrique similis. Solertiæ pater majoris, hic fidei. Verbis atq; oratione Philippus, hic rebus moderatior. Parcendi victis filio animus & promptior & honestior, ille nec iociis abstinenceat. Frugalitati pater, luxuriæ filius magis deditus erat. Quibus artibus orbis imperii fundamenta pater jecit, operis totius gloriam filius consummavit.

the son to luxury. By the same arts by which the father laid the foundation of the empire of the world, did the son complete the glory of the whole work.

enemy, but his friends. Wherefore battle oftentimes sent Philip away wounded; the other frequently departed from an entertainment the murderer of his friends. He chose to reign with his friends, the other exercised his kingly power upon his friends. The father chose to be loved, the other to be feared. Their application to letters was alike in both. The father was a man of more dexterity, the other a man of more honour. Philip was more moderate in his words and talk, the other in his actions. The son had a soul more inclined to, and more honourable in, giving quarter to his enemies; the other spared not his allies. The father was more addicted to frugality,

LIBER X.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Artaxerxis filii in patrem conspirant. Sed conspiratione detecta, parricidii pœnas dant,*
2. *Causa parricidii ex multiplici libidine nata.*
3. *Ochus Artaxerxis successor, cognatorum principum strage regiam replet. Persicæ monarchiæ finis.*

C A P U T I.

ARtaxerxi regi Persarum ex pellicibus cxv filii fuere, sed tres tantum iusto matrimonio suscepti, Darius, Ariarates & Ochus. Ex his Darium contra morem Persarum, apud quos rex non nisi morte mutatur, per indulgentiam pater regem vivus fecit; nihil sibi ablatum existimans, quod in filium contulisset; sinceriusq; gaudium ex procreatione capturus, si insignia maiestatis suæ vivus in filio conspiceret. Sed Darius post nova paternæ pietatis exempla interficendi patris concilium cepit. Sceleratus, si solus parricidium agitallet; tanto sceleratior, quod in

ARtaxerxes, king of the Persians, had 115 sons by his concubines, but three only begot in lawful matrimony, Darius, Ariarates, and Ochus. Of these the father whilst living, out of his indulgence made Darius king, contrary to the usage of the Persians, among whom the king is not changed, but by death; thinking nothing to be taken from himself, that he should confer upon his son; and expecting to receive a more pure joy from the begetting of him, if whilst living he saw the badges of majesty in his son. But Darius, after this strange instance of his fathers affection, took up a design to kill his father: a wicked villain, if he alone had intended the parricide; but the more wicked, in that he

societatem

focietatem facinoris assumptos quinquaginta fratres fecit paricidas. Ostenti prorsus genus, ubi in tanto populo non solum sociari, verum etiam filere parricidium potuit; ut ex quinquaginta liberis nemo inventus sit, quem aut paterna majestas, aut veneratio senis, aut indulgentia patris, a tanta immanitate revocaret. Adeone vile paternum nomen apud tot numero filios fuit, ut quorum præsidio tutus etiam adversus hostes esse debuerat, eorum infidiis circumventus, tutior ab hostibus quam a filiis fuerit?

CAP. II. Causa paricidii sceleratione ipso paricidio fuit. Occiso quippe Cyro fraterno bello, cujus mentio supra habita est, Aspasiâ pellicem ejus rex Artaxerxes in matrimonium receperat. Hanc patrem cedere sibi, sicuti regnum Darius postulaverat: qui, pro indulgentia sua in liberos, primo facturum se dixerat; mox pœnitentia ductus, ut honeste negaret, quod temere promiserat, solis eam sacerdotio præfecit, quo perpetua illi ab omnibus viris pudicitia imperabatur. Hinc exacerbatus juvenis in jurgia primo patris erupit: mox facta cum fratribus conjuratione, dum patri infidias parat, deprehensus cum sociis pœnas paricidii diis paternæ majestatis ultoribus dedit. Conjuges quoque omnium cum liberis, ne quod vestigium tanti sceleris exstaret, interfectæ. Post hæc Artaxerxes morbo ex dolore contracto decedit, rex quam pater felicior.

CAP. III. Hæreditas regni Ocho tradita, qui, timens patrem conjurationem, regiam cognatorum cæde & strage principum replet, nulla non sanguinis, non sexus, non ætatis mise-

made fifty of his brothers, taken into a fellowship in this crime, parricides. It was indeed a sort of prodigy, that the parricide could not only be agreed upon by so numerous a company, but likewise be concealed; that not one out of fifty children was found, whom either the majesty of a father, or the veneration of an old man, or the indulgence of a father could reclaim from so great a cruelty. Was a father's name so contemptible among so many sons in number, that being attacked on all sides by a plot of those, under whose defence he ought to have been secured against his enemies, he was safer from his enemies than his sons?

CHAP. II. The cause of the parricide was more wicked than the parricide itself. For Cyrus being slain in the war against his brother, of which mention has been made above. Artaxerxes had taken his concubine Aspasia in marriage. Darius had desired his father to quit her to him, as he had done the kingdom; who, out of his fondness for his children, said at first that he would do it; but afterwards, induced by an alteration of his mind, that he might handsomely deny what he had rashly promised, he put her in the office of priestess of the sun, by which a perpetual forbearance of all familiar converse with men was enjoined her. The youth being enraged at this, broke out into railing against his father: by and by forming a conspiracy with his brothers, whilst he is laying a plot for his father, being discovered with his accomplices, he made satisfaction for this parricide to the Gods, the avengers of fatherly majesty. The wives of them all, together with their children, were put to death, that no sign of so great villainy might remain. After that Artaxerxes died of a distemper contracted by grief; more happy as a king, than a father.

CHAP. III. The inheritance of the kingdom was delivered to Ochus, who fearing the like conspiracy, fills the palace with the slaughter of his relations, and the murder of the grandees, moved with no pity neither of blood, sex, nor age; recordia

ricordia permotus; scilicet ne innocentior fratribus parricidis haberetur. Atque ita veluti purificato regno bellum Caduciis infert. In eo cum adversus provocatorem hostium Codomannus quidam omnium favore processisset, hoste cæso victoriam suis pariter & prope amissam gloriam restituit. Ob hæc decora idem Codomannus præficatur Armeniis. Interjecto deinde tempore post mortem Ochi regis, ob memoriam pristinae virtutis, rex a populo constituitur, Darii nomine, ne quid regiae majestati deesset, honoratus: bellumque cum Alexandro Magnodiu variante fortuna magna virtute gessit. Postremo victus ab Alexandro, & a cognatis occisus, vitam pariter cum perfarum regno finivit.

one would think, lest he should be accounted more innocent than the parricides his brethren. And then makes war upon the Cadusians, as if he had purified his kingdom. In that war Codomannus went against a challenger of the enemies, with the applause of all people; and killing his adversary, restored to his side at once the victory, and the glory which they had almost lost, For this commendable behaviour, the same Codomannus is set over the Armenians. Then some time after, upon the death of king Ochus, in memory of his former bravery, he is made king by the people, honoured with the name of Darius, that nothing might be wanting to his royal majesty: and he carried on a war with Alexander the Great a long time, with various fortune, and with great good conduct. At last being conquered by Alexander, and slain by his relations, he ended his life, together with the kingdom of the Persians.

L I B E R XI.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Occiso Philippo, Alexander Macedones in officio continet.
2. Initia principatus Alexandri. Persas bello aggredi constituit.
3. Græcos defectionem cogitantes coercet.
4. Thebas victis incolis evertit. Atheniensibus infestus.
5. Scævit in novercæ suæ cognatos, & in consanguineos suos; deinde bellum Persicum aggreditur.
6. Disciplinam militarem ordinat. Parva manu ingentia molitur. Persas prælio superat.
7. Insidiis vitatis, Gordium nodum fatalem callide solvit.
8. In gravissimum morbum incidit, & sanitati restituitur.
9. Ad alterum prælium apparatus. Atrox pugna. Strages Persarum, & fuga Darii, cujus uxor, mater, filia, captivæ ab Alexandro regie excipiuntur.
10. Persis superatis, a Persarum luxu Alexander superatur. Novæ in Oriente victoriæ. Tyrus expugnatur.
11. Provinciis non paucis receptis, pergit ad Hammonis oraculum.
12. Darii regnum ambit, & pacem petenti recusat.
13. Tertii prælii inter Alexandrum & Darium circumstantiæ quædam.
14. Ejusdem prælii descriptio. Persæ fugantur; victores præda ingenti potiuntur.
15. Darius

15. *Darius a suis vinctus, & multis vulneribus confossus, salutem dicit Alexandro, & in morte regium animum prodit. Alexander Darii obitum fletu & regia sepultura decorat.*

CAPUT I.

IN exercitu Philippi, sicut variae gentes erant, ita, eo occiso, diversi motus animorum fuere. Alii quippe injusta servitute oppressi, ad spem se libertatis erigebant: alii tædio longinquæ militiæ, remissam sibi expeditionem gaudebant: nonnulli facem nuptiis filiae accensam, rogo patri subditam dolebant. Amicos quoque, tam subita mutatione rerum haud mediocris metus ceperat, reputantes nunc provocatam Asiam, nunc Europam nondum perdomitam, nunc Illyrios, Thracas, Dardanos, cæternique barbaras gentes fidei dubiæ & mentis infidæ; qui omnes populi si pariter deficiant, fisci nullo modo posse. Quæis rebus veluti medicela quædam interventus Alexandri fuit; qui pro concione ita vulgus omne, consolatus hortatusque; pro tempore est, ut & metum timentibus demeret, & spe omnes impleret. Erat hic annos xx natus; in qua ætate ita moderate de se multa pollicitus est, ut appareret plura cum experimentis reservare. Macedonibus immunitatem cunctarum rerum, præter militiæ vacationem dedit; quo facto tantum sibi favorem omnium conciliavit, ut, corpus hominis, non virtutem regis mutasse se dicerent.

CAP. II. Prima illi cura paternarum exequiarum fuit; in quibus ante omnia, cædis conscius ad tumulum patris occidi iussit: soli Alexandro Lyncistæ fratri pepercit, servans in eo auspicium dignitatis suæ; nam re-

AS there were various nations in the army of Philip, so after he was slain, the affections of their minds were different. For some oppressed by unjust slavery, raised themselves to the hopes of recovering their liberty. Others from the dismal apprehension of an expedition into parts so remote, were glad they were excused from this service. Some lamented that the torch, that had been lighted up at the daughter's wedding, should be put under the father's funeral pile. No small fear too had seized upon his friends, upon so sudden a change of affairs; thinking one while upon Asia that had been provoked, another while Europe not yet quite conquered, another the Illyrians, Thracians, Dardanians, and other barbarous nations, of doubtful faith, and perfidious minds; and if all these people should rebel at once, the commonwealth could by no means be preserved from ruin. To all which things the coming in of Alexander was a cure; who in an assembly did so comfort and encourage the common people, that he removed the apprehensions of those that were afraid, and filled them all with hopes. He was 20 years old, at which age he promised many things of himself, but so modestly, that it appeared, he reserved more for trial. He granted the Macedonians an impunity in all cases, excepting a discharge from serving in the war. By which fact he procured to himself so much the favour of all people, that they said they had changed the body of the man, not the noble qualifications of their prince.

CHAP. II. His first care was for his father's exequies, in which, before all other things, he ordered those that were guilty of this murder, to be slain at the tomb of his father. He spared Alexander the brother of Lyncistas alone, preserving in him the omen of his dignity: for he

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gem cum primus salutaverat. *Æmulum quoque imperii Caranum fratrem ex noverca susceptum interfici curavit. Inter initia multas gentes rebellantes compescuit, orientes nonnullas seditiones extinxit. Quibus rebus erectus citato gradu in Græciam contendit, ubi, exemplo patris Corinthum evocatis civitatibus, dux in locum ejus substituitur. Inchoatum deinde a patre Persicum bellum aggreditur, in cujus apparatu occupato nuntiatur, Athenienses & Thebanos ab eo ad Persas defecisse, auctoremque ejus defectionis, magno auri pondere a Persis corruptum, Demosthenem oratorem extitisse; qui Macedonum deletas omnes cum rege copias a Triballis affirmaverit, producto in concionem auctore, qui in eo prælio, in quo rex ceciderit, se quoque vulneratum diceret. Qua opinione mutatus omnium ferme civitatum animos esse: præsidia Macedonum obsideri. Quibus motibus occursurus tanta celeritate instructo paratoque exercitu Græciam oppressit, ut, quem venire non senserant, videre se vix crederent.*

CAP. III. In transitu hortatus Thessalos fuerat; beneficiorumque Philippi patris, matremque suam cum his ab Æacidarum gente necessitudinis admonuerat. Cupide hæc Thessalis audientibus, exemplo patris dux universæ gentis creatus erat, & vestigia omnia reditusque suos ei tradiderant. Sed Athenienses, sicuti primi defecerant, ita primi poenitere coeperunt; contemptum hostis in admirationem vertentes, pueritiamque Alexandri, spretam antea, supra virtutem veterum ducum extollentes. Missis itaque legatis, bellum depre-

had first saluted him king. He took care likewise to have Caranus his brother, that was begot of a step-mother, his rival for the kingdom, slain. At the beginning he suppressed many nations that took up arms, and quashed some seditions in their budding. By which things being encouraged, he came into Greece by a very speedy march; where, after the example of his father, sending for the several cities to Corinth, he is substituted general in his room. Then he enters upon the Persian war, that had been begun by his father. In the preparations for which whilst he is busy, news is brought him that the Thebans and Athenians had revolted from him to the Persians, and that the author of that revolt was the orator Demosthenes, who had been bribed by the Persians, by a great sum of gold: who affirmed that all the army of the Macedonians, with their king, had been cut off by the Triballi, his author being brought into the assembly of the people, who said that he had been wounded in that battle, wherein the king fell. By which report the minds of almost all the cities were changed, and the garrisons of the Macedonians besieged. To oppose which commotions, he came upon Greece with an army provided and accoutred, with so much expedition, that they could scarce believe they saw him, whom they had not before heard was coming against them.

CHAP. III. In his passage he had encouraged the Thessalians to be quiet, and put them in mind of the kindnesses of his father Philip, and of his mother's alliance with them by the family of the Æacidae. The Thessalians hearing these things gladly; he had been, according to his father's example, made captain-general of the whole nation, and they had delivered to him all their taxes and publick revenue. But the Athenians, as they had first revolted, so did they first begin to repent it, turning their contempt of the enemy into an admiration of him, and extolling the youth of Alexander, which they had despised before, above the conduct of old generals. Wherefore sending

cantur;

cantur; quibus auditis & graviter increpatis, Alexander bellum remisit. Inde Thebas exercitum convertit, eadem indulgentia usurus, si parem poenitentiam invenisset. Sed Thebani armis, non precibus, nec deprecatione usi sunt. Itaque victi gravissima quæque supplicia miserimæ captivitatis experti sunt. In consilio cum de excidio urbis deliberaretur, Phocesenses & Plataenses & Thespienses & Orchomenii, Alexandri socii, victoriæque participes, excidia urbium suarum, crudelitatemque Thebanorum, referebant; studia in Persas non præsentia tantum, verum & vetera adversus Græciæ libertatem increpantes: Quamobrem odium eos omnium populorum esse: quod vel ex eo manifestari, quod iurejurando se omnes obstrinxerint, ut, victis Persis, Thebas diruerent. Adjiciunt & scelerum priorum fabulas, quibus omnes scenas repleverint, ut non præsentia tantum perfidia, verum & vetere infamia invisi forent.

CAP. IV. Tunc Cleadas, unus ex captivis, data potestate dicendi, non a rege defecisse, quem interfectum audierint, sed a regis hæredibus; quicquid in eo sit admissum, credulitatis, non perfidiæ, culpam esse; cujus tamen jam magna se supplicia pependisse, deleta juventute: nunc senum seminarumque, sicuti infirmum, ita innoxium restare vulgus; quod ipsum stupris contumeliisque; ita vexatum esse, ut nihil amarius unquam sint passi: nec jam pro civibus se, qui tam pauci remanserint, orare; sed pro innoxio patriæ solo, & pro urbe, quæ non viros tantum, verum & deos genuerit. Privata etiam regem superstitione deprecatur, geniti apud ipsos Herculis, unde originem gens Æacidarum

embassadors, they beg off the war. Which being heard, and severely reprimanded, he dropt the war against them. Then he turns his army towards Thebes, intending to use the same kindness, if he found the same repentance. But the Thebans made use of arms, not prayers, nor entreaty. Wherefore being conquered, they suffered all the most severe punishments of a most miserable captivity. When it was debated in a council of war about the destruction of the city, the Phocesians and Plataeans, and Thespians, and Orchomenians, Alexander's allies, and the sharers of his victory, give an account of the destruction of their cities, and the cruelty of the Thebans; upbraiding them not only with their present siding with the Persians, but likewise with their former favouring of that interest against the liberty of Greece. Wherefore, they said, they were hated of all people; which was plain from hence, that all the Greeks had engaged themselves by oath, to demolish Thebes, when they had conquered the Persians. They likewise add the stories of former villainies, with which they had filled all the stages, that they might be odious, not only for their present perfidiousness, but their old infamy.

CHAP. IV. Then Cleadas, one of the prisoners, having leave given him to speak, said, that they had not revolted from the king, who they heard was slain, but from the king's heir: whatsoever crime had been committed in that matter, was the fault of their credulity, not perfidiousness; for which, however, they had already suffered severe punishment: their youth being all slain, there now remained but a company of old men and women, as innocent as wax; which likewise had been so harrassed with ravishments, and other abuses, that they had never suffered any thing more dismal before: and that he did not now intercede for his countrymen, who were so few of them left, but for the innocent soil of his country, and for a city, which had not only produced men, but Gods. Then he endeavoured

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darum

darum trahat: actaq; Thebis a patre ejus Philippo pueritia: rogat, ubi parcat, quæ majores ejus partim apud se genitos, deos adoret; partim educatos, summæ majestatis reges viderit. Sed potentior fuit ira, quam preces. Itaq; urbs diruitur, agri inter victores dividuntur, captivi sub corona venduntur; quorum pretium non ex ementium commodo, sed ex inimicorum odio extenditur. Miseranda res Atheniensibus visa. Itaq; portas refugiis profugorum contra interdictum regis aperuere. Quam rem ita graviter tulit Alexander, ut secunda legatione denuo bellum deprecantibus, ita demum remiserit, ut oratores & duces, quorum fiducia toties rebellent, sibi dedantur: paratisq; Atheniensibus, ne cogantur subire bellum, eo res reducta est, ut retentis oratoribus, duces in exilium agerentur; qui ex continenti ad Darium profecti non mediocri momentum Persarum viribus accessere.

to do it, lest they should be obliged to undergo a war, the matter was brought to that issue, that their orators being kept, their generals should be forced into banishment, who immediately going over to Darius, joined him, and were no inconsiderable addition to the strength of the Persians.

C A P. V. Proficiscens ad Persicum bellum, omnes novæ suæ cognatos, quos Philippus in excelsiorem dignitatis locum provehens imperiis præfecerat, interfecit. Sed nec suis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit, ne qua materia seditionis procul se agente, in Macedonia remaneret; & reges stipendiarios conspectioris ingenii ad comititium secum trahit, segniores ad tutelam regni relinquit. Adunato deinde exercitu naves onerat; unde conspecta Asia, incredibili ardore mentis accensus duodecim aras Deorum in belli vota statuit. Patrimonium om-

ours to work upon the king by his own particular superstitious regard for Hercules, who had been born among them; from whom the family of the Æacidae had derived their extraction; and reminding him of the youthful age, which had been passed at Thebes by his father Philip, he begs of him to spare the city, which in part adored his ancestors, who had been born among them as Gods; in part had seen them, after they had been educated there, kings of the highest majesty. But anger was more prevalent than prayers. Wherefore the city is demolished, the lands are divided among the conquerors, and the prisoners sold under a crown; whose price is raised not according to the interest of the buyers, but the hatred of their enemies. It seemed to the Athenians a piteous case. Wherefore they opened their gates for the reception of the banished Thebans, contrary to the king's prohibition. Which thing Alexander took so ill, that upon their begging off the war by a second embassy, he at last dropt it; yet so, that their orators and generals, in confidence of whom they rebelled so often, should be delivered up to him. And the Athenians being ready

C H A P. V. Upon his going to the Persian war, he slew all his stepmother's relations, whom Philip advancing to any high post of dignity, had placed in command. But neither did he spare his own relations, who seemed fit for the kingdom, lest any occasion of sedition should remain in Macedonia, whilst he was a great way off. He takes too the tributary princes of eminent parts to the war with him, but leaves the duller for the defence of his kingdom. Then drawing his army together, he fills his ships, from whence having seen Asia, being fired with an incredible ardor of mind, he erected altars to the twelve Gods, in order to put up his prayers for success in this war. He divides all his estates, which he had in Macedonia

ne suum, quod in Macedonia, Europaque habebat, amicis dividit, *sibi Asiam sufficere* præfatus. Priusquam ulla navis litore excederet, hostias cædit, potens victoriam bello, quo toties a Persis petita Græciæ ultor electus sit: quibus longa jam satis & matura imperia contigisse, quorumq; tempus esse vices excipere melius acturos. Sed nec exercitus ejus alia, quam regis animorum præsumptio fuit; quippe oblitum omnes conjugum, liberorumq; & longinquæ domo militiæ, Persicum aurum & totius Orientis opes, jam quasi suam prædam ducebant; nec belli periculorumque, sed divitiarum meminerant. Cum delati in continentem essent, primus Alexander jaculum velut in hostilem terram jecit, armatusq; de navi tripudianti similis prosiluit, atque ita hostias cædit precatus, *ne se regem illæ terræ invitæ accipiant*. In Illo quoq; ad tumulos heroum, qui Trojano bello ceciderant, parentavit.

CAP. VI. Inde hostem petens milites a populatione Asiæ prohibuit, *parcendum suis rebus præfatus, nec perdenda ea quæ possessuri venerint*. In exercitu ejus fuere peditum xxx. duo millia, equitum quatuor millia quingenti, naves centum LXXXII. Hac tam parva manu universum terrarum orbem utrum sit admirabilius vicerit, an aggredi ausus fuerit, incertum est. Cum ad tam periculosum bellum exercitum legeret, non juvenes robustos, nec primum florum ætatis sed veteranos, plerosq; ætiam emeritæ militiæ, qui cum patre patruisq; militaverant, elegit; ut non tam milites, quam magistros militiæ electos putares. Ordines quoq; nemo nisi sexagenarius duxit; ut si principia ca-

and Europe, among his friends; declaring, that Asia was sufficient for him. Before any ships went from the shore, he kills sacrifices, praying for victory in that war, wherein he had been chosen the avenger of Greece; which had been so often invaded by the Persians, who, he said, had had an empire long enough, and now ripe; and whose turn it was now time for those that would behave better to take. But neither was the expectations of his army any other than those of the king. For all of them forgetting their wives and children, and this expedition so far from home, they accounted the Persian gold, and the wealth of all the East, as their plunder; nor did they think of the war, and the dangers of it, but riches only. When they were arrived at the continent of Asia, Alexander first of all discharged a lance as into an enemy's country, and leaped from the ship, armed like one dancing, and so slays sacrifices, praying that those countries would not receive him unwillingly as their prince. He likewise made his offerings at Ilium, at the tombs of the heroes who had fallen in the Trojan war.

CHAP. VI. After that marching against the enemy, he kept his soldiers from wasting Asia, declaring, that they ought to spare their own things, and not destroy what they came to possess. There were in his army thirty-two thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, and a hundred and eighty-two ships. It is uncertain whether it is more wonderful that he conquered the whole world with this so small an army, or should dare attempt it. When he raised his army for so dangerous a war, he did not chuse robust young fellows, nor those in the flower of their age, but veterans, most of them such as had served up their times in the war, who had fought under his father and his uncles; that you would have thought, that not soldiers, so much as masters of the art of war, were chosen by him. None led the companies, but who was sixty years of age; that if you had seen the principal of

strorum cerneret, senatum te alicujus priscæ reipublicæ videre diceret. Itaq; nemo in prælio fugam, sed victoriam cogitavit; nec in pedibus cuiquam spes, sed in lacertis fuit. Contra rex Persarum Darius, fiducia virium, nil astu agere, affirmans suis, *occulta concilia victoriæ furtivæ convenire*, nec hostem regni finibus arcere, sed in intimum regnum accipere; gloriofius ratus repellere bellum, quam non admittere. Prima igitur congressio in campis Adraſtiis fuit. In acie Persarum sexcenta millia fuere, quæ non minus arte Alexandri, quam virtute Macedonum superata, terga verterunt. Magna itaq; cædes Persarum fuit. De exercitu Alexandri novem pedites, centum viginti equites cecidere, quos rex impense ad cæterorum exemplum humatus statuis equestribus donavit cognatisq; eorum immunitates dedit. Post victoriam major pars Asiæ ad eum defecit. Gessit & plura bella cum præfectis Darii, quos jam non tam armis, quam terrore nominis sui vicit.

CAP. VII. Dum hæc aguntur, interim indicio captivi ad eum defertur, insidias ei ab Alexandro Lyncistarum, genero Antipatri, qui præpositus Macedoniae erat, parare. Ob quam causam timens, ne quis interfecto eo in Macedonia motus oriretur, in vinculis eum habuit. Post hæc Gordium urbem petit, quæ posita est inter Phrygiam majorem & minorem; cujus urbis potiundæ non tam propter prædam cupido eum cepit, sed quod audierat in ea urbe in templo Jovis jugum plauſtri Gordii positum, cujus nexum si quis solviſſet, eum tota Asia regna-

his camp, you would have said you saw the senate of some ancient republick. Wherefore nobody thought of flight in battle, but victory; nor was any one's hopes in his feet, but his arms. On the other hand, Darius, king of the Persians, in confidence of his strength, did nothing in the way of stratagem; affirming to his ministers, that clandestine counsels were suitable to a stolen victory; and that he would not drive the enemy from his borders, but receive him in the middle of his kingdom; thinking it more glorious to drive the war out of his country, than not to give it entrance. Wherefore the first engagement was in the plains of Adastria. There were in the army of the Persians six hundred thousand men, which being conquered, no less by the conduct of Alexander, than the bravery of the Macedonians, turned their backs. Wherefore there was a great slaughter of the Persians. There fell of Alexander's army nine foot, and a hundred and twenty horse; whom the king buried sumptuously, for an example to the rest, and honoured with statues on horseback; and granted immunities to their relations. After the victory, the greater part of Asia revolted to him. He fought two more battles with the lieutenants of Darius, whom he now conquered, not so much by his arms, as the terror of his name.

CHAP. VII. Whilst these things are doing, in the mean time an information is brought to him by the discovery of a prisoner, that plot was laid for him by Alexander Lyncistas, son-in-law of Antipater, who had been set over Macedonia. For which reason, fearing lest if he should be put to death, some disturbance should arise upon it in Macedonia, he kept him in chains. After this he goes to the city Gordium, which is situated betwixt the greater and the lesser Phrygia. A desire of taking which city had seized him, not so much for the plunder of it, but because he had heard that the yoke of the Gordian cart was laid up in that city in the temple of Jupiter; the knot of which if any one should loose, the oracles had foretold

turum

tutum antiqua oracula cecinisse. Hujus rei causa & origo illa fuit. Gordius cum in his regionibus bubus conductis araret aves eum omnes generis circumvolare cœperant. Profectus ad consulendos augures vicinæ urbis obviam in porta habuit virginem eximæ pulchritudinis; percontatus eam, quem potissimum augurem consuleret; illa audita causa consulendi, gnara artis ex disciplina parentum, regnum ei portendi, respondit: polliceturque se & matrimonii & spei sociam. Tam pulchra conditio, prima regni felicitas videbatur. Post nuptias inter Phrygas orta seditio est. Consulentibus de fine discordiarum oracula responderunt, regem discordiis opus esse. Iterato quærentibus de persona regis, jubentur eum regem observare, quem reversi primum in templum Jovis euntem plaustrum reperissent. Obvius illis Gordius fuit, statimque eum regem consalutant. Ille plaustrum, quo vehenti regnum delatum fuerat, in templo Jovis positum, majestati regis consecravit. Post hunc filius Mida regnavit, qui ab Orpheo sacrorum solennibus initiatus Phrygiam religionibus implevit; quibus tutior omni vita quam armis fuit. Igitur Alexander, capta urbe, cum in templum Jovis venisset, jugum plaustrum Gordii requisivit; quo exhibito, cum capita loramentorum intra nodos abscondita reperire non posset, violentius oraculo usus gladio loramenta cædit atque ita resolutis nexibus, latentia in nodis capita invenit.

CAP. VIII. Hæc illi agentinunciatur, Darium cum ingenti exercitu adventare. Itaque timens angustias magna celeritate Taurum transcendit, in qua festinatione quingenta stadia

that he should reign over all Asia. The cause and original of this matter was this. As Gordius was plowing with hired oxen in those parts, birds of every kind began to fly about him. Going to consult the augurs of a neighbouring city, he met in the gate of it a virgin of extraordinary beauty; and asked her, which augur above others he should consult. She understanding the occasion of his consulting them, and being skilled in the art from the instructions of her parents, answered, that a kingdom was portended for him, and promises she would be the companion of his marriage and hopes. So fine a match seemed the principal happiness of a kingdom. After the marriage there arose a sedition among the Phrygians. The oracles answered them consulting them about the end of their differences, that a king was necessary for the composing of their differences. Upon enquiring again about the person of their king, they are ordered to look upon him as their king, whom upon their return they should find going to the temple of Jupiter in a cart. Gordius met them, and presently they unanimously salute him as their king. He consecrated the cart, in which as he was riding the kingdom had been offered him, to royal Majesty, being laid up in the temple of Jupiter. After him his son Mida reigned, who being initiated by Orpheus in the holy mysteries, filled all Phrygia with religious rites; by which he was more secure all his life long, than by his arms. Wherefore Alexander, after he had taken the city, when he was come into the temple of Jupiter, called for the yoke of the Gordian cart; which being produced, when he was not able to find the heads of the straps within the knot, using the oracle somewhat roughly, he cuts the straps with his sword; and so having loosed the plats, he found the heads hid within the knots.

CHAP. VIII. News is brought him, whilst he is doing those things, that Darius was coming against him with a huge army. Wherefore fearing the streets, he passes Mount Taurus with great expedition; in which haste he made a march of

curfu fecit. Cum Tarsum venisset, captus Cydni fluminis amœnitate, per mediam urbem influentis, projectis armis, plenus pulveris ac sudoris in præfrigidam undam se projecit. Tum repente tantus nervos ejus occupavit rigor, ut, interclusa voce, non spes modo remedii, sed nec dilatio periculi inveniretur. Unus erat ex medicis nomine Phillippus, qui solus remedium polliceretur: sed & ipsum Parmenionis pridie a Cappadocia missæ epistolæ suspectum faciebant; qui ignarus infirmitatis Alexandri scripserat, a Philippo medico caveret, nam corruptum illum a Dario ingenti pecunia esse. Tutius tamen est ratus, dubiæ se fidei medici credere quam indubitato morbo perire. Accepto igitur poculo epistolas medico tradidit, atque ita inter bibendum oculos in vultum legentis intendit. Ut securum conspexit, lætior factus est, sanitatemque quarta die recepit.

CAP. IX. Interea Darius cum quadragintis millibus pedum, ac centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit. Movebat hæc multitudo hostium, respectu paucitatis suæ, Alexandrum; sed interdum reputabat, quantas res cum ista paucitate gessisset, quantosq; populos fudisset. Itaque cum spes metum vinceret periculosius differre bellum ratus, ne desperatio suis cresceret, circumvectus suos, singulas gentes diversa oratione alloquitur. Illyrios & Thracas opum ac divitiarum ostentatione, Græcos veterum bellorum memoria interneciviq; cum Persis odii accendebat; Macedones autem nunc Europæ victæ admonet, nunc Asiæ expetitæ, nec inventos illis toto orbe pares

five hundred stadia. When he was come to Tarsus, being taken with the pleasantness of the river Cydnus, running through the middle of the city, casting off his arms, he threw himself into the water, which was excessively cold, all covered over with dust and sweat. Then on a sudden so great a numbness seized his nerves, that his voice being stopt, not only no hopes of remedy, but not so much as a delay of the danger could be found. There was one of his doctors, by name Philip, who alone promised a cure; but a letter of Parmenio's, that was sent the day before from Cappadocia, made him to be suspected; who being ignorant of Alexander's illness, had writ to him to have a care of his physician Philip, for he was corrupted by Darius with a great sum of money. Yet he thought it safer to trust the doubtful faith of the physician than perish by a distemper that would undoubtedly dispatch him. Wherefore taking the cup, he delivered the letter to the doctor, and so as he drunk, he fixt his eyes upon his countenance as he read. When he saw him secure, he was a little cheared and recovered his health by the fourth day after.

CHAP. IX. In the mean time Darius came into the field with four hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. This vast number startled Alexander, upon considering his own little number. But he sometimes considered what great things he performed with that small army, and what great nations he had conquered. Wherefore as his hopes overcame his fears, thinking it more dangerous to defer fighting, lest despair should grow upon his men, riding about his troops, he addresses himself to every nation in a different sort of speech. He fired the Illyrians and Thracians by a pompous mention of the wealth and riches of the enemy; the Greeks, by the putting them in mind of their ancient wars, and deadly animosity against the Persians. He reminds the Macedonians one while of Europe they had conquered, another while of Asia they had invaded; and boasts

viros

viros gloriatur. Cæterum & laborum finem hunc & gloriæ cumulum fore. Atque inter hæc identidem consistere aciem jubet, ut hac mora consuescant oculis turbam hostium sustinere. Nec Darii regis opera in ordinanda acie defuit. Quippe omnis ducum officiis ipse omnia circumire, singulos hortari, veteris gloriæ Persarum, imperiique perpetuæ a diis immortalibus datæ possessionis admonere. Post hæc prælium ingentibus animis committitur. In eo uterque rex vulneratur. Tam diu certamen anceps fuit, quoad fugeret Darius. Exinde cædes Persarum secuta est. Cæsa sunt peditum unum ex sexaginta millia, equitum decem millia, capta quadraginta millia. Ex Macedonibus cecidere pedestres cxxxiii. equites cl. In castris Persarum multum auri cæterarumque opum inventum. Inter captivos castrorum mater & uxor, eademque soror, & filiæ duæ Darii fuere. Ad quas vicendas hortandasque cum Alexander venisset, conspectis armatis, invicem se amplexæ, velut statim morituræ, complorationem ediderunt. Provolutæ deinde genibus Alexandri non mortem, sed dum Darii corpus sepeliant, dilationem mortis, deprecantur. Motus tanta mulierum pietate Alexander & Darium vivere dixit, & timentibus mortis metum dempsit, easque haberi ut reginas præcepit. Filias quoque non fordidius dignitate patris sperare matrimonium iussit.

CAP. X. Post hæc opes Darii, divitiarumque apparatus contemplatus admiratione tantarum rerum capitur. Tunc primum luxuriosa convivia & magnificentium epularum sectari, tunc Barsenen captivam deligere

that no strength in the whole world had been found a match for him. But this, he said, would be an end of their toils, and the topping up of their glory. And in the mean time he orders the army to halt now and then, that by that lingering they might be used to bear the sight of so great a multitude. Nor was the diligence of Darius wanting in the marshalling of his army; for suspending the offices of the commanders, he went about into all parts, encouraged every one, put them in mind of the ancient glory of the Persians, and the perpetual possession of empire, which had been given them by the Gods. After this a battle is fought with great courage. In that both kings are wounded. The battle was doubtful so long, 'till Darius fled. After that followed a slaughter of the Persians. There were slain sixty-one thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and forty thousand taken. There fell of the Macedonians a hundred and thirty-three foot, and a hundred and fifty horse. Much gold and other wealth was found in the camp of the Persians. Among the prisoners of the camp, was the mother and the wife, and the same the sister of Darius, and his two daughters. To see and comfort whom, when Alexander was coming, upon seeing armed men, embracing one another, as if they should die immediately, they set up a wailing. Then falling at the knees of Alexander, they refuse not death, but only beg for a delay of death 'till they should bury the body of Darius. Alexander being much affected at the ladies dutiful regard to the memory of Darius, both told them that Darius was yet alive, and took away the fear of death from them that were afraid; and ordered them to be treated as queens; and bid the daughters expect husbands not below the dignity of their father.

CHAP. X. After this, taking a view of the wealth and rich furniture of Darius, he is seized with an admiration of those things. And then first of all did he begin to affect luxurious feasts, and the magnificence of entertainments; and then to love Barsene his prisoner, for her beauty; propter

propter formæ pulchritudinem cœpit. Atque postea susceptum puerum Herculem vocavit. Memor tamen adhuc Darium vivere Parmenionem ad occupandam Persicam classē, aliosque amicos ad recipiendas Asiæ civitates misit, quæ statim audita fama victoriæ, ipsis Darii præfectis cum auri magno pondere tradentibus se, in potestatem victorum venerunt. Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvios cum insulis multos orientis reges habuit. Ex his pro meritis singulorum alios in societatem recepit; aliis regnum ademit, suffectis in loca eorum novis regibus. Insignis præter cæteros fuit Abdalonimus, rex ab Alexandro Sidoniæ constitutus. Quem Alexander, cum operam oblocare ad puteos exhaustiendos hortosque irrigandos solitus esset, mittere vitam exhibentem, regem fecerat, spretis nobilibus ne generis, non dantis id beneficium putarent. Tyrionum civitas cum coronam auream magni ponderis per legatos in titulum gratulationis Alexandro misisset, grate munere accepto, Tyrum se ire velle ad vota Herculi reddenda dixit. Cum legati rectius id eum in Tyro vetere & antiquiore templo facturum dicerent, in deprecantes ejus introitum ita exarsit, ut urbi excidium minaretur: confestimque exercitu insulæ applicato, non minus animosis Tyriis fiducia Carthageniensium, bello excipitur. Augebat enim Tyriis animos Didonis exemplum, quæ Carthagine condita tertiam partem orbis quæsisset, turpe ducentes, si feminis suis plus animi fuisset in imperio quærendo, quam sibi in tuenda libertate. Amota igitur inbelli ætate Carthaginem, & arcessitis mox auxiliis non magno post tempore per proditi-

nem capiuntur.

by whom he had afterwards a son, which he called Hercules. Yet being mindful that Darius was yet alive, he sent Parmenio to seize the Persian fleet, and others of his friends to take in the cities of Asia; which immediately, upon hearing the news of the victory, came into the power of the conquerors; Darius's lieutenants surrendering themselves with vast quantities of gold. Then he marches into Syria, where he had to meet him many kings of the East, with badges of peace. Of these, according to the merits of each, some he took into an alliance with him; from others he took their kingdom, new kings being put in their places. Abdalonimus was remarkable above the rest, being made king of Sidonia by Alexander; whom leading his life very miserably, since he used to let out his labour to draw wells, and water gardens, Alexander had made king, rejecting the nobles, lest they should think that favour proceeded from their quality, rather than the kindness of the donor. When the city of the Tyrians sent a golden crown of great weight by ambassadors to Alexander, under the notion of congratulating him, their present being kindly received, he said he would go to Tyre to pay his vows to Hercules. When the ambassadors said he would do that better in old Tyre, and in the more ancient temple, he was so inflamed against them intreating that he would not enter their town, that he threatened destruction to their city. And his army being immediately brought up to the island, the Tyrians being no less courageous by reason of their confidence in the Carthaginians, he is entertained with war. For the example of Dido increased the courage of the Tyrians, who having built Carthage, had acquired a third part of the world; thinking it a shame for them, if their women should have more courage in the acquiring of dominion, than they had in defending their liberty. Wherefore all the people of an age unfit for war, being removed to Carthage, and assistance being presently sent for, they are taken by treachery no long time after.

C A P.

CAP. XI. Inde Rhodum Alexander Ægyptum, Ciliciamque sine certamine recipit. Ad Jovem deinde Hammonem pergit, consulturus & de eventu futurorum & de origine sua. Namque mater ejus Olympias confessa viro suo Philippo fuerat, Alexandrum non ex eo se, sed ex serpente ingentis magnitudinis concepisse. Deniq; Philippus ultimo prope vitæ suæ tempore, filium suum non esse palam prædicaverat. Qua ex causa Olympiadem, velut stupri compertam, repudio dimiserat. Igitur Alexander cupiens originem divinitatis acquirere, simul & matrem infamia liberare, per præmissos subornat antistites, quid sibi responderi velit. Ingredientem templum statim antistites ut Hammonis filium salutant. Ille lætus dei adoptione hoc se patre censerī jubet. Rogat deinde an omnes interfectores parentis sui sit ultus? Respondetur, patrem ejus nec posse interfici nec mori; regis Philippi peractam plene ultionem esse. Tertiā interrogationem poscenti, victoriam omnium bellorum, possessionemq; terrarum dari respondetur. Comitibus quoque suis responsum, ut Alexandrum pro deo, non pro rege colerent. Hinc illi aucta insolentia, mirusque animo increvit tumor, exempta comitate, quam & Græcorum litteris & Macedonum institutis didicerat. Reversus ab Hammone Alexandriam condidit, & coloniam Macedonum caput esse Ægypti jubet.

CAP. XII. Darius cum Babyloniam profugisset, per epistolas Alexandrum deprecatur, redimendarum sibi captivarum potestatem faciat, inque eam rem magnam pecuniam pollicetur. Sed Alexander in pretium capti-

CHAP. XI. *After that, Alexander took in Rhodes, Egypt, and Cilicia, without striking a stroke. And then goes to Jupiter Hammon, to consult him both about the event of future affairs, and his own original. For his mother Olympias had confessed to his father Philip, that she had conceived Alexander not by him, but by a serpent of a huge bigness. Finally Philip, almost at the latter end of his time, had declared openly, that he was none of his son. For which cause he had put away by divorce Olympias, as plainly guilty of adultery. Wherefore Alexander being desirous to acquire the honour of a divine extraction, and at the same time to deliver his mother from infamy, he instructs the priests by whom he sent before him, what he would have answered him. The priests accordingly salute him, immediately upon his entering the temple, as the son of Hammon. He rejoicing at the adoption of the God, orders himself to be looked upon as begot by that father. Then he enquires, whether he had been revenged upon all the murderers of his father? Answer is made, that his father could neither be slain, nor die; but that the revenge of king Philip's death was fully accomplished. Upon his putting a third question, answer is made him, that victory in all his wars, and the possession of the world was given him. Answer was made too to his attendants, that they should reverence Alexander as a God, and not as a king. Upon this his insolence was increased, and a wonderful swelling grew up in his mind; that complaisance, which he had imbibed both from the learning of the Greeks, and the customs of the Macedonians being quite abolished in him. Returning from Hammon, he built Alexandria, and orders that colony of the Macedonians to be the metropolis of Egypt.*

CHAP. XII. *After Darius had fled to Babylon, he entreats Alexander by a letter to give him leave to redeem his prisoners; and promises him a great sum of money upon that account. But Alexander demands his whole kingdom, and not money, as the price of his prisoners. Some*

varum

varum regnum omne, non pecuniam petit. Interjecto tempore, aliæ epistolæ Darii Alexandro redduntur, quibus filiæ matrimonium & regni portio offertur. Sed Alexander sua sibi dari rescripsit; iussitq; supplicem venire, & regni arbitria victori permittere. Tum spe pacis amissa, bellum Darius reparat; cum quadringentis millibus peditum, & centum millibus equitum obviam vadit Alexandro. In itinere nuntiatur, uxorem ejus ex collisione abjecti partus decessisse, ejusq; mortem illacrymatum Alexandrum, exequiasq; benigne profecutum, idq; eum non amoris, sed humanitatis causa fecisse. Nam semel tantum eam Alexandro visam esse, cum matrem filiasque ejus parvulas frequenter consolaretur. Tunc Darius se ratus vere victum, cum post tot prælia etiam beneficiis ab hostis superaretur, gratumq; sibi esse, si vincere nequeat, quod a tali potissimum vinceretur. Scribit itaq; & tertias epistolas, & gratias agit, quod nihil in suos hostile fecerit. Offert deinde majorem partem regni usque flumen Euphratem, & alteram filiam uxorem, pro reliquis captivis triginta millia talentum. Ad hæc Alexander Gratiarum actionem ab hoste supervacaneam esse respondit; nec a se quicquam factum in hostis adulationem, nec quod in dubios belli exitus, aut in leges pacis sibi lenocinia quæreret; sed animi magnitudine, qua didicerit adversus vires hostium, non adversus calamitates contendere; polliceturque, præstaturum se ea Dario, si secundus sibi, non par haberi velit. Cæterum, neque mundum posse duobus solibus regi; neque orbem summa duo regna salvo statu terrarum habere; proinde aut deditionem ea dic, aut in po-

time after, another letter of Darius's is given Alexander, in which the marriage of a daughter, and a share of his kingdom is offered him. But Alexander writ him word again, that his own was given him; and ordered him to come as a suppliant, and leave the disposal of his kingdom to the conqueror. Then all hopes of peace being lost, Darius renews the war and goes to meet Alexander with four hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. News is brought him upon his march, that his wife had died of a miscarriage, and that Alexander lamented her death, and kindly attended her funeral; and that he had done it, not out of love, but humanity. For she had been only once seen by Alexander; whereas he frequently comforted his mother and little daughters. Then Darius thought himself conquered indeed, now that he was outdone in kindnesses too by his enemy, after so many battles; and declared it was however agreeable to him, since he could not conquer, that he was conquered by such an one. Wherefore he writes a third letter, and gives him thanks, that he had done nothing like an enemy towards his relations. Then he offers him a greater part of his kingdom as far as the river Euphrates, and the other daughter to wife, and thirty thousand talents for the other prisoners. To this Alexander replied, That the giving of thanks by an enemy was needless; and that nothing had been done by him to flatter his enemy; nor that he sought out means of mollifying him against the doubtful events of the war, or for procuring better terms of peace; but from a greatness of mind, by which he had been taught to fight against the force of his enemies, and not against their misfortunes. And he promises, he would do those things for Darius, if he would be content to be accounted next to him, and not his equal. But neither could the world be governed by two suns, nor the globe of the earth have two great empires in it, in a secure condition; that therefore he would either prepare to surrender himself that day,

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steram aciem paret, nec polliceatur sibi aliam, quam sit expertus, victoriam.

CAP. XIII. Postera die aciem producunt. Tum repente ante prælium confectum curis Alexandrum somnus arripuit. Cum ad pugnam solus rex deesset, a Parmenione ægre excitatus, quærentibus somni causas omnibus inter pericula, cujus etiam in otio semper parcior fuerit, magno se æstu liberatum ait, somnumque sibi a repentina securitate datum, quod liceat cum omnibus Darii copiis configere; veritum se longam belli moram, si Persæ exercitum divisissent. Ante prælium utraque acies hostibus spectaculo fuit. Macedones multitudinem hominum, corporum magnitudinem, armorumque pulchritudinem mirabantur: Persæ a tam paucis victa suorum tot millia stupebant. Sed nec duces circumire suos cessabant. Darius vix denis armatis singulos hostes si divisio fieret, evenire dicebat. Alexander Macedones monebat, ne multitudine hostium, nec corporis magnitudine, vel coloris novitate moverentur; tantum meminisse jubet, cum iisdem se tertio pugnare, nec meliores factus putarent fuga, cum in aciem secum tam tristem memoriam cædium suarum, & tantum sanguinis duobus præliis fusi ferrent: & quemadmodum Dario majorem turbam hominum esse, sic virorum sibi. Hortatur spernant illam aciem auro & argento fulgentem, in qua plus prædæ, quam periculi sit; cum victoria non armorum decore, sed ferri virtute queratur.

and silver, in which there was more of plunder than danger; since victory was procured, not by comeliness of arms, but by dint of sword.

CAP. XIV. Post hæc prælium committitur. Macedones in ferrum cum contemptu toties a se victi hostis ruebant: contra

or for a battle the next, and not promise himself any other victory than he had already found.

CHAP. XIII. The following day they draw out their armies. Then on a sudden before the battle, sleep seized Alexander wearied with care. As the king alone was wanting for the battle, being with difficulty awakened by Parmenio, all about him enquiring into the reason of his sleeping in the midst of danger, of which he always was very sparing, even in his leisure time; he says, He was delivered from a great concern, and that his sleep was occasioned by a sudden security, because now he could fight with all the forces of Darius, that he had feared a long continuance of the war, if the Persians should divide their army. Before the battle each army was in view of the enemy. The Macedonians admired the Persians great number of men, the largeness of their bodies, and the beauty of their armour. The Persians were amazed that so many thousands of their men had been overthrown by so few. But neither did the kings neglect to go about their armies. Darius said, that scarce a single enemy would fall to the share of ten armed men of his troops, if a division should be made of them. Alexander advised the Macedonians, that they should not be startled at the great number of their enemies, nor the bigness of their bodies, or the strangeness of their complexion. He bids them only remember, that they fought now a third time with the same men, and that they should not think them made better by their flight, since they brought into the field with them so bad a remembrance of their slaughters, and so much blood shed in two battles: and as Darius had a greater company of mortals, so had he a greater number of men. He encourages them to despise that army glittering with gold

CHAP. XIV. After this a battle is fought. The Macedonians rush upon the sword, with contempt of an enemy that had been so often conquered by them. On

Persæ

Perſæ mori, quam vinci præoptabant. Raro ullo prælio tantum sanguinis fuſum eſt. Darius cum vinci ſuos videret, mori voluit & ipſe; ſed a proximis fugere compulſus eſt. Suadentibus deinde quibuſdam, ut pons Cydni fluminis, ad iter hoſtium impediendum intercideretur: *Non ita ſe ſaluti ſuæ velle conſultum ait, ut tot millia ſociorum hoſti obiciat; debere & aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit ſibi:* Alexander autem periculoſiſſima quæq; aggrediebatur, & ubi conſertiſſimos hoſtes acerrime pugnare conſpexiſſet, eo ſe ſemper ingerebat, periculaque ſua eſſe non militum volebat. Hoc prælio Aſia imperium rapuit, quinto poſt acceptum regnum anno; cujus tanta felicitas fuit, ut poſt hoc nemo rebellare auſus ſit: patienterque Perſæ poſt imperium tot annorum jugum ſervitutis acceperint. Donatis reſectiſq; militibus xxxiv diebus prædam recognovit. In urbem deinde Suſa xl millia talentum invenit. Expugnat & Perſepolim caput Perſici regni, urbem multis annis illuſtrem, reſertamq; orbis terrarum ſpoliis, quæ interitu ejus primum apparuere. Inter hæc dccc admodum Græci occurrunt Alexandro, qui pœnam captivitatis truncato corporis parte tulerant, rogantes, ut ſicuti Græciam, ſe quoque ab hoſtium crudelitate vindicaret. Data poſteſtate redeundi, agros accipere maluerunt, ne non tam gaudium parentibus, quam deteſtandum ſui conſpectum reportarent.

CAP. XV. Interia Darius in gratiam victoris a cognatis ſuis aureis compedibus cateniſque in vico Parthorum Thara vincitur. Credo ita diis immortalibus judicantibus, ut in terra eorum, qui ſucceſſuri imperio erant,

the other hand, the Perſians choſe rather to die than be conquered. Seldom was there ſo much blood ſhed in any battle. When Darius ſaw his men defeated, he was deſirous to die too; but was compelled by thoſe about him to fly. And then ſome adviſing that the bridge over the river Cyndus ſhould be broken down, to ſtop the paſſage of the enemy, he ſays, he would not ſo provide for his own ſafety, as to expoſe ſo many thouſands of his followers to the enemy: that the way for flight ought to be open to others, which was open to himſelf. But Alexander attempted the moſt dangerous things, and where he ſaw the enemy thickeſt fight moſt deſperately, there he always thruſt himſelf, and had a mind the dangers ſhould be his own, not his ſoldiers. In this battle he carried the empire of Aſia, in the fifth year after he received the kingdom. The good fortune of which was ſo conſiderable, that after this no body dared to rebel: and the Perſians, after an empire of ſo many years continuance, patiently took upon them the yoke of ſlavery. Having preſented and reſreſhed his ſoldiers, he took an account of the plunder for thirty-four days together. After that he found in the city Suſa forty thouſand talents. He takes likewise Perſepolis, the capital of the Perſian kingdom, a city famous for many years, and filled with the ſpoils of the world, which then firſt appeared in deſtruction. During theſe things, about eight hundred Greeks meet Alexander who had undergone puniſhment in their captivity, by having ſome part of their body cut off, begging that as he had delivered Greece, he would deliver them too from the cruelty of their enemies. Leave being granted them to return, they choſe rather to receive lands there, leſt they ſhould not carry ſo much joy to their parents, as a deteſtable fight of themſelves.

CHAP. XV. In the mean time Darius, in favour of the conqueror, is bound by his relations with golden fetters and chains, in a village of the Parthians, called Thara: the immortal Gods, I ſuppoſe ſo ordering it, that the kingdom of the Perſians ſhould end in the country of thoſe Perſarum

Perfarum regnum fineretur. Alexander quoque citata cursu postera die supervenit, ibique cognovit Darium clauso vehiculo per noctem exportatam. Jussu itaque exercitu subsequi, cum sex millibus equitum fugientem insequitur; in itinere multa & periculosa praelia facit. Emenus deinde plura millia passuum, cum nullum Darii inditium reperisset, respirandi equis data potestate, unus ex militibus, dum ad fontem proximum pergit, in vehiculo Darium, multis quidem vulneribus confossum, sed spirantem adhuc, invenit; qui, applicito captivo, cum civem ex voce cognovisset, id saltem presentis fortunæ solatium habere se, dixit, quod apud intellecturum locuturus esset, nec incassum postremas voces emissurus. Perferri hæc Alexandro jubet, se nullis in eum meritorum officiis, maximorum illi debitorem mori, quod in matre liberisque suis, regium ejus, non hostilem animum expertus; felicius hostem quam cognatos sortitus sit; quippe matri & liberis suis ab eodem hoste vitam datam, sibi a cognatis ereptam, quibus & vitam & regna dederit: quamobrem gratiam illis eam futuram, quam ipse victor volet. Alexandro referre se, quam solam moriens potest; gratiam; precari superum inferumque numina & regales deos, uti illi terrarum omnium victori contingat imperium. Pro se justam magis, quam gravem sepulturæ veniam orare. Quod ad ultionem pertineat, jam non suam, sed exempli, communemque omnium regum esse causam, quam negligere, illi & indecorum & periculosum esse; quippe cum in altero justitiæ ejus, in altero etiam utilitatis causa versetur. In quam rem unicum pignus fidei regni dexteram se ferendam Alex-

who were to succeed them in their dominion. Alexander too came up by a speedy march the next day; and there found that Darius had been carried out in a covered chariot in the night. Wherefore his army being ordered to follow, he pursues the flying prince, with six thousand horse, and fights many and dangerous battles in his march. Then marching for several miles, and not finding any tokens of Darius, upon his giving leave to the horses to take breath, one of the soldiers, whilst he goes to a neighbouring spring, found Darius in a chariot, stabbed indeed with many wounds, but as yet breathing. Who, when one of the prisoners being brought to him, when he understood by his voice that he was his countryman, he said, he had however that comfort under his present ill fortune, that he should speak to one that would understand him, and should not utter his last words in vain. He orders these things to be carried to Alexander, That he died without having performed any offices of kindness towards him, but a debtor to him for the greatest; because he had found his disposition towards his mother and children to be that of a noble prince, not an enemy; and that he had been more happy in his enemy, than his relations: for life had been given his mother and his children by the same enemy; but taken from him by relations, to whom he had given both life and kingdoms; wherefore they would have the requital which the conqueror pleased. He made the return to Alexander, which alone he was capable of, now a dying. He prayed the Gods of heaven and hell, the Gods the guardians of kings, that the dominion of all the world might fall to him the conqueror of it. That he desired for himself the favour of a decent, rather than a sumptuous funeral. As to what concerned his revenge, it was not his cause alone, but matter of example, and the common cause of all kings, which to neglect would be both indecent and dangerous for him: since the cause of his justice was concerned in one, and in
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andro dare. Post hæc porrecta manu exspiravit. Quæ ubi Alexandro nuntiata sunt, viso corpore defuncti, tam indignam illo fastigio mortem lachrymis profecutus est; corpusque regio more sepeliri, & reliquias ejus majorem tumulis inferri jussit.

ordered his corpse to be buried after the manner of kings, and his relicks to be deposited in the tombs of his ancestors.

that of the other his interest; for which purpose he gave his right hand to be carried to Alexander, the only pledge of royal faith. After this stretching out his hand, he died. Which thing being told to Alexander, viewing the body of the deceased, he with tears bewailed a death so unworthy that height of Majesty; and

the manner of kings, and his relicks to be

L I B E R XII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Alexandri in retinendo millite solertia. Græci bellum, absente Alexandro, reparant.*
2. *Alexander rex Epiri, Italiam turbat, & tandem in pugna cadit. Scythæ Alexandri præfectum & exercitum internecione delent.*
3. *Alexandri simulatio, ambitio, cum Thalestri concubitus, luxus & profusiones.*
4. *Qua ratione Macedones tumultuantes in officio continuerit.*
5. *In domesticos suos ferrum stringit, & nova ratione adversarios ulciscitur, populos multos subigit, & Bessum, Darii interfectorem, de medio tolli curat.*
6. *In convivio mactat Clitum amicum, quem frustra desiderat, peccati sera pœnitentia ductus.*
7. *Ad ingenium reversus, in prudentes consiliarios sævit; ad orientem statuit imperii limites. Bacchi vestigiis delectatur, Herculisque gesta superare contendit.*
8. *Porum prælio superatum regie excipit & dimittit; multis populis expugnatis, quietem exercitui concedere velle videtur.*
9. *Bellum instaurat. In Sugambrorum urbe de vita certat, & periclitatur.*
10. *Ab amicis periculo ereptus.. Oceanum lustrat: terminos Imperii statuit: præfectos vita privat, & ad nuptias applicat animum.*
11. *Liberalitas, munificentia, & severitas ejusdem.*
12. *Qua ratione Macedones seditiosos ad officium revocaverit. Hephestionis obitus, & tumultus.*
13. *Dum occidentales Provinciæ manus porrigunt, Alexander in lethalem morbum incidit, Babylonem pergens.*
14. *Alexander Antipatri artibus veneno extinguitur.*
15. *Alexandri moribundi novissima verba.*
16. *Ejusdem Alexandri Magna Elogium.*

C A P U T I.

Alexander in prosequendo Dario amissos milites magnis funerum impensis extu-

Alexander buried the soldiers lost in pursuing Darius, with great expence at their funerals, and divided thir-

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lit; reliquis expeditionis ejus fo-
ciis tredecim millia talentum di-
vifit. Equorum major pars æftu-
amiffa, inutilesq; etiam qui fu-
perfuertant, facti. Pecunia om-
nis centum nonaginta millia ta-
lentum Ecbatana congefita, ei-
q; Parmenio præpofitus. Dum hæc
aguntur, epiftolæ Antipatri e
Macedonia ei redduntur, quibus
bellum Agidis regis Spartanorum
in Græcia; bellum Alexandri re-
gis Epiri in Italia; bellum Zo-
pyrionis, præfecti ejus in Scy-
thia, continebatur. Quibus va-
rie effectus, plus tamen lætitiæ,
cognitis mortibus duorum æmu-
lorum regum, quam doloris, a
miffi cum Zopyrione exercitus,
fufcepit. Namq; poft profectio-
nem Alexandri, Græcia ferme
omnis in occafionem recuperan-
dæ libertatis ad arma concurre-
rat, auctoritatem Lacedæmonio-
rum fecuta, qui Philippi Alexan-
drique pacem foli fpreverant, &
leges refpuerant. Dux hujus
belli Agis rex Lacedæmoniorum
fuit; quem motum Antipater
contractis militibus in ipfo ortu
oppreffit. Magna tamen utrinq;
cædes fuit. Agis rex cum fuos
terga dantes videret, dimiffis fa-
tellitibus, ut Alexandro felicitate
non virtute inferior videretur,
tantam iragem hoftium edidit,
ut agmina interdum fugaret. Ad
poftremum, etfi a multitudine
victus gloria tamen omnes vicit.

CAP. II. Porro Alexander
rex Epiri, in Italiam a Tarenti-
nis, auxilia adverfus Brutios de-
precantibus, follicitatus, ita cu-
pide profectus fuerat, veluti in di-
vifione orbis terrarum Alexan-
dro Olympiadis fororis fuæ, filio
Oriens, fibi Occidens forte con-
tigiffet; non minorem rerum
materiam in Italia, Africa, Si-
ciliaque quam ille in Afia & in
Perfis habiturus. Huc accede-

teen thousand talents among the other
companions of that expedition. The greater
part of the horfes were loft by the heat,
and thofe that were left too were rendered
ufelefs. All the money, amounting to a
hundred and ninety thousand talents, was
carried to Ecbatana, and Parmenio ap-
pointed to take care of it. Whilft thefe
things are a doing, a letter of Anti-
pater's from Macedonia is given him, in
which is contained the war of Agis king
of the Spartans in Greece, the war of
Alexander king of Epire in Italy, and the
war of Zopyrion a deputy of his in Scythia.
With which being differently affected, yet
he received more joy, upon hearing of the
deaths of two rival kings, than sorrow for
the lofs of the army with Zopyrion. For
after the departure of Alexander, almoft
all Greece had drawn together to arms, as
upon an opportunity of recovering their
freedom, following therein the authority of
the Lacedemonians, who alone had fcorned
the peace of Alexander and Philip, and
rejected the terms thereof. Agis king of
the Lacedemonians was the general in this
war: which difturbance Antipater draw-
ing together fome foldiers, fuppreffed in its
very rife. Yet there was a great fough-
ter on both fides. King Agis, when he
faw his men turning their backs, difmif-
fing his guards, that he might appear in-
ferior to Alexander in fortune only, not in
valour, made fo great a flaughter of the
enemy, that he routed whole companies
fometimes. At laft, tho' overpowered by
numbers, yet he exceeded all in glory.

CHAP. II. Alexander too, the king
of Epire, being invited into Italy by the
Tarentines, begging his affiftance againft
the Brutians, had gone fo eagerly, as if
in a divifion of the world the Eaft had
fallen by lot to Alexander his fiftter Olym-
pias's fon, and the Weft to himfelf, being
likely to have no lefs matter of action in
Italy, Africa, and Sicily, than he had in
Afia, and among the Perfians. To this
was added, that as the oracle of Delphos,
had forewarned Alexander the Great of a
bat,

bāt, quod sicut Alexandro Magno Delphica oracula insidias in Macedonia; ita huic responsum Dodonæi Jovis circa urbem Pandosiam amnemque Acheronta prædixerat. Quæ utraq; cum in Epiro essent, ignarus eadem & in Italia esse, ad declinanda factorum pericula perigrinam militiam cupidius elegerat. Igitur, cum in Italiam venisset, primum illi bellum cum Appulis fuit: quorum cognito urbis fato, brevi post tempore pacem & amicitiam cum rege eorum fecit. Erat namq; tunc temporis urbs Appulis Brundisium, quam Ætoli, secuti tum fama rerum in Troja gestarum clarissimum ac nobilissimum ducem Diomedem, condiderant; sed pulsi ab Appulis, consulentes oracula responsum acceperant, *locum quem repitissent, perpetuo possessuros*. Hac igitur ex causa, per legatos cum belli comminatione restitui sibi ab Appulis urbem postulaverant. Sed ubi Appulis oraculum innouit, interfectos legatos in urbe sepelierant, perpetuam ibi sedem habituros. Atq; ita defuncti responso diu urbem possederunt. Quod factum cum cognovisset Alexander, antiquitatis fata veneratus bello Appulorum abstinuit. Gessit & cum Brutiis Lucanisq; bellum, multasque urbes cepit. Tum & cum Metapontinis & Pediculis & Romanis fœdus amicitiamq; fecit. Sed Brutii, Lucaniqu; cum auxilia a finitimis contraxissent, acrius bellum repetivere. Ibi rex juxta urbem Pandosium & flumen Acheronta, non prius fatalis loci cognito nomine quam occideret, interficitur; moriensq; non in patria fuisse sibi periculofam mortem propter quam patriam fugerat, intellexit. Corpus ejus Thurii publice redemptum sepulturæ

plot against him in Macedonia, so the answer of Jupiter of Dodona had forewarned him of another, about the city Pandocia and the river Acheron: which both being in Epire, being ignorant that the same were likewise in Italy, he had the more forwardly pitched upon this expedition, to avoid the danger of the oracle. Wherefore after he was come into Italy, his first war was with the Appulians: the fate of whose city being known, a short time after he concluded a peace and an alliance with their king. For at that time the Appulians had the city Brundisium, which the Ætolians, following their leader Diomedes, illustrious and much celebrated for the fame of his exploits at Troy, had built: but being beat by the Appulians, consulting the oracle, they had received answer, That they should possess forever the place they were endeavouring to recover. Wherefore for this reason they had demanded by deputies, with a threatening of war, that the city should be restored to them. But when the oracle was known to the Appulians, they buried the deputies, after they had killed them in their city, who were now like to have their perpetual abode there. And so having fulfilled the answer, they possessed the city a long time. Which fact when Alexander had understood, in regard to the oracles of antiquity he waived the war against the Appulians. He likewise carried on a war with the Brutians and Lucanians, and took many cities. He likewise then made a treaty and an alliance with the Metapontinians, and the Pediculians, and the Romans. But the Brutians and Lucanians, after they had drawn together some troops from their neighbours, renewed the war most briskly, in which the king is slain, near the city Pandocia, and the river Acheron, not knowing the fatal place, 'till he was a killing, and as he died, he understood that he was not in his own country in danger of the death, for which he had left his country. His body the Thuriens publicly redeemed, and committed it to burial. Whilst these things are done in Italy, Zopirion too left gover-

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tradiderunt. Dum hæc aguntur in Italia, Zopyrion quoque præfectus Ponti ab Alexandro Magno relictus, otiosum se ratus si nihil & ipse gessisset, adunato triginta millium exercitu, Scythis bellum intulit; cæsusq; cum omnibus copiis ænas temere illati belli genti innoxia luit.

CAP. III. Hæc cum nuntiata in Parthis Alexandro essent, simulato mœrore, propter Alexandri cognationem, exercitui suo triduum luctum indixit. Omnibus deinde, velut perpetrato bello, reditum in patriam expectantibus, conjugesque ac liberos suos animojam quodammodo complectentibus, ad concionem exercitum vocat. *Ibi nil actum tot egregiis præliis ait, si incolumis Orientalis Barbaria relinquatur; nec se corpus, sed regnum Darii petisse, persequendosque esse eos, qui a regno deficerent.* Hac oratione velut ex integro incitatis militum animis, Hyrcaniam Mardosque subegit. Ibi ei occurrit Thalestris sive Minithæa, Amazonum regina, cum ccc mulieribus, xxv dierum inter confatissimas gentes itinere confecto, ex regeliberos quæsitura; cujus conspectus adventusq; admirationi omnibus fuit, & propter insolitum scæminis habitum, & propter expetitum concubitum. Ob hoc tredecim diebus otio a rege datis, ut visa est uterum impleffe, discessit. Post hæc Alexander habitum regum Persarum & diadema, insolitum antea regibus Macedonicis, velut in leges eorum, quos vicerat, transfret, assumit. Quæ re invidiosius in se una conspicerentur, amicos quoque suos longam vestem auratam purpureamq; sumere jubet. Ut luxum quoque, sicuti cultum Persarum imitaretur, inter pellicum

nor of Pontus, by Alexander the Great, thinking himself idle, if he did nothing, drawing together an army of thirty thousand men, made war upon the Scythians, and being slain with all his forces, suffered due punishment for the war rashly made upon that innocent nation.

CHAP. III. When these things were told Alexander in Parthia, pretending a concern because of the relation of Alexander to him, he enjoined his army a mourning for three days. Then as if the war was ended, all expecting a return into their country, and now in a manner embracing in their minds their wives and children; he calls his army to an assembly. There he tells them, Nothing had been done by so many extraordinary battles, if the Oriental Barbarians were left secure; and that he had not fought the body, but the kingdom of Darius; and that those were to be invaded who had revolted from under his government. Their minds being roused as it were anew by this speech, he subdued Hyrcania and the Mardans. There Thalestris or Minithæa, queen of the Amazons, meets him with three hundred women, having made a march of twenty-five days, among nations that were constantly attacking her, in order to have children by the king; the sight and coming of whom was the admiration of all people, both because of her dress unusual with women, and because of her desiring to lie with the king. Thirteen days being allowed himself by the king for a cessation of business upon this account, after she thought she had filled her womb, she departed. After this, Alexander assumes the habit of the kings of the Persians, and the diadem not used before by the Macedonian kings: as if he was going over into the customs of those, whom he had conquered; which things, that they might not appear the more odiously, in him alone, he ordered his friends too to wear the long robe of cloth of gold and scarlet. And that he might imitate the luxury too as well as the dress of the Persians, he di-

regiarum greges electæ pulchritudinis nobilitatisq; noctium vices dividit. His rebus ingentes epularum apparatus adjicit, ne jejuna & destructa luxuria videretur, conviviumq; juxta regiam magnificentiam ludis exornat; immemor prorsus tantas opes amitti his moribus, non quæri, solere.

CAP. IV. Inter hæc indignatio omnium totis castris erat, a Philippo illum patre tantum generavisse, ut etiam patriæ nomen ejuraret, moresque Persarum assumeret, quos propter tales mores vicerat. Sed ne solus vitiis eorum, quos armis subigerat, succubuisse videretur, militibus quoq; suis permisit, si quarum captivarum consuetudine tenerentur, ducere uxores; existimans minorem in patriam reditus cupiditatem futuram habentibus in castris imaginem quandam larium ac domesticæ sedis; simul & laborem militiæ molliorem fore dulcedine uxorum. In supplementa quoque militum minus exauriri posse Macedoniam, si veteranis patribus tirones filii succederent, militaturi in vallo, in quo essent nati, constantioresque futuri si non solum tirocinia, verum & incunabula in ipsis castris posuissent. Quæ consuetudo in successores quoq; Alexandri mansit. Igitur & alimenta pueris statuta & instrumenta armorum eorumq; juvenibus data; & patribus, pro numero filiorum, præmia statuta. Si quorum patres occidissent, nihilominus pupilli stipendia patrum trahebant, quorum pueritia inter varias expeditiones militia erat. Itaque a parvula ætate periculis laboribusq; indurati invictus exercitus fuere; neque castra aliter quam patriam neque pugnam aliud

wides his nights among companies of the king of Persia's concubines, of choice beauty and nobility. To these things he adds a prodigious expence of entertainments, that his luxury might not appear jejune and meagre; and he sets off his feasts with games, according to the regal magnificence of the Persians; being altogether unmindful that such vast wealth used to be lost, and not acquired, by such behaviour.

CHAP. IV. During this, there was in the camp a general indignation, that he had so far degenerated from his father Philip, that he abjured even the name of his country, and took up the usages of the Persians whom he had conquered, because of those manners. But that he might not appear alone to have sunk under the vices of those whom he had subdued by his arms, he likewise permitted his soldiers, if they were engaged in love with any of the prisoners, to marry them; supposing they would have the less desire of returning into their country, if they had in the camp a resemblance of their houses, and domestick habitation; and at the same time, that the fatigue of war would be easier, by reason of the pleasure of their wives. And that Macedonia would be the less exhausted for recruits of soldiers, if the sons should succeed as young soldiers in the room of their veteran fathers, to serve within the ramparts, within which they had been born; and being like to be the more courageous; if they had not only laid down the first rudiments of war, but likewise their cradles in their very camp. Which custom continued too among the successors of Alexander. Wherefore a maintenance was assigned for the boys, and rewards appointed for the fathers, according to the number of their sons. If the fathers of any were slain, the orphans notwithstanding got their father's pay, whose very childhood was of service in various expeditions. Wherefore having been hardened from their tender age, with dangers and fatigues, they were an invincible army. Nor did they look upon the camp any otherwise than as their country, nor battle ever as any thing else than victory. This

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unquam quam victoriam duxere. Hæc soboles nomen habuit Epigoni. Parthis deinde domitis, præfectus his statuitur ex nobilibus Persarum Andragoras; unde postea originem Parthorum reges habuere.

CAP. V. Interea Alexander non regio, sed hostili odio sævire in suos cœpit. Maxime indignabatur carpi se sermonibus suorum, Philippi patris, patriæque mores subvertisse. Propter quæ crimina, Parmenion quoque; senex, dignitate regi proximus, cum Philota filio, de utroque; prius quæstionibus habitis, interficitur. Fremere itaque omnes universis castris cœpere, innoxii senis filiique; casum miserantes, interdum se quoque non debere melius sperare dicentes. Quæ cum nuntiata Alexandro essent, verens ne hæc opinio etiam in Macedoniam divulgaretur, & ne victoriæ gloria sævitiae macula infuscaretur, simulat se ex amicis quosdam in patriam victoriæ nuntios missurum. Hortatur milites suis scribere, rariorem habituros occasionem propter militiam remotiorem. Datos fasces epistolarum tacite ad se deferri jubet; ex quibus cognito de se singulorum iudicio, in unam cohortem eos, qui de rege durius opinati fuerant, contribuit, aut consumpturus eos, aut in ultimis terris in colonias distributurus. Inde Drancas, Euergetas, Parymas, Parapammenos, Adaspios, cæterosque populos, qui in radice Caucasii morabantur, subegit. Interea unus ex amicis Darii Bessus victus perducitur, qui regem non solum prodiderat, verum & interfecerat. Quem in ultionem perfidiæ excruciantum fratri Darii tradidit, reputans non tam hostem suum fuisse Darium, quam amicum ejus,

generation had the name of Epigoni. Afterwards, when the Parthians were reduced, Andragoras one of the noblemen of the Persians, was made governor of them; from whom afterwards the kings of the Parthians had their original.

CHAP. V. In the mean time Alexander begun to exercise his displeasure upon his friends, not with the hatred of a prince, but an enemy. He was above all enraged, that he was reflected upon in the conversation of his soldiers for having abolished the customs of his father Philip, and his country. For which crimes, Parmenion too, an old gentleman the next in dignity to the king, with his son Philotas, is put to death; an examination being first taken of both by torture. Wherefore all people begun to grumble all over the camp, lamenting the misfortune of this innocent old gentleman and his son; sometimes saying, that they too ought to hope for no better. Which things being told to Alexander, fearing lest this character of him should be spread into Macedonia, and lest the glory of his victory should be sullied by a blot of cruelty, he pretends he would send some of his friends into his native country to be the messengers of his success. He advises the soldiers to write to their friends since they would but seldom have an opportunity, by reason of this expedition's being so far from home. He orders the packets of letters to be privately brought to him, from which having learnt the judgment of each of them concerning himself, he disposes of all those in one regiment, who had spoke hardly of the king, with a design either to destroy them, or to dispose of them into colonies in the remotest parts of the earth. after that he subdued the Drancæ, the Euergetæ, the Parymæ, the Parapammeni, Adaspi, and other people who dwell at the bottom of Caucasus. In the mean time one of Darius's friends, Bessus, is brought bound to him, who had not only betrayed his king, but had likewise slain him; whom he delivered up to Darius's brother, to be tormented in revenge of his treachery; considering not so much that Darius

a quo esset occisus. Et ut his terris nomen relinqueret, urbem Alexandriam super amnem Tanaim condidit, intra diem septimum decimum muro vi milium passuum consummato, translatis eo trium civitatum populis, quas Cyrus condiderat. In Bactrianis quoque Sogdianisq; xii urbes condidit, distributis his quoscunque in exercitu seditiones habebat.

CAP. VI. His ita gestis, solenni die amicos in convivium vocat. Ubi orta inter ebrios rerum a Philippo gestarum mentione, præferri se patri ipse, rerumque suarum magnitudinem extollere cælo tenus cœpit, assentiente majore convivarum parte. Itaque cum unus e senibus Clitus, fiducia amicitiae regiae, cuius palmam tenebat, memoriam Philippi tueretur, laudaretq; ejus res gestas, adeo regem offendit, ut telo a satellite rapto eundem in convivio trucidaverit. Quacæde exultans, mortuo patrocinium Philippi, laudemque paternæ militiæ objectabat. Postquam satiatus cæde animus conquievit, & in iræ locum successit æstimatio, modo personam occisi, modo causam occidendi considerans, pigere eum facti cœpit; quippe paternas laudes tam iracunde accepisse se, quam nec convitia debuisset; amicumque senem & innoxium, a se occisum inter epulas & pocula, dolebat. Eodem igitur furore in pœnitentiam, quo pridem in iram, versus, mori voluit. Primum in flatus progressus, amplecti mortuum, vulnera tractare, & quasi audienti confiteri demeritum, arreptum t lum in se vertit, peregrissetq; facinus, nisi amici intervenissent. Mansit hæc voluntas moriendi etiam sequentibus diebus. Accesserat

was his enemy, as the friend of him by whom he had been slain. And that he might leave his name in those countries, he built a city called Alexandria, upon the river Tanais, a wall of six miles in compass being finished within the 17th day; and the people of three cities, which Cyrus had built, being removed thither. He likewise built twelve cities in the country of the Bactrians and Sogdians, those whom he found seditious in his army, being disposed of in them.

CHAP. VI. These things being thus performed upon some solemn day he invites his friends to a feast. Where mention arising among them, when drunk, of the great things transacted by Philip, he begun to extol the greatness of his own exploits to the heavens, the greatest part of the guests agreeing with him. Wherefore when Clitus, one of the old men, in confidence of the king's friendship, of which he had the principal share, defended the memory of Philip, and commending his exploits, he so offended the king, that he killed him in the entertainment with a weapon taken from a life-guard's-man. At which murder rejoicing, he upbraided the dead man with the defence of Philip, and the commendation of his father's performances in war. After his mind, being satiated with the murder, settled, and consideration succeeded in the place of passion, weighing one while the person of the slain man, another while the occasion of his killing him, he begun to be sorry for the fact; for he considered, that he had heard the praises of his father with as much resentment; as he ought not to have heard reproaches upon his memory; and he was sorry that an old friend, and innocent too, should have been slain by him in the midst of their feasting and carousing. Wherefore being now hurried to repentance by the same fury, as before he had been hurried to passion, he resolved to die. In the first place bursting out into tears, he embraced the dead man touching his wounds, and confessed his madness to him, as if he had heard him; and turns a weapon he snatched up upon himself, and would have ex-

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enim pœnitentiæ, nutricis suæ, sororis Cliti, recordatio, cujus absentis eum maxime pudebat; tam fœdam illi alimentorum suorum mercedem redditam, ut in cujus manibus pueritiam egerat, huic juvenis & victor pro beneficiis funera remitteret. Reputabat deinde, quantum in exercitu suo, quantum apud devictas gentes, fabularum atq; invidiæ, quantum apud cæteros amicos metum & odium sui fecerit; quam amarum & triste reddiderit convivium suum, non armatus in acie, quam in convivio terribilior. Tunc Parmenion & Philotas, tunc Amyntas consobrinus, tunc noverca fratresque interfecti; tunc Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias aliiq; Macedoniæ extincti principes, occurrebant. Ob hæc illi quadriduo perseverata inedia est, donec exercitus universi precibus exoratus est, precantis ne ita mortem unius doleat, ut universos perdat, quos in ultimam deductos Barbariam, inter infestas & irritatas bello gentes, destituat. Multum profuere Callisthenis philosophi preces, condiscipulatu apud Aristotelam familiaris illi, & tunc ab ipso rege ad providenda memoriæ acta ejus accitus. Revocato igitur ad bellum animo, Chorasmos & Dahas in deditionem accepit.

self, to transmit his actions to posterity, prevailed much. Wherefore his mind being now recalled to the thoughts of war, he received the Chorasians and the Dabæ upon their submission.

CAP. VII. Deinde, quod primo ex Persico superbix regiæ more distulerat, ne omnia pariter invidiosiora essent, non salutari, sed adorari se jubet. Accerrimus inter recusantes Callisthenes fuit. Quæ res & illi & multis principibus Macedonum exitio fuit; siquidem sub specie infidiarum omnes interfecti. Re-

ecuted his purpose, but that his friends interposed. This resolution of dying continued too for some days following. The remembrance of his nurse too, Clitus's sister, was superadded to his repentance, upon whose account, tho' absent, he was mightily ashamed, that so base a return should be made for her nursing of him, that when now grown a man, and a conqueror, he should repay her with murder for her kindness, in whose hands he had spent his infancy. Then he considered what discourse and odium he had occasioned in the army, what among the conquered nations; how much dread and hatred of himself among his other friends; how dismal and sad he had rendered his entertainment, being not more terrible when armed in a field, than in a feast. Then Parmenion and Philotas, then Amyntas his cousin, then his step-mother and his brothers put to death by him; then Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias, and other grandees of Macedonia, that had been taken off by him, occurred to his thoughts. For this a fast was continued in by him for four days, 'till he was wrought upon by the prayers of the whole army, begging, that he would not so lament the death of one man, as to ruin them all, whom, after he had conducted them into the remotest part of the Barbarians country, he was now forsaking among nations their enemies, and exasperated by the war made upon them. The entreaties of Callisthenes the philosopher, intimate with him by being his fellow disciple under Aristotle, and then sent for by the king himself, to transmit his actions to posterity, prevailed much. Wherefore his mind being now recalled to the thoughts of war, he received the Chorasians and

CHAP. VII. After this he orders himself to be adored, not saluted; which particular of the Persian fashion of royal pride he had put off, lest all the parts thereof assumed at once should be odious. Callisthenes was the most violent against the recusants. Which thing was the ruin of him, and many great men of the Macedonians; for they were all put to death under the pretence of a plot. However,

tentus

tentus tamen est a Macedonibus mos salutandi regis, explosa adoratione. Post hæc Indiam petit, ut oceano ultimoq; Oriente finiret imperium. Cui gloriæ, ut etiam exercitus ornamenta convenirent, phaleras equorum & arma militum argento inducit, exercitumq; suum, ab argenteis clypeis, Argiraspidas appellavit. Cum ad Nysam urbem venisset, oppidanis non repugnantibus fiducia religionis Liberi patris, a quo condita urbs erat, parci iussit; lætus non militiam tantum, verum & vestigia se dei secutum. Tunc ad spectaculum sacri montis duxit exercitum, naturalibus bonis, vite, hederaque, non aliter vestiti, quam si manu cultus, colentiumq; industria exornatus esset. Sed exercitus ejus, ubi ad montem accessit, repentino impetu mentis in sacros dei ululatus insinctus, cum stupore regis, sine noxa discurrit; ut intelligeret, non tam oppido se parcendo, quam exercitui suo consuluisse. Inde montes Dædalos, regnaq; Cleofidis reginæ petit. Quæ cum se dedidisset ei, concubitu redemptum regnum ab Alexandro recepit; illecebris consecuta, quod virtute non potuerat: filiumque ab eo genitum Alexandrum nominavit, qui postea regnum Indorum potitus est. Cleofis regina, propter prostratam pudicitiam, scortum regium ab Indis exinde appellata est. Peragrata India cum ad saxum miræ asperitatis & altitudinis, in quod multi populi confugerant, pervenisset, cognoscit, Herculem ab expugnatione ejusdem saxi terræ-motu prohibitum. Captus itaq; cupidine Herculis acta superare, cum summo labore ac periculo potitus saxo, omnes ejus loci gentes in deditionem accipit.

the custom of saluting their king was retained by the Macedonians, adoration being exploded. After this he marches for India, that he might bound his empire by the ocean, and the furthest parts of the East. To which glory that the ornaments of his army might agree, he covers the trapping of the horses, and the arms of the soldiers with silver; and called the army from their silver shields Argyraspides. When he was come to the city Nysa, he ordered quarter to be given to the townspeople, who made no resistance, in confidence of the veneration of father Bacchus, by whom the city had been built; rejoicing that he had not only followed the expedition, but the footsteps of the god. Then he led his army to a view of the sacred mount, no otherwise furnished with those goods of nature, the vine and ivy, than if it had been cultivated by the hands of men, and dressed with all the industry of gardeners. But his army, when they came to the mount, being instigated by a sudden motion of mind to the holy howlings of the god, ran up and down to the great amazement of the king, without doing any harm; that he might understand that he had not saved the town so much by sparing it, as his own army. After that he goes to the mountain called Dædali, and the kingdom of Queen Cleofis; who after she had surrendered herself to him, received her kingdom from Alexander, redeemed by lying with him; gaining that by her charms, which she could not by her conduct; and named the son she had by him Alexander, who afterwards enjoyed the kingdom of the Indians. Queen Cleofis, for prostituting her chastity, was from that time called by the Indians, the royal whore. Having overrun India, and coming to a rock of wonderful ruggedness and height, in which many people had fled, he understands that Hercules was restrained by an earthquake from the taking of that rock. Wherefore being seized with a desire of outdoing the actions of Hercules, making himself master of the rock with the utmost fatigue and danger, he receives all the nations of that quarter upon their submission.

CAP.

CAP. VIII. Unus ex re-
gibus Indorum fuit, Porus no-
mine, viribus corporis, & animi
magnitudine pariter insignis, qui
bellum, jam pridem audita Alex-
andri opinione, in adventum
ejus parabat. Commisso itaque
prælio, exercitum suum Macedo-
nas invadere jubet: sibi regem
eorum privatum hostem deposcit.
Nec Alexander pugnae moram
fecit, sed prima congressione vul-
nerato equo, cum præceps ad
terram decidisset, concursu sa-
tellitum servatur. Porus multis
vulneribus obrutus capitur. Qui
victum se adeo doluit, ut cum
veniam ab hoste accepisset, ne-
que cibum sumere voluerit, neq;
vulnera curari passus sit; ægreq;
sit ab eo obtentum, ut vellet vi-
vere. Quem Alexander ob hono-
rem virtutis incolumem in reg-
num remisit. Duas ibi urbes
condidit, unum Nicæam, alte-
rum, ex nomini equi, Bucepha-
len vocavit. Inde Arestas, Ge-
steanos, Præsidas, Gangaridas,
cæsis eorum exercitibus, expug-
nat. Cum ad Cuphites venisset,
ubi eum cc millibus equitum
hostes operiebantur, exercitus
omnis, non minus victoriarum
numero, quam laboribus fessus,
lacrymis eum deprecatur, finem
tandem belli faceret, aliquando pa-
triæ, reditusque meminisset; respi-
ceret militum annos, quibus vix
ætas ad reditum sufficeret: osten-
dere alius canitiem, alius vulne-
ra, alius ætate consumpta cor-
pora alius cicatricibus exhausta:
solos, se esse, qui duorum regum,
Philippi Alexandrique, continuam
militiam pertulerint. Tandem
orare, ut reliquias saltem suas pa-
ternis sepulchris reddat, quorum
non studiis deficiatur, quam annis.
Ac si non militibus, vel ipse sibi
parcat ne fortunam suam nimis
onerando fatiget. Morus his tam

CHAP. VIII. There was one of the
kings of the Indians, Porus by name,
equally remarkable for the strength of his
body, and greatness of mind; who hearing
of the fame of Alexander, some time be-
fore prepared for war against his coming.
Wherefore when the battle begun, he or-
ders his army to attack the Macedonians;
he demands the king for himself, as his
single enemy. Nor did Alexander make any
delay to fight him. But his horse being
wounded in the first shock, and he falling
headlong to the ground, is saved by the
coming in of his guards. Porus is taken
covered all over with many wounds. Who
was so much concerned that he was defeat-
ed, that tho' he received pardon from the
enemy, he neither would take any food, nor
suffer his wounds to be cured; and it was
with difficulty obtained from him to be wil-
ling to live. Whom Alexander sent back safe
into his kingdom, in honour of his bravery.
He built two cities there, one he called
Nicæa, and the other, from the name of
his horse, Bucephale. After that he con-
quers the Arestæ, Gestiani, Præsidæ, Gan-
gardia, cutting off their armies. After
he was come up to the Cuphites, where the
enemy waited for him with two hundred
thousand horse, the whole army being wea-
ryed, no less with the number of their vic-
tories, than the toils of war, begs of him
with tears, That he would at last make
an end of the war, and at length be
mindful of his country and his return;
and would consider the years of his sol-
diers, whom their remaining life would
hardly suffice for their return. One
shewed his hoary hairs, another his wounds,
another his body worn out with age, ano-
ther his all covered with scars: they were
the only men that had endured the con-
tinued service of two kings, Philip and
Alexander. Now at last they begged, that
he would however return their relics
to the sepulchres of their fathers, by
whose good inclinations to serve him, he
was not failed so much, as by their years.
And if he would not spare his soldiers,
that he would spare himself, and not
weary out fortune by loading her
justis

justis precibus, velut in finem victoriae castra solito magnificentiora fieri iussit, quorum molitionibus & hostis tereretur, & posteris admiratio sui relinqueretur. Nullum opus milites laetius fecere. Itaque caesis hostibus cum gratulatione in eadem revertuntur.

CAP. IX. Inde Alexander ad amnem Acefinem pergit: per hunc in oceanum devehitur. Ibi Hiacensanas Sileosq; quos Hercules condit, in deditionem accepit. Hinc in Ambros & Sugambros navigat. Quae gentes eum armatis LXXX millibus peditum & LX millibus equitum excipiunt. Cum praelio victor esset, exercitum ad urbem eorum ducit. Quam desertam a defensoribus cum de muro, quem primus ceperat, enim advertisset, in urbis planitiem sine ullo satellite desiliit. Itaque cum eum hostes solum conspexissent, clamore edito undique concurrunt, si possint in uno capite orbis bella finire, & ultionem tot gentibus dare. Nec minus Alexander constanter resistit, ut unus adversus tot millia praeliatur. Incredibile dictum est ut eum non multitudo hostium, non vis magna telorum, non tantus laceffentium clamor terruerit, solus tot millia ceciderit ac fugaverit. Ubi vero obrui multitudine se vidit, trunco se, qui tum propter murum stabat, applicuit, cujus auxilio tutus cum diu agmen sustinisset, tandem cognito periculo ejus amici ad eum disiliunt, ex quibus multi caesi; praeliumque tam diu anceps fuit, quoad omnis exercitus muris dejectus in auxilium veniret. In eo praelio fatigata sub mamma trajectus, cum sanguinis fluxu deficeret, genuposito tam diu praeliatus est, donec eum, a quo vulneratus fuerat, occideret. Curatio vulneris gravior ipso vulnere fuit.

too much. Being moved by these so reasonable requests, he orders a camp more grand than usual to be formed as it were for the conclusion of his conquests, by the works of which the enemy might be terrified, and an admiration of him be left to posterity. The soldiers did no work more joyfully. Wherefore after they had slaughtered the enemy, they returned into the same with mutual congratulation.

CHAP. IX. After that Alexander goes to the river Acefines: down this he descends into the ocean. There he took in upon submission the Hiacensanæ, and Silei, whom Hercules plained there. After that he sails among the Ambri and Sugambri, which nations received him with eighty thousand armed foot, and sixty thousand horse. Being conquered in that battle, he leads his army to their city. Which when he had observed from the wall which he first took to be forsaken by the defenders, he jumped down into the plain of the city without any one of his guards. Wherefore when the enemy saw him alone, setting up a shout, they run together on all hands, if they could finish the war of the world in one life, and give a revenge to so many nations. Nor did Alexander less courageously resist, and alone fights against so many thousands. It is incredible to be said, that not the multitude of the enemies, nor the vast number of weapons, nor so great a shout of those that attacked him, should fright him: he alone slaughtered and put to flight so many thousands. But when he saw himself overborn with numbers, he applied himself to the body of a tree, which stood nigh the wall. By the help of which being secured, after he had withstood the army a long time, at last his danger being known, his friends leap down to him, of which many were slain; and the battle was so long doubtful, 'till all the army throwing down the walls, came in to his relief. In that battle, being wounded with an arrow under the pap, and fainting thro' loss of blood, falling upon his knee, he fought so long 'till he slew him by whom he had been wounded. The cure of the wound was more grievous than the wound itself.

CAP.

CAP. X. Itaque ex magna desperatione tandem salutem redditus Polyperchonta cum exercitu Babyloniam mittit. Ipse cum lætissima manu navibus conscensis Oceani littora peragrat. Cum venisset ad urbem Ambigeri regis, oppidani invictum ferro audientes sagittas veneno armant; atque ita gemino mortis vulnere, hostem a muris summoventes, plurimos interficiunt. Cum inter multos vulneratus etiam Ptolemæus esset, moriturusque jamjam videretur, per quietem regi monstrata in remedia veneni herba est, qua in potu accepta, statim periculo liberatus est, majorque pars exercitus hoc remedio servatur. Expugnata deinde urbe, reversus in naves Oceano libamenta dedit, prosperum in patriam reditum precatus: ac veluti curru circa metam acto, positus imperii terminis, quatenus aut terrarum solitudines prodire passæ sunt, aut mare navigabile fuit, secundo æstu ostio fluminis Indi invenitur. Ibi in monumenta rerum a se gestarum urbem Barcen condidit, arasque statuit, relicto ex numero amicorum, littoralibus Indis præfecto. Inde inter terrestre facturus, cum arida loca medii itineris dicerentur, puteos opportunis locis fieri præcepit, quibus ingenta dulci aqua inventa, Babyloniam redit. Ibi multæ devictæ gentes præfectos suos accusaverunt, quos sine respectu amicitiae Alexander in conspectu legatorum necari iussit. Filiam post hæc Darii regis, Statiram, in matrimonium recepit: sed & optimatibus Macedonum lætas ex omnibus gentibus nobilissimas virgines tradidit, ut communi facto crimen regis levaretur.

CHAP. X. Wherefore being restored to his former health, after great despair of life, he sends Polyperchon with an army to Babylonia. He going aboard his ship passes the shores of the Ocean, when he was arrived at the town of king Ambiger, the towns people hearing that he was invincible by the sword, arm their arrows with poison; and thus repulsing their enemy from their walls with wounds doubly mortal, they kill a great many. When Ptolemy among many others was wounded, and seemed now a dying, an herb was shewed to the king in his sleep, for a remedy of the poison, which being taken in drink, he was immediately delivered from the danger; and the greater part of the army was saved by this remedy. After that taking the city, and returning to his ships, he made his oblations to the Ocean. praying for a prosperous return into his country: and having as it were driven his chariot about the gaul, and fixed the boundaries of his empire, as far as either the desarts by land would suffer him to proceed, or the sea was navigable, he sails up the mouth of the river Indus with the tide. There he built the city Barce, in remembrance of the things performed by him, and erects altars, leaving one of the number of his friends governor of the Indians upon the sea-coast. From thence designing to make his march by land, seeing the places lying in the middle of his march were said to be dry, he orders wells to be made in convenient places, in which great plenty of fresh water being found, he returns to Babylonia. There many conquered nations accused their governors, whom, without any regard to former friendship, Alexander ordered to be put to death, in the sight of the ambassadors. After these things, he took the daughter of king Darius, Statira, in marriage. Nay, he likewise gave to the chiefs of the Macedonians the noblest virgins, chosen out of all the conquered nations, that the king's crime might be alleviated by the fact's being common.

CAP. XI. Hinc ad concionem exercitum vocat, & promittit, se æs alienum omnium propria impensa soluturum, ut prædam præmiaque integra domos ferant. Insignis hæc munificentia, non summa tantum, verum etiam titulo muneris, fuit, nec a debitoribus magis, quam a creditoribus graciosus excepta, quoniam utrisque exactio pariter ac solutio difficilis erat. XX millia talentum in hos sumptus expensa. Dimissis veteranis, exercitum junioribus supplet. Sed retenti veteranorum discessum ægre ferentes missionem & ipsi flagitabant; nec annos, sed stipendia sua numerari jubebant; pariter in militiam lectos, pariter sacramento solvi, æquum censentes. Nec jam precibus, sed convitio agebant, jubentes eum solum cum patre suo Hamnone inire bella, quatenus milites suos fastidiat. Contra ille nunc castigare milites, nunc lenibus verbis monere, ne gloriosam militiam seditionibus infuscarent. Ad postremum cum verbis nihil proficeret; ad corripiendos seditionis auctores, e tribunali in concionem armatam inermis ipse desiliit, & nemine prohibente, xiii. correptos manu sua ipse ad supplicia duxit; tantam vel illis moriendi patientiam metus regis, vel huic exigendi supplicii constantiam disciplina militaris dabat.

CAP. XII. Inde separatim auxilia Persarum in concione alloquitur. Laudat perpetuam illorum, tum in se, tum in pristinos reges fidem, sua in illos beneficia commemorat; ut nunquam quasi victos, sed veluti victoriæ socios habuerit; denique se in illorum, non illos in gentis suæ morem transisse, affinitatibus con-

CHAP. XI. After this he calls the army to an assembly, and promises that he would pay all their debts at his own expence, that they might carry their plunder and rewards entire home. This bounty was considerable, not only for the sum, but likewise for the very title of the favour; nor was it received more thankfully by the debtors than the creditors, because the demand and the payment was equally hard for both sides. Twenty thousand talents were laid out in this expence. The veterans being disbanded, he recruits the army with young soldiers. But those that were retained, taking ill the departure of the veterans, demanded that they too should be disbanded, and desired that not their years of life, but their years of servitude might be numbered; thinking it but reasonable, that being lifted together into the service, they should be together released from their obligation to serve. Nor did they now manage their cause by entreaties, but ill language, bidding him carry on his wars by himself with his father Hammon, since he despised his soldiers. On the other hand, he one while chid his soldiers, another while admonished them in gentle terms, that they would not sully a glorious expedition by their mutinies. At last, when he could not prevail by words, he leaped unarmed from his tribunal into the armed assembly, to seize the authors of the sedition, and no body making any opposition, he led thirteen of them, seized with his own hands, to punishment. Either so much patience for dying did the dread of the king furnish them with, or so much resolution for the exacting of punishment, did his military discipline supply him with.

CHAP. XII. After that he speaks to the auxiliary troops of the Persians apart in a body. He commends their perpetual loyalty, as well to himself as their former kings; he recounts his kindnesses to them, how he had never treated them as a conquered people, but as the companions of his victory; that he was come over to the usage of their nation, not they into that of his; that by alliances

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mbiorum victos victoribus miscuisse. Nunc quoque ait, *custodiam corporis sui non Macedonibus tantum se, verum & illis crediturum.* Atque ita mille ex his juvenes in numerum satellitum legit; auxiliorum quoque portionem, formatam in disciplinam Macedonum, exercitui suo miscet. Quam rem ægre Macedones tulerunt, jactantes hostes suos in officium suum a rege subiectos. Tunc universi flentes regem adeunt, orant, *suppliciiis suis potius saturet se, quam contumeliis.* Qua modestia obtinuerunt, ut undecim millia militum veteranorum exauكتورaret. Sed & ex amicis dimissi senes Polyperchon, Clitus, Gorgias, Polydamas, Amadas, Antigentes. Dimissis his Craterus præponitur, jussis præesse Macedonibus in Antipatri locum Antipatrumque cum supplemento tironum in locum ejus evocat. Stipendia revertentibus, veluti militantibus data. Dum hæc aguntur, unus ex amicis ejus Ephæstion decedit, dotibus primo formæ pueritiæque, mox obsequiis regi percarus: quem contra decus regium Alexander diu luxit; tumulumque ei xii. millium talentorum fecit, eumque post mortem coli ut deum jussit.

CAP. XIII. Ab ultimis littoribus Oceani Babyloniam revertenti nuntiatur, legationes Carthaginensium, cæterarumque Africæ civitatum, sed & Hispaniarum, Siciliæ, Galliæ, Sardinia, nonnullas quoque ex Italia, ejus adventum Babyloniam opperiri. Adeo universum terrarum orbem nominis ejus terror invaserat, ut cunctæ gentes veluti destinato sibi regi adlarentur. Hac igitur ex causa Babyloniam

of marriage, he had mixed the conquered with the conquerors. Now too he tells them, that he would trust the guard of his person not only with the Macedonians, but them too. And accordingly he chuses a thousand young men from among them into the number of his guards. He likewise incorporates with his army a part of the auxiliaries trained after the discipline of the Macedonians. Which thing the Macedonians took ill, complaining that their enemies were put into their office by the king. Upon this they all go weeping to the king, begging of him rather to satisfy himself with their punishment, than such contumelious usage of them. By which modesty they prevailed so far with him, that he disbanded eleven thousand veteran soldiers more. Several old gentlemen too of his friends, as Polyperchon, Clitus, Gorgias, Polydamas, Amadas, Antigentes were dismissed. Craterus is appointed to command those that were sent away, being ordered to govern the Macedonians in the room of Antipater; and he sends for Antipater, with recruits of new raised men, in his room. Pay was allotted them to their return, as to those that were in the service. Whilst these things were a doing, one of his friends, Ephæstion, dies; a person highly dear to the king for the qualifications of youth and beauty, and his criminal compliance: whom Alexander mourned for in a manner unbecoming his Majesty as a king, and made him a monument of twelve thousand talents expence, and ordered him to be worshipped as a God after his death.

CHAP. XIII. News is brought him in his return from the utmost shores of the Ocean towards Babylon, that embassies of the Carthaginians, and other states of Africa, nay of Spain too, Sicily, Gaul, Sardinia, some too out of Italy, were waiting for his coming at Babylon. The terror of his name had so possessed the whole world, that all nations jattered him as a king designed for them. Wherefore upon his hastening for Babylon upon this account, as it were to hold an assembly of the states of the world, one of the Ma-

am festinanti, veluti conventum terrarum orbis acturo, quidam ex Magis prædixit, *ne urbem introiret, testatus, hunc locum ei fatalem fore.* Ob hoc omissa Babylonia, in Borsippam urbem trans Euphratem, desertam olim, cenceffit. Ibi ab Anaxarcho Philosopho cumpulsus est rursus Magorum prædicta contemnere, ut falsa et incerta, & si satis consent, ignota mortalibus: at si naturæ debeantur, immutabilia. Reversus igitur Babyloniā, multis diebus otio datis, intermissum olim convivium solenniter instituit; totusq; in lætitiā effusus, cum diei noctem pervigilem junxisset, recedentem jam e convivio Medius Thessalus, instaurata commessatione, & ipsum & sodales ejus invitat. Accepto poculo, media potione repente veluti telo confixus ingemuit; elatusq; e convivio semianimis, tanto dolore cruciatus est, ut ferrum in remedia posceret, tactumq; hominum velut vulnera indolesceret. Amici causam morbi intemperiem ebrietatis disseminaverunt: re autem vera insidiæ fuerunt quarum infamiam successorum potentia oppressit.

CAP. XIV. Auctor insidiarum Antipater fuit, qui cum carissimos amicos ejus interfectos videret; Alexandrum Lyncistēm, generum suum occisum; se magnis in Græcia rebus gestis, non tam gratum apud regem, quam invidiosum esse: a matre quoq; ejus Olympiadæ, variis se criminationibus vexatum. Huc accedebant ante paucos dies, supplicia in prefectos devictarum nationum crudeliter habita. Ex quibus rebus se quoq; a Macedonia non ad societatem militiæ, sed ad pœnam evocatum arbitrabatur. Igitur ad occupandum re-

gians warns him not to enter the city, declaring, that the place would be fatal to him. For this reason, waving Babylon, he went to Borsippa, a city beyond Euphrates, that had been for some time before in a manner forsaken. There he was engaged again by Anaxarchus to slight the predictions of the Magians, as false and uncertain, and if they depended upon the fates, unknown to men: but if they were owing to nature, unchangeable. Wherefore returning to Babylon, and allowing himself several days for his ease and refreshment, he solemnly revives the feasting, that had now been for some time before omitted; being wholly given up to mirth, and joining the night in revelling to the day. As he was now withdrawing from the banquet, Medius Thessalus renewing the revel, invites both him and his companions. Taking up a cup, he groaned, as if stabbed with a weapon, in the middle of his drink, and being carried half dead out of the feast, he was racked with so much pain, that he demanded his sword for his relief, and was afflicted with pain upon men's touching him, as with wounds. His friends gave out, that the cause of his disease was the extravagance of his hard drinking; but indeed there was a plot in the case, the infamy of which the power of his successors smothered.

CHAP. XIV. Antipater was the contriver of this plot, who seeing the dearest of his friends put to death, Alexander Lyncistes, his son-in-law slain, and that himself, after all the great things performed by him in Greece, was not so much acceptable to the king, as envied by him; and that he was persecuted too with various accusations by his mother. To this was added the punishment cruelly inflicted a few days before upon the governors of the conquered nations. From all which things he imagined that he was not sent for from Macedonia to accompany him in his wars, but for punishment. Wherefore to be before hand with the king, he furnishes his son Cassander with poison,

gem,

gem, Cassandrum filium dato veneno subornat, qui cum fratribus Philippo & Jolla ministrare regi solebat; cujus veneni tanta vis fuit, ut non ære, non ferro, non testa contineretur, nec aliter ferri, nisi in ungula equi potuerit; præmonito filio, ne alii quam Thessalo & fratribus crederet. Hac igitur ex causa apud Thessalum paratum repetitumq; convivium est. Philippus & Jollas prægustare ac temperare potum regis soliti in aqua frigida venenum habuerunt, quam prægustatæ jam potioni supermiserunt.

CAP. XV. Quarto die Alexander indubitatam mortem sentiens, agnoscere se fatum domus majorum suorum ait, nam plerosq; Æacidarum intra trigessimum annum defunctos. Tumultuantes deinde milites, insidiis perisse regem suspicantes, ipse sedavit, eosq; omnes, cum prolatus in editissimum urbis locum esset, ad conspectum suum admisit, osculandamq; dextram suam flentibus porrexit. Cum lacrymarent omnes, ipse non sine lacrymis tantum, verum etiam sine ullo tristioris mentis argumento fuit, ut quosdam impatientius dolentes consolatus sit; quibusdam mandata ad parentes eorum dederit; adeo sicuti in hostem, ita & in mortem invictus animus fuit. Dimissis militibus, amicos circumstantes percontatur, videanturne similem sibi reperturi regem? Tacentibus cunctis tum ipse, ut hoc nesciat, ita illud scire, vaticinarique se ac pene oculis videre dixit, quantum sit in hoc certamine sanguinis fusura Macedonia; quantis cædibus, quo cruore mortuo sibi parentatura. Ad postremum, corpus suum in Hammonis templo condi jubet. Cum deficere eum amici viderent, quærunt, quem imperii fa-

who used to attend the king at table, with his brother, Philip and Jollas; the force of which poison was such, that it could not be contained in iron, nor brass, nor shell, nor conveyed any other ways than in the hoof of a horse; his son being warned, that he should trust no body but Thessalus and his brothers. For this cause therefore the banquet was provided and renewed in Thessalus's lodging. Philip and Jollas, who used to taste and mix the king's drink, had the poison in cold water, which they put into the drink after it was tasted.

CHAP. XV. Upon the fourth day Alexander perceiving his death was unquestionable, says, he was sensible of the fate of the family of his ancestors; for that most of the Æacidæ died within their thirtieth year. Then he pacified the soldiers who mutinied, suspecting the king was taken off by a plot, and admitted them all to a sight of him, after he had been carried into the highest part of the city, and gave them weeping his right hand to kiss. Whilst they all wept, he not only was without tears, but even without any token of a sad mind, insomuch that he comforted some who lamented very heavily: to some he gave messages to their parents, so that as his soul had been against an enemy invincible, so was it against death. The soldiers being dismissed, he asks his friends standing about him, if they thought they should find a king like him. They all being silent, he then said, as he did not know that, so he knew, and foretold this, and almost saw it with his eyes, how much blood Macedonia would shed in that dispute; with what havock and effusion of blood it would perform his obsequies. At last he orders his body to be buried in the Temple of Hammon. When his friends perceived him to faint, they ask him, whom he had made heir of his empire. He answered, the most worthy. Such was the greatness of his soul, that tho' he left a son called Hercules, tho' he

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ciat hæredem? Respondit, *Dignissimum.* Tanti illa magnitudo animi fuit, ut cum Herculem filium, cum fratrem Aridæum, cum Roxanem uxorem pregnantem relinqueret; oblitus necessitudinem, dignissimum nuncuparet hæredem. Prorsus quasi nefas esset, viro forti alium quam virum fortem succedere, aut tanti regni opes aliis, quam probatis relinquere. Hac voce veluti bellicum inter amicos cecinisset, aut malum discordiæ misisset, ita omnes in æmulationem consurgunt, & ambitione vulgi tacitum favorem militum quærunt. Sexto die præclusa voce, exemptum digito annulum Perdiccæ tradidit; quæ res gliscentem amicorum diffentionem sedavit. Nam etsi non voce nuncupatus hæres, iudicio tamen electus esse videbatur.

CAP. XVI. Decessit Alexander, mensem unum, annos tres & triginta natus; vir supra humanam potentiam magnitudine animi præditus. Qua nocte cum mater Olympias concepit, visa per quietem est cum ingenti serpente volutari; nec decepta somnio est. Nam profecto majus humana mortalitate opus utero tulit: quam cum Æacidarum gens ab ultima sæculorum memoria, & regna patris, fratris, mariti, ac deinceps majorum omnium illustraverint: nullius tamen nomine, quam filii clarior fuit. Prodigia magnitudinis ejus in ipso orta nonnulla apparuere. Nam ea die qua natus est, quæ aquilæ tota die præpetes supra culmen domus patris ejus federunt, omen duplicis imperii, Europæ Asiæq; præferentes. Eadem quoq; die nuntium pater ejus duarum victoriarum accepit; alterius, belli Illyrici, alterius, certaminis Olympici, in quod quadrigarum currus mise-

left a brother Aridæus, though he left his wife Roxana with child, forgetting his relations, he appointed the most deserving for his heir. Just as if it was unlawful for any other than a brave man to succeed a brave man, or that the power of so great a kingdom should be left to any but approved men. As if he had sounded the signal for a battle among his friends by his reply, or had thrown the apple of discord among them, thus do they all rise up in emulation, and by making court to the vulgar under-hand, seek the favour of the soldiers. Upon the sixth day his voice being stopt, he delivered his ring off his finger to Perdiccas, which thing quashed the growing dissensions of his friends. For tho' he was not expressly named his heir, yet he seemed chosen by this approbation of him.

CHAP. XVI. Alexander died three and thirty years and a month old, a man endowed with greatness of soul above human power. In the night wherein his mother Olympias conceived him she seemed in her sleep to be rolled in bed with a huge serpent. Nor was she deceived in her dream; for truly she bore in her womb a work greater than human mortality, whom tho' the family of the Æacidae deduced from the remotest period of time, and the sovereign power of her father, brother, husband, and in fine of all her ancestors rendered illustrious, yet was she not more famous upon any ones account, than her son. Some omens of his future greatness appeared at his birth. For the day upon which he was born, two eagles sat all day long upon the top of his father's house, affording an omen of his double empire of Europe and Asia. The same day too his father received the news of two victories, one in the war of Illyricum, the other in the Olympick contest, to which he had sent chariots drawn by four horses, which omen portended the conquest of all the world to the child. When he was a boy, he was very diligently instructed in the study of

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rat: quod omen univrsarum terrarum victoriam infanti portendebat. Puer accerrimis litterarum studiis eruditus fuit. Ex acta pueritia, per quinquennium sub Aristotele doctore inclyto omnium philosophorum crevit, Accepto deinde imperio, regem se terrarum omnium ac mundi appellari iussit; tantamq; fiduciam suis militibus fecit, ut illo præsente nullius hostis arma nec inermes timuerint. Itaque cum nullo hostium unquam congressus est, quem non vicerit; nullam urbem obsedit, quam non expugnauerit; nullam gentem adiit, quam non calcaverit. Victus deniq; ad postremum est, non virtute hostili, sed infidiis suorum & fraude civili.

letters. After the time of puerility was over, he grew up for five years together under Aristotle the famous teacher of all the philosophers. After that upon his coming to the kingdom, he ordered himself to be called the king of all the earth and the world, and gave his soldiers such a confidence in him, that when he was present, they feared the arms of no enemy, tho' themselves unarmed. Wherefore he engaged with no enemy at any time, whom he did not conquer; he besieged no city which he did not take; he came to no nation which he did not over-run. At last he was conquered, not by the bravery of his enemies, but by the plots of his friends, and the treachery of his own subjects.

LIBER XIII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Luētus post Alexandri Magni excessum: Macedonum ingratitude, ducum ambitio, militumque avaritia.*
2. *De Alexandri successore ducum exercitus sententiæ pugnantes.*
3. *Perdiccæ sententiæ reclamant pedites; unde tumultus & seditio, cui Perdicca prudenter medetur.*
4. *Aridæo rege designato, Perdicca & alii duces seu principes provincias dividunt.*
5. *Bellum pro Græciæ libertate ab Atheniensibus & Ætolis reparatum. Demosthenis pro patria labores. Antipatri obsidio & liberatio.*
6. *Perdicca Cappadoces prælio fatigat. Bellum inter Antigonum & Perdiccam. Ptolemæi solers industria.*
7. *De origine urbis Cyrenes digressio.*
8. *Ptolemæus bellum parat in Perdiccam. Eumenes res fortiter & feliciter gestæ.*

CAPUT I.

EXtincto in ipso ætatis ac victoriarum flore Alexandro Magno, triste apud omnes tota Babylone silentium fuit. Sed nec devictæ gentes fidem nuntio habuerunt, quod ut invictum regem, ita immortalem esse crederant; recordantes, quoties

Alexander being taken off in the very flower of his age and victories, there was a doleful silence among all people throughout all Babylon. But the conquered nations did not give credit to the news, because as they had believed him to be a prince invincible, so did they believe him to be immortal, remembering how of-

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præsenti morte ereptus esset; quam sæpe pro amisso repente se non sospitem tantum suis, verum etiam victorem obtulisset. Ut vero mortis ejus fides adfuit, omnes barbaræ gentes paulo ante ab eo devictæ non ut hostem, sed ut parentem luxerunt. Mater quoq; Darii regis, quam amisso filio, a fastigio tantæ majestatis in captivitatem redactam indulgentia victoris, in eam diem vitæ non pœnituerat, audita morte Alexandri, mortem sibi ipsa conscivit; non quod hostem filio præferret; sed quod pietatem filii in eo, quem ut hostem timuerat, experta esset. Contra Macedones versa vice non ut civem, ac tantæ majestatis regem, verum ut hostem amissum, gaudebant; severitatem nimiam, & assidua belli pericula exsecrantes. Huc accedebat, quod principes regnum & imperia, vulgus militum thesauros & grande pondus auri, velut inopinatam prædam, spectabant; illi successionem regni, hi opum ac divitiarum hæreditatem cogitantes. Erat enim in thesauris quinquaginta millia talentum, & in anno vectigali tributo tricena millia. Sed nec amici Alexandri frustra regnum spectabant. Nam ejus virtutis ac venerationis erant, ut singulos reges putares. Quippe ea formæ pulchritudo, & proceritas corporis, & virum ac sapientię magnitudo in omnibus fuit, ut qui eos ignoraret, non ex una gente, sed ex toto terrarum orbe electos judicaret. Neque enim unquam ante Macedonia, vel ulla gens alia, tam clarorum virorum proventu floruit, quos primo Philippus, mox Alexander tanta cura legerat, ut non tam ad societatem belli, quam in successionem regni, electi videren-

ten he had been delivered from present death; how often instead of being lost, he had shewn himself to his men, not only safe, but likewise victorious. But as soon as a confirmation of his death came, all the barbarous nations, a little before conquered by him, mourned for him, not as an enemy, but a father. The mother of King Darius, who after she had lost her son, tho' reduced from the height of such mighty grandeur to a state of captivity, through the mildness of her conqueror, had not been weary of her life 'till that day, upon hearing of the death of Alexander, put an end to her life, not that she preferred an enemy before her son, but because she had found the duty of a son in him whom she had feared as an enemy. On the other hand the Macedonians quite otherwise did not mourn for him as their countryman, and a prince of so great majesty, but rejoiced as for an enemy they had lost, cursing his too great severity, and the continual dangers of war. To this was added, that the great men expected sovereign power and great commands, the common soldiers the treasure and a prodigious mass of gold, as a booty they had not looked for, those proposing to themselves the succession to his kingdom, these the inheritance of his wealth and riches. For there were in the treasures fifty thousand talents, and in the yearly revenue of tribute thirty thousand. But the friends of Alexander did not without reason expect his kingdom. For they were men of that ability and venerable appearance, that you would have thought every one of them kings. For such was the handsomeness of person, and tallness of body, and greatness of strength and wisdom, in all of them, that he that did not know them, would not have thought they had been chosen out of one nation, but out of the whole world. For neither did Macedonia at any time, or any other nation flourish in the production of such famous men, whom first Philip, and then Alexander had chosen with so much care, they did not seem chosen so much to attend them in the war, as to succeed them in the kingdom. Who there-

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tor. Quis igitur miretur, talibus ministris orbem terrarum victum, cum exercitus Macedonum tot ducibus, sed regibus regeretur; qui nunquam sibi reperissent pares, si non inter se concurrissent: multosque Macedonia pro uno Alexandros habuisset, nisi fortuna eos emulatione virtutis in perniciem mutuum armasset.

CAP. II. Cæterum, occiso Alexandro, non, ut læti, ita & securi fuere, omnibus unum locum competentibus; nec minus milites quam invicem se timebant, quorum & libertas solutior & favor incertus erat. Inter ipsos vero æqualitas discordiam augebat, nemine tantum cæteros excedente, ut ei aliquis se summitteret. Armati itaque in regiam coeunt ad formandum rerum præsentium statum. Perdicca censet, Roxanes expectari partum, quæ exacto mense octavo matura jam ex Alexandro erat; & si puerum peperisset, hunc dari successorem patri. Meleager negat, differenda in partus dubios consilia; nec expectandum dum reges nascerentur, cum jam genitis uti liceret; seu puer illis placeat, esse Pergami filium Alexandri natum ex Barsine, nomine Herculem; seu mallent juvenem, esse in castris fratrem Alexandri Aridæum, comem, & cunctis non suo tantum, verum & patris Philippi nomine acceptissimum. Cæterum Roxanen esse originis Persicæ; nec esse fas, ut Macedonibus ex sanguine eorum, quorum regno deleverint, reges constituentur; quod nec ipsum Alexandrum voluisse dicit. Denique morientem nullam de eo mentionem habuisse. Ptolemæus recusabat regem Aridæum, non propter maternas modo sordes, quod ex Larissæo scorto nasceretur: sed etiam propter va-

fore would wonder that the world was subdued with such officers, when the Macedonian army was commanded not by so many generals, but kings? who never would have found any equal to themselves, if they had not clashed among themselves; and Macedonia would have had a great many instead of one Alexander, had not fortune armed them, by a mutual emulation of their great ability, for their mutual destruction.

CHAP. II. But they were not as secure as they were joyful, after Alexander was taken off; all of them aimed at one place; nor did they fear the soldiers less than one another, whose liberty was more large, and favour uncertain. The equality too among them increased their disagreement, no one so much exceeded the rest, that any man would submit himself to him. Wherefore they meet armed in the palace, to settle the state of their present affairs. Perdicca is of opinion, That the delivery of Roxane was to be waited for, who was now eight months gone with child by Alexander; and if she brought forth a boy, that he was to be appointed his father's successor. Meleager denies, that their councils ought to be suspended till a birth that was uncertain; nor ought they to wait, he said, 'till kings were born, who might make use of those that were already born; whether a boy pleased them, there was at Pergamus a son of Alexander, born of Barsine, by name Hercules; or if they would rather have a man, that there was in the camp Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, a courteous gentleman, and very agreeable to all people, not only upon his own account, but likewise upon account of his father Philip. But that Roxane was of Persian extract: nor was it reasonable, that kings should be made for the Macedonians of the blood of those, whose kingdoms they had destroyed, which, he said, Alexander himself would not have been willing to. Lastly, that when dying, he made no mention of him. Ptolemy refused to accept of Aridæus for king, not only upon account of his mo-

letudinem majorum, quam patiebatur; nec ille nomen regis, aliud imperium teneret; melius esse ex his legi, qui pro virtute regi suo proximi fuerint, qui provincias regant, quibus bella mandentur, quam sub persona regis indignorum subjiçantur imperio. Vicit Perdiccæ sententia consensu universorum. Placuit itaq; Roxanes expectari partum; & si puer natus fuisset, tutores Leonatum, Perdiccam, Crateron & Antipatrum constituunt, confestimq; in tutorum obsequia jurant.

Roxane should be waited for; and if a boy was born, they appoint Leonatus, Perdicca, Craterus, and Antipater his guardians, and immediately swear obedience to the guardians.

CAP. III. Cum equites quoque idem fecissent, pedites indignati, nullas sibi consiliorum parte relictas, Aridæum, Alexandri fratrem, regem appellant, satellitesq; illi ex turba sua legunt & nomine Philippi patris vocari jubent. Quæ cum nuntiata equitibus essent, legatos ad mitigandos eorum animos, duos ex proceribus, Attalum & Meleagrum mittunt, qui potentiam ex vulgi adulatione quærentes, ommissa legatione, militibus consentiunt. Statim & seditio crevit, ubi caput & consilium habere cæpit. Tunc ad delendum equitatum cuncti armati in regiam irrumpunt: quo cognito, equites trepidi ab urbe discedunt, castrisq; positis, & ipsi pedites terriere cæperunt. Sed nec procerum inter se odia cessabant. Attalus ad interficiendum Perdiccam ducem partis alterius mittit; ad quem armatum, & ultro vocantum, cum accedere percussores ausi non fuissent; tanta constantia Perdiccæ fuit, ut ultro ad pedites venire, & in concionem vocatos edoceret, quod facinus molirentur, respuerent contra quos arma sumpsis-
sent: non illos Persas, sed Mace-

ther's meanness, because he was born of a courtesan of Larissa; but likewise because of the great weakness he was afflicted with; lest he should have the name of king, and another the authority: that it was better to have some chose from among those, who for their conduct were next to the king, to govern the provinces, to whom the management of their wars might be committed, than to be subjected to the dominion of unworthy men under the person of a king. The advice of Perdiccas prevailed by the consent of all. Wherefore it was resolved that the delivery of

if a boy was born, they appoint Leonatus, his guardians, and immediately swear

CHAP. III. After the horse had done the same too, the foot being angry that no share in the councils had been left to them, proclaim Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, king, and chuse life-guardmen for him out of their own body, and order him to be called by the name of his father Philip. Which things when they were told to the horse, they dispatched two of their chiefs, Attalus and Meleager, as deputies to sooth their minds; who seeking the advancement of their own power, by flattering the commonalty, dropping the business of their message, agree with the soldiers. And immediately the sedition grew, now that it begun to have a head and counsel to conduct it. Then they all rush armed into the palace, to destroy the horse. Upon the understanding of which, the horse depart in a fright from the city, and having pitched their camp, they likewise began to terrify the foot. But neither did the animosities of the leading men among them cease. Attalus sends some to take off Perdicca, the head of the other party; to whom armed, and frankly inviting them, the assassins not dared to approach, so great was the resolution of Perdicca, that he voluntarily went to the foot, and being called out to an assembly, informing them what a villainy they were attempting: telling them, They ought to consider against whom they had taken

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donec; non hostes sed cives esse; plerumque etiam cognatos eorum, certe commilitones, eorundem castrorum ac periculorum socios; edituros deinde egregium hostibus suis spectaculum, ut quorum armis victos se doleant, eorum mutuis caedibus gaudeant, parentaturosque sanguine suo manibus hostium a se interfectorum.

arms they lamented they had been conquered, and would make an atonement, by their own blood, to the ghosts of the enemies that had been slain by them.

CAP. IV. Hæc cum pro singulari facundia sua Perdicca perorasset, adeo movet pedites, ut probato consilio ejus, dux ab omnibus legeretur. Tum equites in concordiam revocati in Aridæum regem consentiunt. Servata est portio regni Alexandri filio, si natus esset. Hæc agebant, posito in medio corpore Alexandri, ut majestas ejus testis decretorum esset. His ita compositis, Macedoniæ & Græciæ Antipater præponitur; regiæ pecuniæ custodia Cratero traditur; castrorum, exercitus, & rerum cura Meleagro & Perdiccæ assignatur; jubeturque Aridæus rex, corpus Alexandri in Hammonis templum deducere. Tunc Perdicca infensus seditionis auctoribus, repente ignaro collega, lustrationem castrorum propter mortem regis, in posterum edicit. Postquam armatum exercitum in campo constituit, consentientibus universis, evocatos, dum transit, de singulis manipulis seditiosos, supplicio tradi occulte jubet. Reversus inde inter principes provincias dividit, simul ut & removeret æmulos, & munus imperii, beneficii sui faceret. Prima Ptolemæo Ægyptus & Africæ Arabiæque pars sorte venit, quem ex gregario milite Alexander virtutis causa provexerat; cui ad tradendam provinciam Cleomenes, qui A-

up arms: that they were not Persians, but Macedonians; not enemies' but their country-men; most of them too their relations, however their fellow-soldiers, and their companions in the same camp and dangers: they would at last present their enemies with a fine sight, that they might rejoice in the mutual slaughter of those, by whose

arms they lamented they had been conquered, and would make an atonement, by their own blood, to the ghosts of the enemies that had been

CHAP. IV. Perdicca having said these things according to his singular eloquence, he so wrought upon the foot, that his advice being approved of, he was chose general by them all. Then the horse being brought to a good understanding, agree upon Aridæus for their king. A part of the kingdom was reserved for Alexander's son if any should be born. These things they did, with Alexander's body placed in the midst, that his Majesty might be a witness of their decrees. These things being thus settled, Antipater is made governor of Macedonia and Greece. The charge of the king's money is committed to Craterus; the care of the camp, army, and the war is assigned to Meleager and Perdicca; and king Aridæus is appointed to convey the body of Alexander to the temple of Hammon. Then Perdicca being enraged against the ring-leaders of the mutiny, on a sudden, whilst his colleague was ignorant of the matter, gives notice against the day following for a lustration of the camp, upon account of the king's death. After he had drawn up the troops under their arms in the field, with the unanimous consent of all, he orders the mutincers, picked out of the several companies as he passes along, to be privately delivered up to punishment. Upon his return from thence he distributes the provinces among the grandees, that he might at once both remove his rivals, and make the favour of command matter of his own kindness. First Egypt, and a part of Africa and Arabia fell by lot to Ptolemy, whom Alexander had raised from a common soldier, on account of his good behaviour; to whom Cleomenes, who had built

Alexandriam ædificaverat, datur. Confinem huic provinciæ Syriam Laomedon Mitylenæus, Ciliciam Philotas, Philo Illyrios accipiunt. Mediæ majori Acropatus, minori focer Perdiccæ præponitur. Susiana gens Scyno, Phrygia major Antigono, Philippi filio, assignatur. Lyciam & Pamphyliam Nearchus, Cariam Cassander, Lydiam Menander fortiuntur. Leonato minor Phrygia evenit. Thracia & regiones Pontici maris Lyfimacho. Cappadocia cum Paphlagonia Eumeni data. Summus castrorum tribunatus Seleuco Antiochi filio cessit. Stipatoribus regis satellitibusque Cassander filius Antipatri præficitur. In Bactriana ulteriore, & Indiæ regionibus, priores præfecti re-tenti. Terras inter amnes Hydaspem & Indum, Taxiles habebat. In colonias in Indis conditas, Pithon Agenoris filius mittitur. Paropamisios & fines Caucaſi montis Extarches accepit. Arachosii Gedrosique Sibyrtio traduntur; Drancæ & Arei Stasanori. Bactrianos Amyntas fortitur, Sogdianos Scythæus, Nicanor Parthos, Philippus Hyrcanos, Phrataſernes Armenios, Tleptolemus Persas, Peucestes Babylonios, Archos Pelasgos, Arceſilaus Mesopotamiam. Cum hæc diviso, veluti fatale munus singulis contigisset, ita magna incrementorum materia plurimis fuit. Siquidem non magno post tempore quasi regna, non præfecturas divisissent, sic reges ex præfectis facti, magnas opes non sibi tantum paraverunt, verum etiam posteris relinquerunt.

CAP. V. Dum hæc in Oriente aguntur, in Græcia Athenienses & Ætoli bellum, quod jam vivo Alexandro moverant, summis viribus instruebant. Causæ belli erant reversus quod ab India

Alexandria, is given to deliver up the province to him. Laomedon of Mitylene receives Syria bordering upon his province: Philotas Cilicia, and Philo the Illyrians. Acropatus is made governor of the greater Media, and the father-in-law of Perdicca, of the less. The Susian nation is assigned to Scynus; the greater Phrygia to Antigonus Philip's son. Nearchus gets Lycia and Pamphilia, Cassander Caria, Menander Lydia. The lesser Phrygia falls to Leonatus; Thrace, and the coasts of the Pontick sea to Lyſimachus. Cappadocia, with Paphlagonia, was given to Eumenes. The chief command of the camp fell to Seleucus, the son of Antiochus. Cassander, the son of Antipater, is made commander of the king's guards. The former governors were retained in further Bactriana, and the parts of India. Taxiles had all the country lying betwixt the rivers Hydaspes and Indus. Pithon, the son of Agenor is sent among the colonies settled in the country of the Indians. Extarches received the Paropamicians, and the borders of mount Caucasus. The Arachosians and Gedrosians are delivered to Sibyrtus; the Drance and Arei to Stasanor. Amyntas gets the Bactrians, Scythæus the Sogdians, Nicanor the Parthians, Philip the Hyrcanians, Phrataſernes the Armenians, Tleptolemus the Persians, Peucestes the Babylonians, Archos the Pelasgians, Arceſilaus Mesopotamia. After this assignment, like a present from the fates, had been made to each of the leading men, it was to very many of them a great occasion of the improvement of their fortune. For no long time after, as if they had distributed to one another kingdoms, not governments, becoming kings of governors, they not only procured themselves great power, but likewise left it to their posterity.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things are doing in the East, in Greece the Athenians and Ætolians went on with all their might with the war, which they had begun whilst Alexander was living. The causes of the war were, that Alexander,

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Alexander epistolas in Græciam scripserat, quibus omnium civitatum exules, præter cædis damnatos, restituebantur. Quæ recitata præsentē universa Græcia in mercatu Olympiaco magnos motus fecerunt, quod plurimi non legibus pulsi patria, sed per factionem principum fuerant, verentibus iisdem principibus ne revocati potentiores in republica fierent. Palam igitur tunc multæ civitates libertatem bello vindicandam fremebant. Principes tamen omnium Athenienses & Ætoli fuere. Quod cum nuntiatum Alexandro esset, mille naves longas sociis imperari præceperat, quibus in Occidente bellum gereret; excursurusque cum valida manu fuerat ad Athenas delendas. Igitur Athenienses, contracto xxx millium exercitu & cc navibus, bellum cum Antipatro, cui Græcia forte venerat, gerunt, eumque detrectantem prælium, & Heracleæ urbis mœnibus tuentem se obsidione cingunt. Eodem tempore Demosthenes Atheniensis orator, pulsus patria, ob crimen accepti ab Harpalo auri, qui crudelitatem Alexandri fugerat, quod civitatem in ejusdem Alexandri bellum impelleret, forte Megaris exulabat; qui ut missum ab Atheniensibus Hyperidem legatum cognovit, qui Peloponneses in societatem armorum sollicitaret, sequutus eum, Sicyōna, Argos & Corinthum, cæterasque civitates, eloquentia sua Atheniensibus junxit. Ob quod factum missa ab Atheniensibus obviam nave ab exilio revocatur. Interim in obsidione Antipatri, Leosthenes, dux Atheniensium, telo e muris in transeuntem jacto occiditur. Quæ res tantum animorum Antipatro dedit, ut etiam vallum rescindere auderet. Auxilium

upon his return from India had writ letters into Greece, in which the exiles of all the cities, except those condemned for murder, were restored. Which being read in the presence of all Greece, in the meeting at Olympia, occasioned mighty commotions, because a great many had not been legally banished their country, but by a faction of the leading men; the same grantees being afraid, lest upon their being recalled, they should become the more powerful in the commonwealth. Wherefore even then many cities openly grumbled, and said, that their liberty was to be vindicated by a war. However, the Athenians and the Ætolians were the chief of them all. Which thing being told to Alexander, he had ordered a thousand men of war to be mustered up among his allies, wherewith to manage the war in the West, and was going to advance with a mighty army to destroy Athens. Wherefore the Athenians having got together an army of thirty thousand men, and two hundred ships, carry on a war with Antipater, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, and shut him up by a siege, declining battle, and defending himself within the walls of the city Heraclea. At the same time Demosthenes, the Athenian orator, being banished his country, for the crime of taking gold of Harpalus, who had fled from the cruelty of Alexander, because he perswaded the city to a war with the same Alexander, by chance was then living in banishment at Megara; who when he understood that Hyperides was sent ambassador by the Athenians to solicit the Peloponnesians to join their arms, following him, he joined Sicyon, Argos and Corinth, and other cities, by his eloquence, to the Athenians: for which fact he is recalled from banishment, by a ship sent to meet him by the Athenians. In the mean time Leosthenes, general of the Athenians, is slain in the siege of Antipater, with a weapon discharged at him, as he passed along, from the walls; which thing put so much courage into Antipater, that he ventured to tear down their rampart. After that, he begs assistance by messengers from Leonatus;

deinde a Leonato per legatos petit, qui cum venire cum exercitu nunciatus esset, obvii ei Athenienses cum instructis copiis fuere, ibique equestri prælio gravi vulnere ictus exstinguitur. Antipater, tametsi auxilia sua videret victa, more tamen Leonati lætatus est; quippe & æmulum sublatum, & vires ejus accessisse sibi gratulabatur. Statim igitur exercitu ejus recepto, cum par hostibus etiam prælio videretur, solutus obsidione in Macedoniam concessit. Græcorum quoque copiarum, finibus Græciæ hoste pulso in urbes dilapsæ.

CAP. VI. Interea Perdicca, bello Ariarathi regi Cappadocum illato, prælioque victor, nihil præmii præter vulnera & pericula retulit. Quippe hostes ab acie in urbem recepti, occisis conjugibus & liberis, domos quisque suis cum omnibus copiis incenderunt. Eodem, congestis etiam servitiis, & semetipsos præcipitant, ut nihil hostis victor suarum rerum, præter incendii spectacula frueretur. Inde ut viribus auctoritatem regiam acquireret ad nuptias Cleopatræ, sororis Alexandri Magni, & alterius Alexandri quondam uxoris, non aspernante Olympiade, matre ejus, intendit; sed prius Antipatrum, sub affinitatis obtentu, capere cupiebat. Itaque fingit se in matrimonium filiam ejus petere, quo facilius ab eo supplementum tironum ex Macedonia obtineret. Quem dolum præsentiente Antipatro, dum duas eodem tempore uxores quærit, neutram obtinuit. Post hæc bellum inter Antigonom & Perdiccam oritur. Antigono Craterus & Antipater auxilium ferebant, qui facta cum Atheniensibus pace. Polyperchonta Græciæ & Macedonia præpo-

whom, when he was said to be coming with his army, the Athenians met with well-provided troops, and there in an engagement of the horse, receiving a grievous wound, he is slain. Antipater, tho' he saw his auxiliaries defeated, yet rejoiced at the death of Leonatus, for he was pleased that his rival was taken off, and that his strength was added to himself. Wherefore having immediately taken his army, as he now seemed a match for the enemy even in battle, being delivered from the siege, he drew off into Macedonia. The troops of the Greeks too, having driven the enemy from the country of Greece, slipt away into their several cities.

CHAP. VI. In the mean time, Perdicca having made war upon Ariarathes, king of the Cappadocians, and being victorious in a battle, got no other reward but wounds and dangers. For the enemy after their battle, being retired into their city, every one killing their wives and children, set fire to their houses with all their goods; and having thrown their slaves too in the same fire, they likewise cast in themselves, that the victorious enemy might enjoy nothing of what was their's, but the sight of the fire. Upon this, that he might superadd royal authority to his strength, he turns his thoughts upon a match with Cleopatra, sister to Alexander the Great, and formerly wife of the other Alexander, her mother Olympias being not averse to him: but he was desirous first to trepan Antipater by the pretence of an affinity with him. Wherefore he pretends to desire his daughter in marriage, that he might the more easily procure from him recruits of young soldiers out of Macedonia. Which stratagem Antipater perceiving, whilst he courts two wives at the same time, he got neither of them. After these things, a war commences betwixt Antigonus and Perdicca. Craterus and Antipater carried assistance to Antigonus, who making peace with the Athenians, appoint Polyperchon governor of Greece and Macedonia. Perdicca, his affairs going wrong, being then in Cap-

nunt

nunt. Perdicca, alienatis rebus, Aridæum & Alexandri Magni filium, in Cappadocia, quorum cura illi mandata fuerat, de summa velli in consilium adhibet. Quibusdam placebat bellum in Macedoniam transferri, ad ipsum fontem & caput regni, ubi & Olympias esset, mater Alexandri, non mediocre momentum partium, & civium favor propter Alexandri Philippique nomina. Sed in rem visum est ab Ægypto incipere, ne in Macedoniam profectis, Asia a Ptolomæo occuparetur. Eumeni, præter provincias quas acceperat, Paphlagonia & Caria & Lycia & Phrygia adjiciuntur. Ibi Craterum & Antipatrum opperiri jubetur. Adjutores ei dantur cum exercitibus frater Perdicæ Alcetas & Neoptolemus. Clito cura classis traditur; Cilicia Philotæ adempta Philoxeno datur. Ipse Perdicca Ægyptum cum ingenti exercitu petit. Sic Macedonia in duas partes discurrentibus ducibus, in sua viscera armatur ferrumque; ab hostili bello in civilem sanguinem vertit, exemplo furentium, manus ac membra sua ipsa cæsura. Sed Ptolomæus in Ægypto, solerti industria, magnas opes parabat: quippe & Ægyptios insigni moderatione in favorem sui sollicitaverat; & reges finitimos beneficiis obsequiisque devinxerat; terminos quoque imperii, acquisita Cyrene urbe, ampliaverat, factusque jam tantus erat, ut non tam timeret, quam timendus ipse hostibus esset.

CAP. VII. Cyrene autem condita fuit ab Aristæo, cui nomen Battus propter linguæ obligationem fuit. Hujus pater Cirus, rex Theræ insulæ, cum ad oraculum Delphos, propter dedecus adolescentis filii nondum

padocia, takes Aridæus and Alexander the Great's son, the care of whom had been committed to him, into consultation about the management of the war. Some were for having the war carried into Macedonia, to the very source and head of the kingdom, where Olympias too was, the mother of Alexander, who would be no small addition to their party; and the favour of their country men would be with them, because of the names of Alexander and Philip. But it seemed to the purpose to begin with Egypt, lest when they were gone into Macedonia, Asia should be seized by Ptolemy. Paphlagonia and Caria, and Lycia, and Phrygia, are added to Eumenes, besides the provinces which he had received. There he is ordered to wait for Craterus and Antipater. Alcetas the brother of Perdicca, and Neoptolemus, with their armies, are given him as assistants. The chief command of the fleet is given to Clitus. Cilicia being taken from Philotas, is given to Philoxenus, Perdicca himself marches for Egypt with a huge army. Thus Macedonia, whilst the commanders run into two parties, is armed against its own bowels, and turns the sword from the war against a foreign enemy, to the shedding of civil blood; after the manner of mad people, ready to cut its own hands and members. But Ptolemy in Egypt, by his dextrous application to business, acquired to himself a mighty power. For he had engaged in his favour the Egyptians by his extraordinary moderation, and obliged the neighbouring princes by kindnesses, and obsequious compliances; and had enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom, by the acquisition of the city Cyrene; and was now become so great, that he did not so much fear, as he was to be feared by his enemies.

CHAP. VII. Now Cyrene was built by Aristæus, who had the name of Battus, because of his being tongue-tied. His father Cirus, king of the isle of Thera, applying to the oracle of Delphos, because of the misfortune of his son, a young man who could not speak yet, came to pay his de-
loquentis

loquentis, deum deprecaturus venisset, responsum accepit, quo jubebatur filius ejus Battus *Africam petere, & urbem Cyrenen condere, usum linguæ ibi accepturus*. Cum responsum ludibrio simile videretur, propter solitudinem Therae insulæ, ex qua coloni ad urbem condendam in Africam tam vastæ regionis proficisci jubebantur, res omissa est. Interjecto deinde tempore, velut contumaces, pestilentia deo parere compelluntur: quorum tam insignis paucitas fuit, ut vix unam navem complerint. Cum venissent in Africam, pulsis accolis, montem Cyram, & propter amœnitatem loci, & propter fontium ubertatem, occupavere. Ibi Battus, dux eorum, linguæ nodis solutis, loqui primum cœpit; quæ res animos eorum, ex promissis dei jam parte percepta, in reliquam spem condendæ urbis accendit. Positis igitur castris, opinionem veteris fabulæ accipiunt, Cyrenem, eximiae pulchritudinis virginem, a Thessaliæ monte Pelio ab Apolline raptam, perlatamque in ejusdem montis juga, cujus collem occupaverant, a deo repletam, quatuor pueros peperisse, Nomium, Aristæum, Authocum, Argæum: missos a patre Hypsæo, rege Thessaliæ qui perquirerent virginem, loci amœnitate captos in iisdem terris cum virgine resedisse. Ex his pueris tres adultos in Thessaliam reversos avita regna recepisse. Aristæum in Arcadia late regnasse, eumque primum & apium & mellis usum, & lactis ad coagula hominibus tradidisse, solstitialesque ortus sideris primum invenisse. Quibus auditis, Battus, virginis nomine, ex responsis agnito, urbem Cyrenen condidit.

votions to the God, received an answer, by which his son Battus was ordered to go to Africa, and build the city Cyrene; for there he would receive the use of his tongue. As this answer appeared like a mockery, because of the scarcity of men in the island of Thera, from which a colony was ordered to go into Africa, a country of so vast an extent, to build a city, the business was let alone. Then some time after, the Theresians, as being disobedient to the divine will, are compelled by a pestilence to obey the God: the small number was so remarkable, that they scarce filled one ship. After they were come into Africa, dislodging the inhabitants of the place, they seized upon mount Cyras, upon account both of the pleasantness of the place, and the plenty of its springs. There Battus their leader, the impediments of his tongue being loosed, begun to speak; which thing encouraged their minds to conceive hopes of building a city, one part of the promises of the god being already received. Wherefore pitching their camp, they received an account of an old story, that Cyrene, a young lady of excellent beauty, being taken away from Pelion, a mountain of Thessaly, by Apollo, and brought upon the top of the same mountain, a hill of which they had seized, was got with child by the God, and brought forth four boys, Nemius, Aristæus, Authocus, and Argæus; that some being sent by her father Hypsæus, king of Thessaly, to seek the young lady, being charmed with the pleasantness of the place, settled in the same country with the young lady. That three of the boys, when grown up to be men, returning into Thessaly, got their grandfather's kingdom: that Aristæus reigned far and wide in Arcadia, and that he first delivered to mankind the use of bees and honey, and milk for curds; and first of all observed the solstitial rising of the sun. Upon hearing which, Battus knowing the name of the virgin from the answer of Apollo, built the city Cyrene.

CAP. VIII. Igitur Ptolemæus hujus urbis auctus viribus bellum in adventum Perdiccæ parabat. Sed Perdiccæ plus odium arrogantia, quam vires hostium nocebant; quam exosi etiam focii ad Antipatrum gregatim profugiebant. Neoptolemus quoque in auxilium Eumeni relictus non solum transfugere verum etiam prodere partium exercitum voluit. Quam rem cum præsensisset Eumenes, cum proditore decernere prælio necesse habuit. Victus Neoptolemus ad Antipatrum & Polyperchonta profugit; hisque persuadet, ut continuatis mansionibus, læto ex victoria & securo fuga sua Eumeni superveniant. Sed res Eumenem non latuit. Itaque insidiæ in insidiatores versæ: & qui securum aggressuros se putabant, securis in itinere, & pervigilio noctis fatigatis, occursum est. In eo prælio Polyperchon occiditur. Neoptolemus quoque cum Eumene congressus diu, mutuis vulneribus acceptis, colluctatus est. In summa victus occumbit. Victor igitur duobus præliis continuis Eumenes afflictas partes transitione sociorum paululum sustentavit. Ad postremum tamen, Perdicca occiso, ab exercitu hostis cum Pythone, & Illyrio, & Alceta, fratre Perdiccæ appellatur; bellumque adversus eos Antigono decernitur.

CHAP. VIII. Wherefore Ptolemy being improved in his fortune by the addition of the strength of this city, made preparations for war against the coming of Perdicca. But the hatred of his pride did more prejudice to Perdicca, than the strength of his enemies; which even his allies abominating, fled over in droves to Antipater. Neoptolemus too being left for the assistance of Eumenes, not only designed to desert himself, but to betray the army of his party. Which thing when Eumenes came to understand, he was obliged to engage with the traitor in battle, Neoptolemus being defeated, fled to Antipater and Polyperchon, and persuades them, by uninterrupted marches, to come upon Eumenes, full of joy for his victory, and off his guard by reason of his escape. But the matter was not concealed from Eumenes. Wherefore the plot was turned upon the plotters; and they who thought they should attack him unguarded, were met with, whilst unguarded, upon their march, and wearied with waking all night before. In that battle Polyperchon is slain. Neoptolemus too engaging with Eumenes, struggled with him a long time, several wounds being received on both sides. At last being overpowered, he falls. Wherefore Eumenes being victorious in two successive battles, did somewhat support the party which had been sorely weakened by the desertion of their allies. However, at last Perdicca being slain, he is declared an enemy by the army, with Python, and Illyrias, and Alcetas the brother of Perdicca; and the management of the war against them is committed to Antigonus.

LIBER XIV.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. Eumenis in bello adversus Antigonom prudentia & fortitudo.
2. Prælio victus obsidetur, liberatur, ad Argyraspidas confugit, eosque ad suas partes pertrahit.

3. Dum

3. *Dum Argyraspidæ Eumenis imperia contemnunt, hostium virtute superantur. Unde in Eumenem conjuratio.*
4. *Eumenis captivi ad Argyraspidas oratio, qua petit, ut sibi inter eos mori liceat. Petitione frustratus proditorum capita devovet, & Antigono vinctus traditur.*
5. *Cassander, Aridæi vices gerens, Græciæ civitates opprimit, & in Macedoniam adversus Olympiadem proficiscitur.*
6. *Olympias fugit, obsidetur: victori Cassandro se tradit, cujus jussu interficitur.*

C A P U T I.

EUmenes, ut Perdiccam occisum, se hostem a Macedonibus judicatum, bellumque Antigono decretum cognovit: ultro ea militibus suis indicavit, ne fama aut rem in majus extolleret, aut militum animos rerum novitate terreret; simul ut quomodo circa se animati essent cognosceret, sumpturus consilium ex motu universorum. Constanter tamen præfatus est, si cui hæc terrori essent, habere eum discedendi potestatem. Qua voce adeo cunctos in studium partium suarum induxit, ut ultro illum omnes hortarentur, rescisurosque se ferro decreta Macedonum affirmarent. Tunc exercitu in Ætoliam, promotu pecunias civitatibus imperat; recusantes dare hostiliter diripit. Inde Sardeis profectus est ad Cleopatram, sororem Alexandri Magni, ut ejus voce centuriones principesque confirmarentur, exultimatuos ibi magistratum regiam verti, unde soror Alexandri staret. Tanta veneratio magnitudinis Alexandri erat, ut etiam per vestigia mulierum favor sacrati ejus nominis quæreretur. Cum reversus in castra esset, epistolæ totis castris abjectæ inveniuntur, quibus iis, qui Eumenis caput ad Antigonom detulissent, magna præmia designabantur. His cognititis Eumenes, vocatis ad concionem militibus, primo gratias agit, quod nemo inventus esset qui

WHEN Eumenes found that Perdicca was slain, himself declared an enemy, and the management of the war against him committed to Antigonus, he very frankly discovered these things to his men, lest fame should either magnify the matter beyond the truth, or terrify the minds of his soldiers with the strangeness of the things; and at the same time to observe how his men were affected towards him, resolving to take his measures according to the motion of the whole body. Yet he courageously declared, that if those things were a terror to any of them, he had leave to depart. By which declaration he drew them into such an affection for his party, that they did of themselves unanimously advise him to war, and declared, that they would annul the decrees of the Macedonians with the sword. Then advancing his army into Ætolia, he raises contributions upon the cities, and plunders in a hostile manner such as refused to pay. After that he went to Sardeis, to Cleopatra sister of Alexander the Great, that with her words he might animate the centurions and chiefs of his army, who would think royal Majesty was on the side, for which the sister of Alexander stood up. Such was their veneration for Alexander's greatness, that the favour of his sacred name was sought even by the means of women. After he was returned into the camp, letters were found scattered all over the camp, in which great rewards were specially promised to those that should bring the head of Eumenes to Antigonus. Upon the understanding of these things, Eumenes summoning his men to assemble, first thanks them, that none

speem

spem cruenti præmii fidei sacramenti anteponeret; deinde callide subnectit, confictas has a se epistolas ad experiundos suorum animos esse. Cæterum salutem suam in omnium potestate esse, nec Antigonus nec quemquam ducum sic velle vincere, ut ipse in se exemplum pessimum statuatur. Hoc factò, & in præsentì labentium animos retinuit, & in futurum providit, ut si quid simile accidisset, non se ab hoste corrumpi, sed ab duce tentari arbitrarentur. Omnes igitur operam suam certatim ad custodiam salutis ejus offerunt.

CAP. II. Cum interim Antigonus cum exercitu supervenit, castrisque positis, postera die in aciem procedit. Nec Eumenes moram prælio fecit; qui victus in munitum quoddam castellum confugit; ubi cum videret se fortunam obsidionis subiturum, majorem exercitus partem dimisit, ne aut consensu multitudinis hosti traderetur, aut obsidio ipsa multitudine gravaretur. Legatos deinde ad Antipatrum, quod solus par Antigoni viribus videbatur supplices mittit; a quo cum auxilia Eumeni missa Antigonus didicisset, ab obsidione recessit. Erat quidem solutus ad tempus metu mortis Eumenes; sed nec salutis, dimisso exercitu magna spes erat. Omnia igitur circumspicienti optimum visum est, ad Alexandri Magni Argyraspidas, invictum exercitum & tot victoriarum præfulgentem gloriâ, decurrere. Sed Argyraspides post Alexandrum omnes duces fastidiebant, sordidam militiam sub aliis, post tanti regis memoriam, existimantes. Itaque Eumenes blandimentis agere, supplicatur singulos al-

had been found among them, who preferred the hopes of a bloody reward, before the obligation of his soldier's oath. Then he cunningly subjoins, that those letters had been forged by him, to try the affections of his men; but that his life was in the hands of them all; that neither Antigonus, nor any other of the generals would so conquer, as to set a very ill example against himself. By this conduct he both kept up for the present the affection of his men that were wavering, and provided for the future, that if any thing like that should fall out, they might imagine that they were not corrupted by the enemy, but tried by their own general. Wherefore they all very zealously offer him their service for the security of his life,

CHAP. II. Whilst in the mean time Antigonus comes up with his army, and pitching his camp, the day after marches out to battle. Nor did Eumenes make any delay of fighting; who being defeated, fled into a certain strong castle; where when he saw he was like to undergo the hazard of a siege, he dismissed part of his army, lest either he should be delivered up to the enemy by the consent of the multitude, or the siege should be rendered more intolerable by their numbers. Then he sends deputies in humble manner to Antipater, who alone seemed a match for Antigonus's strength; by whom when Antigonus had learnt assistance was sent for Eumenes, he drew off from the siege. Eumenes was indeed for a time delivered from the fear of death; but neither was there any great hopes of security now his army was disbanded. Wherefore upon considering all things, it appeared to be the best to have recourse to the Argyraspides of Alexander the Great, an army never conquered, and shining with the glory of so many victories. But the Argyraspides despised all other generals after Alexander, thinking the service under other commanders below them, after the memory of so great a king. Wherefore Eumenes carried in the softest manner, bespoke them severally in humble wise; one while calling them his fellow-soldiers, another loqui,

loqui, nunc commilitones suos, nunc patronos appellans, nunc periculorum & operum Orientalium socios; nunc refugia salutis suæ & unica præsidia commemorans; solus esse quorum virtute Oriens fit domitus; solus qui militiam Liberi patris, qui Herculis monumenta superarint: per hos Alexandrum magnum factum, per hos divinos honores & immortalem gloriam consequutum. Orat ut non tam ducem se, quam commilitonem recipiant, unumque ex corpore suo esse velint. Receptus hac lege, paulatim imperium, primum monendo singulos, mox quæ perperam facta erant blande corrigendo, usurpat. Nihil in castris sine illo agi, nihil administrari sine solertia illius poterat.

CAP. III. Ad postremum cum Antigonum venire cum exercitu nuntiaturum esset, compellit eos in aciem descendere. Ibi dum ducis imperia contemnunt, hostium virtute superantur. In eo prælio non gloriam tantum tot bellorum, cum conjugibus & liberis, sed & præmia longa militia parta perdiderunt. Sed Eumenes, qui auctor cladis erat, nec aliam spem salutis reliquam habebat, victos hortabatur: nam & virtute eos superiores fuisse affirmabat: quippe ab his quinque millia hostium cæsa, & si in bello persistant, ultro hostes pacem petituros. Damna quibus se victos putent duo millia mulierum & paucos infantes & servitia esse, quæ melius vincendo possint reparare, quam deferendo victoriam. Porro Argyraspidæ neque fugam se tentaturos dicunt, post damna patrimoniorum, & post conjuges amissas, neque bellum gesturos contra liberos suos; ultroque eum convitiis agitant, quod se post tot annos emeritorum stipendiorum, redeunt domum cum præmiis tot

while his patrons; another, his companions in the dangers and exploits of the East; another, mentioning them as the refuge of his security, and his only protection: that they were the only men, by whose valour the East had been subdued; the only men who had gone beyond the limits of father Bacchus's expedition, and the monuments of Hercules; by them Alexander was made great, by them he had attained divine honours, and immortal glory. He begs they would take him in, not so much as their general, as their fellow-soldier, and would be pleased that he might be one of their body. Being received upon this condition, he by degrees assumes the command, first by admonishing them singly, and then by gently correcting what was done amiss. Nothing could be done in the camp without him, nothing managed without the help of his dexterity.

CHAP. III. At last when news was brought, that Antigonus was coming with an army, he obliges them to march out to battle. There whilst they slight the orders of their general, they are routed by the valour of their enemies. In that battle they not only lost the glory of so many wars, with their wives and children, but the rewards they had got in their long service. But Eumenes who was the occasion of this overthrow, and had no other hopes of security left, encouraged the vanquished; for he affirmed that they had been superior in courage; for five thousand of the enemy had been slain by them; and if they did but persist in the war, their enemies would forwardly sue for peace; that the losses, upon account of which they thought themselves defeated, were two thousand women, and a few infants and slaves, which they might better recover by conquering, than by forsaking the victory. But the Argyraspides declare that they would neither attempt flight, after the loss of their substance, and after their wives were gone, nor would they carry on their war against their own children: and without more ado pursue him with reproaches, for having engaged bellorum

bellorum, ab ipsa missione rursus in novam militiam, immensa; bella revocaverit, & a laribus jam quodammodo suis, & ab ipso limine patriæ abductos, inanibus promissis deceperit; nunc quoque amissis omnibus felicitis militiæ quæstibus, ne victos quidem in misera & inopi senectâ quiescere sinat. Ignaris deinde ducibus, confestim ad Antigonus legatos mittunt, petentes ut sua reddi jubeat. Is redditurum se pollicetur, si Eumenem sibi tradant. Quibus cognitis, Eumenes cum paucis fugere tentavit: sed retractus, desperatis rebus, cum concursus multitudinis factus esset, petit ut postremum sibi alloqui exercitum liceret.

CAP. IV. Jussus ab universis dicere, facto silentio, laxatisque vinculis, prolatam, sicut erat catenatus, manum ostendit: Cernitis milites, inquit, habitum atque ornamenta ducis vestri, quæ mihi non hostium quisquam impersuit; nam hoc etiam solatio foret. Vos me ex victore victum; Vos me ex imperatore captivum fecistis. Quater intra hunc annum in mea verba jurejurando obstricti estis. Sed ista omitto. Neque enim miseros convitia decent. Unum oro, si propositorum Antigoni in meo capite summa consistit, inter vos me vellitis mori. Nam neque illius interest, quemadmodum aut ubi cadam: & ego fuero ignominia mortis liberatus. Hoc si impetro, solvo vos jurejurando, quo toties vos sacramento mihi devovistis. Aut si ipsos pudet roganti vim adhibere, ferrum huc date; & permitte quod vos facturos pro imperatore jurastis, imperatorum pro vobis sine religione jurisjurandi facere. Cum non obtineret, preces in iram vertit. At vos, ait, devota capita, respiciant dii perju-

them, after so many years service returning home with the fruits of so many wars, after their disbanding, again in a fresh service, and great wars; and had deceived them with vain promises, fetched back from their very homes, and the entrance of their country; and now that they had lost all the profits of their fortunate service, would not suffer them, even tho' defeated, to be quiet in a miserable and poor old age. *Then without the knowledge of their commanders, they immediately send deputies to Antigonus, requesting that he would order what was theirs to be restored them. He promises he would restore it, if they would deliver up Eumenes to him. Upon understanding which, Eumenes, with a few others, attempted to fly; but being fetched back, his case being desperate, and a great croud of soldiers gathering about him, he desired that he may be allowed to speak to the army for the last time.*

CHAP. IV. Being ordered by them all to speak, silence being made, and his chains being loosed, he shewed them his hands, as he was in chains. Says he, you see, soldiers, the dress and the ornaments of your general, which not any of my enemies has put upon me, for that would be a comfort. You have made me of a conqueror a conquered man. You have made me of a general a prisoner. You have been bound four times by oath within this year to obey me. But I let those things alone; for reproaches do not become the miserable. One thing I beg, if the sum of Antigonus's proposals consists in my life, that you would let me die among yourselves. For it signifies nothing to him, how or where I fall; and I shall be delivered from an ignominious death. If I obtain this of you, I discharge you from the oath by which oath you have so often engaged yourselves to me. Or if you are ashamed to offer violence to me at my request, give me either a sword, and permit your general to do that for you, without the obligation of an oath, which you have sworn you would do for your general. *When he could not obtain this, he turns his prayers into passion, and says,*

vicorum.

riorum vindices; talesque vobis exitus dent, quales vos ducibus vestris dedistis. Nempe vos iidem paulo ante & Perdicæ sanguine estis aspersi, & in Antipatrum eadem moliti. Ipsum denique Alexandrum, si fas fuisset eum mortali manu cedere, interempturi; quod maximum erat, seditionibus agitastis. Ultima nunc ego perfidorum victima, has vobis diras atque inferias dico, ut inopes extorresque omne ævum in hoc castrensi exilio agatis, devorentque vos arma vestra quibus plures vestros, quam hostium duces, obsumfistis. Plenus deinde iræ custodes suos præcedere ad Antigoni castra cœpit. Sequitur exercitus, prodito imperatore suo, & ipse captivus, triumphumque de se ipso ad victoris sui castra ducit, omnia auspicia regis Alexandri, & tot bellorum palmas laureasque una secum victori tradens. Et ne quid deesset pompæ, elephanti quoque & auxilia Orientalia subsequuntur. Tanto pulchrior hæc Antigono, quam Alexandro tot victoriæ fuerunt; ut cum ille Orientem vicerit, hic etiam eos a quibus Oriens victus fuerat, superaverit. Igitur Antigonus domitores illos orbis exercitui suo dividit, redditis quæ in victoria ceperat. Eumenem vero verecundia prioris amicitiae, in conspectum suum venire prohibitum assignari custodibus præcepit.

in the victory: but ordered Eumenes, who, in regard to their former friendship, was not suffered to come into his sight, to be assigned to a guard.

CAP. V. Interea Eurydice uxor Aridæi regis, ut Polyperchonta a Græcia redire in Macedoniam cognovit, & ab eo arcesitam Olympiadem; muliebri æmulatione perculsa, abutens valetudine viri cujus officia sibi vindicabat, scribit regis nomine Polyperchonti, Cassandæo exerci-

But may the Gods, the avengers of perjuries, look upon you, O ye accursed heads, and bring upon you such deaths as you have wrought upon your commanders. For you the same men have been sprinkled but lately with the blood of Perdicca, and attempted the same thing against Antipater; and finally would have slain Alexander himself, if it had been allowed by the fates for him to fall by the hands of men: what was the greatest thing you could do, you plagued him with your seditions. Now I, the last victim of you, perfidious wretches, leave these curses and hellish offerings with you, that you may spend all your lives poor, and at a distance from your native country, in this exile of a camp; and may your arms consume you, by which you have destroyed more generals of your own, than of your enemies. *Then being full of rage, he began to march before his keepers to the camp of Antigonus. The army follows, having betrayed their general, and themselves being prisoners, lead up a triumph over themselves to the camp of their conqueror, delivering all the auspicia of king Alexander, and the palms and laurels of so many wars, together with themselves, to the conqueror. And that nothing might be wanting to complete the pomp, the elephants too, and the oriental auxiliaries follow. This victory was so much the more glorious for Antigonus, than so many victories to Alexander, that whereas he conquered the East, the other overcame these by whom the East had been conquered. Wherefore Antigonus incorporates the conquerors of the world with his army, restoring to them what he had taken*

CHAP. V. In the mean time Eurydice, the wife of king Aridæus, when she understood that Polyperchon was returning from Greece into Macedonia, and that Olympias was sent for by him, struck with womanish emulation, and abusing her husband's weakness, whose offices she claimed to herself, she writes in the king's name to Polyperchon, to deliver the army to

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tum tradat, in quem regni administrationem rex transfulerat. Eadem & in Asiam Antigono per epistolas nunciat. Quo beneficio devinctus Cassander nihil non ex arbitrio muliebris audaciæ gerit. Deinde profectus in Græciam multis civitatibus bellum infert; quarum excidio, veluti vicino incendio terri Spartani, urbem quam temper armis, non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum & veterum majorum gloriam, armis diffusi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse a majoribus, ut, cum multis sæculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent. Dum hæc aguntur, Cassandrum a Græcia turbatus Macedoniae status domum revocavit. Namque Olympias, mater Alexandri Magni regis, cum Epiro in Macedoniam, prosequente Æacide rege Molossorum, veniret, prohiberi; finibus ab Eurydice & Aridaeo rege cœpisset; seu memoria mariti seu magnitudine filii & indignitate rei, moti Macedones ad Olympiadem transire; cujus jussu & Eurydice & rex occiditur, sex annis post Alexandrum potitus regno.

CAP. VI. Sed nec Olympias diu regnavit. Nam cum principum passim cades, muliebris magis, quam regio more fecisset, favorem sui in odium vertit. Itaque audito Cassandri adventu, diffusa Macedonibus, cum nuru Roxane & nepote Hercule, in Pydnam urbem concedit. Proficiscenti Deidamia Æacidæ regis filia, & Thessalonice privigna, & ipsa clara Philippi patris nomine, multaque aliæ principum matronæ, speciosus magis quam utilis grex, co-

Cassander, upon whom the king had conferred the administration of the kingdom. *She sends the same orders by letter likewise into Asia, to Antigonus. By which kindness Cassander being hugely obliged, manages every thing according to the pleasure of this bold woman; and then going into Greece, makes war upon many cities; by the destruction of which, as by a neighbouring fire, the Spartans being alarmed, distrusting their arms, they inclose their city within the security of walls, which they had always 'till then defended by their arms, and not by walls, contrary to the answers of the oracles, and the ancient glory of their forefathers. Strange, that they should have so far degenerated from their ancestors, that whereas the bravery and conduct of the citizens had been for several ages a wall to the city, the citizens then thought they could not be secure unless they lay lurking within walls. Whilst these things are doing, the troubled state of Macedonia recalled home Cassander from Greece. For Olympias, the mother of king Alexander the Great, coming from Epiro to Macedonia, with Æacides king of the Molossi attending her, and being forbid entering the country by Euridice and king Aridaeus, the Macedonians being incensed, whether by the remembrance of her husband, or the greatness of her son, and the indignity of the thing, went over to Olympias, by whose order both Eurydice and the king is slain, having held the kingdom six years after Alexander.*

CHAP. VI. But neither did Olympias reign long: for having made sad havoc of the great ones up and down the country, more like a woman than a queen, she turned the favour of herself into hatred. Wherefore upon hearing of the coming of Cassander, distrusting the Macedonians, she retires into the city of Pydna, with Roxane her daughter-in-law, and grandson Hercules. When she went, her attendants were, Deidamia the daughter of king Æacidas, and Thessalonice her step daughter, and she too famous upon her father Philip's account, and many other great men's ladies, a pompous, ram-

mites

mites fuere. Hæc cum nunciata Cassandro essent, statim citato cursu Pydnam venit, & urbem obsidione cingit. Cum fame ferroque urgeretur Olympias, longæ obsidionis tædio, pacta salute, victori se tradidit. Sed Cassander ad concionem vocato populo, sciscitaturus quid de Olympiade fieri velint, subornat parentes intersectorum, qui, sumpta lugubri veste, crudelitatem mulieris accusarent. A quibus accensi Macedones, sine respectu pristinæ majestatis, occidendam decernunt; immemores prorsus, quod per filium ejus virumque non solum vitam ipsi inter finitimos tutam habuissent; verum etiam tantas opes imperiumque orbis quæssissent. Sed Olympias ubi obstinatos venire ad se armatos vidit, veste regali, duabus ancillis innixa ultro obviam procedit. Qua visa percussores attoniti fortuna majestatis prioris, & tot in ea memoria occurrentibus regum suorum nominibus, substerunt; donec a Cassandro missi sunt qui eam confoderent, non refugientem gladium, nec vulnera; aut muliebriter vociferantem, sed virorum more fortium, pro gloria veteris prosapiæ, morti succumbentem, ut Alexandrum posses etiam in moriente matre cognoscere. Insuper expirans capillis & veste crura contexisse se fertur, ne quid posset in corpore ejus indecorum videri. Post hæc Cassander Thessalonice, regis Aridæi filiam uxorem ducit: filium Alexandri cum matre in arcem Amphipolitanam custodiendos mittit.

ther than an usual, retinue. When these things were told Cassander, he came immediately to Pydna with the utmost expedition, and encompassed the city by a siege, Olympias being sorely distressed by famine and sword, weary of the long siege, capitulating for the saving of her life, she delivered herself to the conqueror. But Cassander calling the people to an assembly, to enquire of them what they would have done with Olympias, he instructs the parents of those that had been put to death by her, who putting on mourning apparel, recounted, by way of accusation, the cruelty of the woman. By whom the Macedonians being exasperated, without any regard to her former majesty, order her to be put to death, entirely forgetting that by means of her son and husband, they themselves had not only led their lives secure among their neighbours, but had likewise attained to such prodigious power. and the empire of the world. But Olympias, when she saw armed men coming towards her, resolved to dispatch her, dressed in her royal apparel, voluntarily goes to meet them, leaning upon two of her maids. Upon seeing whom, the assassins astonished with the fortune of her former majesty, and the names of so many of their kings occurring to their remembrance, stopped, 'till some others were sent by Cassander to stab her, not declining the sword or wound, or crying out like a woman, but submitting to death, after the manner of gallant men, and suitable to the glory of her ancient race; so that you might have perceived Alexander even in his dying mother. Moreover, as she was expiring, she is said to have covered her legs with her hair and cloaths, that nothing indecent might appear in her body. After these things Cassander marries Thessalonice, the daughter of king Aridæus, and sends the son of Alexander, with his mother, into the citadel of Amphipolis, to be confined there.

LIBER XV.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Antigoni bellum adversus socios, in quo Demetrius F. superatus prælio.*
2. *Cassandri in familiam Alexandri M. sævitia: Antigoni prosperi successus in bello.*
3. *Lyfimachi, Antigono oppositi, virtutes & præclare gesta.*
4. *Novus hostis Antigono accedit, nempe Seleucus, cujus origo & res gestæ, subjiciuntur. Antigonus in prælio occumbit,*

CAPUT I.

PERDICCÀ & fratre ejus, Eumene ac Polyperchonte, cæterisque ducibus diversæ partis occisis, finitum certamen inter successores Alexandri Magni videbatur, cum repente inter ipsos victores nata discordia est: quippe postulantibus Ptolemæo & Cassandro & Lyfimacho, ut pecunia in præda capta provinciæque dividerentur; Antigonus negavit, se in ejus belli præmia socios admissurum, in cujus periculum solus descenderat. Et ut honestum adversus socios bellum suscipere videretur, divulgat, se Olympiadis mortem a Cassandro interfectæ ulcisci velle, & Alexandri regis sui filium cum matre obsidione Amphipolitana liberare. His cognitis, Ptolemæus & Cassander, inita cum Lyfimacho & Seleuco societate, bellum terra marique enixe instruunt. Tenebat Ptolemæus Ægyptum cum Africæ parte majore, & Cypro, & Phœnice. Cassandro parebat Macedonia cum Græcia. Asiæ & partes Orientis occupaverat Antigonus, cujus filius Demetrius prima belli congressione a Ptolemæo apud Gamalam vincitur. In quo prælio major Ptolemæi moderationis gloria, quam

PERDICCÀ and his brother, Eumenes and Polyperchon, and the other generals on the opposite side being slain, the dispute seemed ended among the successors of Alexander the Great, when on a sudden a difference arose among the conquerors themselves: for Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus demanding, That the money taken among the spoils, and the provinces should be divided; Antigonus denied, that he would admit of any partners in the advantages of the war, in the hazard of which he alone had engaged. And that he might seem to undertake an honourable war against his allies, he publishes to the world, that he was resolved to revenge the death of Olympias, who had been slain by Cassander, and relieve the son of Alexander his king, and his mother, from the siege they endured in Amphipolis. Upon hearing these things, Ptolemy and Cassander, entering into an alliance with Lyfimachus and Seleucus, prepare for war, both by land and sea, with the utmost application. Ptolemy had Egypt, with the greater part of Africa, and Cyprus, and Phœnicia, Macedonia, with Greece, was subject to Cassander. Antigonus had taken possession of Asia and the Eastern parts; whose son Demetrius, in the first rencounter of this war, is defeated by Ptolemy at Gamala. In which battle the glory of Ptolemy's moderation was greater than

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ipſius victoriæ fuit. Siquidem & amicos Demetrii non ſolum cum ſuis rebus, verum etiam additis inſuper muneribus, dimiſit; & ipſius Demetrii privatum omne inſtrumentum, ac familiam reddidit, adjecto honore verborum, *Non ſe propter prædam, ſed propter dignitatem iniſſe bellum; indignatum quod Antigonus, devictis diverſæ factionis ducibus, ſolus communis victoriæ præmia corripuiſſet.*

CAP. II. Dum hæc aguntur, Caſſander ab Apollonia rediens, incidit in Autariatæ; qui propter ranarum muriumq; multitudinem relicto patriæ ſolo ſedes quærebant: veritus ne Macedoniam occuparent, facta pactione in ſocietatem eos recipit, agroſque iis ultimos Macedoniæ aſſignat. Deinde, ne Hercules Alexandri filius, qui fere annos quatuordecim exceſſerat, favore paterni nominis in regnum Macedoniæ vocaretur, occidi eum tacite cum matre Barſine jubet, corporaq; eorum terra obrui, ne cædes ſepultura proderetur; & quaſi parum facinoris in ipſo primum rege, mox in matre ejus Olympiade, ac filio amiſſiſſet, alterum quoq; filium cum matre Roxane pari fraude interficit; ſcilicet quaſi regnum Macedoniæ quod affectabat, aliter conſequi quam ſcelere non poſſet. Interea Ptolemæus cum Demetrio navali prælio iterata congregitur, & amiſſa claſſe, hoſtiſque conceſſa victoria, in Ægyptum refugit. Demetrius filium Ptolemæi Leontiſcum & fratrem Menelaum, amicosq; ejus cum privati inſtrumenti miniſterio, pari provocatus anteo munere Ægyptum remittit. Et ut appareret eos non odio, ſed dignitatis gloria accenſos, donis muneribuſq; inter ipſa bella con-

that of the victory itſelf. For he both diſmiſſed the friends of Demetrius, not only with all their baggage, but with preſents ſuperadded, and returned all the proper baggage of Demetrius himſelf, and his family, with a compliment over and above, That he had not entered upon this war for plunder, but for honour, being angry that Antigonus, after he had conquered the leaders of the oppoſite party, had alone ſeized the fruits of their common victory.

CHAP. II. *Whiſt theſe things are doing, Caſſander returning from Apollonia, fell among the Autariatæ, who having forſaken their country ſoil, becauſe of the vaſt number of frogs and mice, were ſeeking a new habitation: fearing leſt they ſhould invade Macedonia, making an agreement, he takes them into his alliance, and aſſigns them the fartheſt lands in Macedonia. Then leſt Hercules the ſon of Alexander, who was now 14 years old, ſhould, from a favourable regard to his father's name, be invited into the kingdom of Macedonia, he orders him to be ſlain with his mother Barſine, and their bodies to be buried in the earth, leſt the murder ſhould be betrayed by a ſolemn cuſtomary funeral; and as if he had perpetrated but a little villainy upon the king himſelf firſt, and afterwards upon his mother Olympias and his ſon, he with the like treachery kills the other ſon too, with his mother Roxane, juſt as if he could not compaſs the kingdom of Macedonia, which he effected, any other ways than by wickedneſs. In the mean time, Ptolemy engaged again in a ſea-fight with Demetrius, and having loſt his fleet, and yielded up the victory to the enemy, he fled back into Egypt. Demetrius ſends back to Egypt Leontiſcus the ſon of Ptolemy, and his brother, Menelaus, and his friends, with all their own baggage, being introduced to it by the like preſent made him before. And that it might appear they were fired not with hatred, but with the glory of dignity, they contended together with gifts and preſents in the miſt of war. So much*
tendebant

tendebant. Tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitiae coluntur. Hac victoria elatus Antigonus regem se cum Demetrio filio appellari a populo jubet. Ptolemæus quoque ne minoris apud suos auctoritatis haberetur, rex ab exercitu cognominatur. Quibus auditis, Cassander & Lyfimachus ipsi regiam sibi maiestatem vindicaverunt. Hujus honoris ornamentis tamdiu omnes abstinerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui superesse potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro justus hæres fuit. Sed Ptolemæus & Cassander, cæteri; factionis alterius duces, cum carpi se singulos ab Antigono viderent; dum privatum singulorum, non commune universorum bellum ducant, nec auxilium ferre alter alteri volunt, quasi victoria unius, non omnium foret, per epistolas se invicem confirmantes, tempus & locum coeundi condicunt, bellumque communibus viribus instruunt. Cui cum Cassander interesse propter finitimum bellum non posset, Lyfimachum cum ingentibus copiis in auxilium sociis mittit.

CAP. III. Erat hic Lyfimachus illustri quidem Macedonia loco natus, sed virtutis experimentis omni nobilitate clarior, quæ tanta in illo fuit, ut animi magnitudine, philosophia ipsa, viriumque gloria omnes, per quos Oriens domitus est, vicerit. Quippe cum Alexander Magnus Callisthenem philosophum, propter salutationis Persicæ interlatum morem, insidiarum, quæ ei paratæ fuerant, conscium esse iratus sinxisset; eumque cunctis crudeliter omnibus membris, abscissisque auribus, ac

more honourable were wars then managed than friendship is now cultivated. Antigonus being elevated with this victory, orders himself to be called King, with his son Demetrius, by the people. Ptolemy too that he might not be thought a person of less authority among his subjects, is declared a king by his army. Upon hearing of which, Cassander and Lyfimachus claimed royal majesty to themselves too. They all abstained so long from the ornaments of this dignity, as the sons of their prince were alive. So strong was their modesty in them, that though they had the power of kings, yet they contentedly wanted the name of kings, whilst Alexander had a true heir. But Ptolemy and Cassander, and the rest of the leaders of the other party, finding themselves singly weakened by Antigonus, whilst they look upon the war as what concerned them singly, and not common to them altogether, and are not minded to give assistance to one another, as if the victory would be one man's, and not belong to them all, animating one another by letters, they appoint a time and place of meeting, and prepare for the war with united strength. In which, since Cassander could not be present, because of a neighbouring war, he sends Lyfimachus with a great army to the assistance of his allies.

CHAP. III. This Lyfimachus was indeed descended of an illustrious family of Macedonia, but more famous for the proofs given of his great abilities, than all the nobility of Macedonia; which were so considerable in him, that he excelled all those, by whom the East was conquered, in greatness of mind, philosophy itself, and the glory of his strength. For when Alexander the Great, in his anger against Callisthenes the philosopher for interrupting the fashion of the Persian way of saluting their princes, had pretended that he was privy to a plot, which had been formed against him, and cruelly mangling all his members, and cutting off his ears, nose,

naſo, labiisq; deforme ac miſerandum ſpectaculum reddidiſſet, inſuper cum cane in cavea clauſum, ad metum cæterorum circumferret; tunc Lyſimachus, audire Calliſthenem & præcepta ad eo virtutis accipere ſolitus, miſertus tanti viri, non culpæ, ſed libertatis pœnas pendentis, venenum ei in remedium calamitatum dedit. Quod adeo ægre Alexander tulit, ut eum obijci ferociſſimo leoni juberet. Sed cum ad conſpectum ejus concitatus leo impetum feciſſet, manum amiculo involutum Lyſimachus in os leonis immerſit, correptaque lingua, feram exanimavit. Quod cum nunciatum regi eſſet, admiratio in ſatisfactionem ceſſit; cariorẽq; eum propter conſtantiam tantæ virtutis, habuit. Lyſimachus quoq; magno animo regis veluti parentis contumeliã tulit. Deniq; omni ex animo hujus facti memoria exturbata, poſtea in India inſeſtanti regi quosdam palantes hoſtes, cum a ſatellitum turba equi ſui celeritate deſertus eſſet, ſolus ei per immenſas arenarum moles curſus comes fuit. Quod idem antea Philippus frater ejus cum facere voluiſſet, inter manus regis exſpiraverat. Sed Lyſimachum deſiliens equo Alexander hæſtæ cuspide ita in fronte vulneravit, ut ſanguis aliter claudī non poſſet, quam diadema ſibi demptum rex alligandi vulneris cauſa, capiti ejus imponeret. Quod auſpiciũ primum regalis majestatis Lyſimacho fuit. Sed & poſt mortem Alexandri, cum inter ſucceſſores ejus provinciæ dividerentur, ferociſſimæ natæ ſunt; adeo etiam conſenſu cæteros tulit.

CAP. IV. Priuſquam bellum inter Ptolemæum ſociosque ejus adverſus Antigonum committe-

noſe and lips, had rendered him a deformed and miſerable ſpectacle, and moreover carried him about ſhut up with a dog in a cage, for a terror to the reſt; then Lyſimachus, who had been uſed to hear Calliſthenes, and receive precepts of virtue from him, pitying ſo great a man ſuffering puniſhment, not for any fault, but for his freedom, gave him poiſon for a remedy of his miſfortunes. Which thing Alexander took ſo ill, that he ordered him to be expoſed to a very fierce lion. But when the lion, at the ſight of him, with great fury made his onſet, Lyſimachus thruſt his hand, wrapped in his coat, into the lion's mouth, and getting hold of his tongue, killed the beaſt. Which being told to the king, his admiration ended in his ſatisfaction, and he treated him with more affection than formerly for his bravery. Lyſimachus too with a great mind put up this ill uſage from the king as from a parent. Finally, all memory of this fact being quite eradicated out of his mind, he alone was his attendant thro' waſt heaps of ſand, when the king was purſuing ſome ſtraggling enemies, and was forſaken by his whole company of guards, by reaſon of the ſwiftness of his horſe. Which ſame thing his brother Philip before having been deſirous to do, had expired in the king's hands. But Alexander alighting from his horſe, wounded him with the point of his ſpear in the forehead, ſo that the blood could no otherwiſe be ſtopped than by the king's applying his diadem taken off himſelf to his head, in order to bind up the wound; which was the firſt omen of regal majeſty to Lyſimachus. But likewiſe, after the death of Alexander, when the provinces were divided among his ſucceſſors, the moſt fierce nations were aſſigned to him as the braveſt of them all. So much did he bear away the prize for valour by the conſent of all.

gentes, quaſi omnium fortiffimo, aſſig-
univerſorum palmam virtutis inter cæ-
CHAP. IV. Before the war was be-
gun by Ptolemy and his allies againſt An-
tigonus, on a ſudden Seleucus departing
retulit

retur, repente ex Asia majore digressus Seleucus, novus Antigono hostis accesserat. Hujus quoque & virtus clara & origo admirabilis fuit. Siquidem mater ejus Laudice, cum nupta esset Antiocho, claro inter Philippi duces viro, visa est sibi per quietem ex concubitu Apollinis concepisse; gravidamq; factam, munus concubitus annulum a deo accepisse, in cujus gemma anchora sculpta esset; jussaq; donum filio, quem peperisset, dare. Admirabilem fecit hunc visum & annulus, qui postera die, ejusdem sculpturæ, in lecto inventus est, & figura anchoræ, quæ in femore Seleuci nata cum ipso parvulo fuit. Quamobrem Laudice annulum Seleuco, cum Alexandro Magno ad Persicam militiam, edocto de origine sua, dedit. Ubi post mortem Alexandri, occupato regno Orientis, urbem condidit, ibiq; geminæ originis memoriam consecravat. Nam & urbem ex Antiochi patris nomine Antiochiam vocavit; & campos vicinos urbi, Apollini dicavit. Originis ejus argumentum etiam in posteris mansit. Siquidem filii nepotesq; ejus, anchoram in femore, veluti notam generis naturalem habuere. Multa in Oriente, post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici, bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit. Inde, auctis ex victoria viribus, Bactrianos expugnavit. Transiitum deinde, in Indiam fecit, quæ post mortem Alexandri, veluti cervicibus jugo servitutis excusso, præfectus ejus occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat. Siquidem occupato regno, populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindica-

from the greater Asia, came in as a new enemy against Antigonus. The conduct of this gentleman too was famous, and his original admirable. For his mother Laudice being married to Antiochus a famous man among the generals of Philip, seemed to herself in her sleep to have conceived from the embraces of Apollo, and being with child received from the God a ring, as a present for lying with him, in the stone of which was an anchor cut; and she was ordered to give that as a present to the son she should bear. A ring, which the day after, with the same sculpture on it, was found in the bed, made this dream wonderful; as likewise the figure of an anchor, which was born with the child in Seleucus's thigh. Wherefore Laudice gave the ring to Seleucus upon his going with Alexander to the Persian war, being acquainted at the same time with his original. After the death of Alexander, having seized the kingdom of the East, he built a city, and there consecrated a monument of his double original. For he called the city Antioch, and from the name of his father Antiochus; and dedicated the plains nigh the city to Apollo. The mark of his original continued too in his posterity; for his sons and grandsons had an anchor upon their thigh, as a natural mark of their posterity. He carried on many wars in the East, after the division of the Macedonian kingdom among the companions of Alexander. He first took Babylon, and then his strength being increased by this victory, he conquered the Bactrians. Then he made a trip into India, which after the death of Alexander, as if the yoke of slavery was now taken off their necks, had slain its governors. Sandrocottus was the asserter of their liberty, but, after his success, turned the title of liberty into slavery; for seizing the sovereignty, he oppressed with slavery the people, whom he had delivered from a foreign dominion. He was a person come of mean extraction, but encouraged by the authority of a God to assume the power of a kingdom. For having offended king Alexander by his sarcininess, and being or-
verat,

vertat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic quidem humili genere natus sed ad regni potestatem majestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Alexandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege jussus, salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat; ex qua fatigatione, cum somno captus jaceret, leo ingentis formæ ad dormientum accessit, sudoremq; profluentem lingua ei deterfit, expergefactumq; blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus, contractis latronibus, Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus præfectos Alexandri, elephantus ferus infinitæ magnitudinis ultro se obtulit, & veluti domita mansuetudine, eum tergo excepit; duxq; belli, & præliator insignis fuit. Sic acquisito regno, Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futuræ magnitudinis fundamenta jaciebat, Indiam possidebat; cum quo facta pactione Seleucus, compositisq; in Oriente rebus, in bellum Antigoni descendit. Adunatis igitur omnium sociorum copiis, prælium committitur; in eo Antigonus occiditur, Demetrius filius ejus in fugam vertitur. Sed socii, profligato hostili bello, denuo in semetipsos arma verterunt: & cum de præda non convenirent, iterum in duas factiones diducuntur. Seleucus Demetrio, Ptolemæus Lyfimacho junguntur. Cassandro defuncto Philippus filius succedit. Sic quasi ex integro nova Macedoniæ bella nascuntur.

L I B E R XVI.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. Antipater Cassandri filius fit parricida. Demetrius Alexandrum Cassandri filium interficit, & Macedoniam usurpat.

2. Demetrius

dered to be slain; he sought his security by the swiftness of his feet; with which fatigue as he lay asleep, a lion of a huge bigness came to him, as he was sleeping, and wiped off the sweat that run down him with his tongue, and being gently awakened, left him. Being first encouraged to the hopes of a kingdom by this prodigy, having drawn together some robbers to stand by him, he cajoled over the Indians to favour his new sovereignty. Afterwards, as he was making preparations of war against the governors of Alexander, a wild elephant of prodigious bigness offered himself to him of his own accord; and with a gentleness, as if tamed, took him upon his back, and was his leader in the war, and a remarkable fighter. Thus Sandrocottus having acquired the sovereignty at that time, when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness, made himself master of India. With whom Seleucus having made an agreement, and settled his affairs in the East, proceeded to the war against Antigonus. Wherefore all the troops of the allies being joined, a battle is fought: in that Antigonus is slain. Demetrius his son is put to flight. But the allies having made an end of the war against the enemy, again turned their arms upon themselves, and whilst they could not agree about the spoil, are divided again into two parties. Seleucus joins Demetrius, and Ptolemy Lyfimachus. Cassander being dead, Philip his son succeeds him. Thus new wars of Macedonia break out as it were afresh.

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4. C
5. Q

P
tes,
Cassa
pore,
vitam
depre
parric
mariti
regni,
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in eo
quod
vestigi
parric
ad se
potest
in ult
sturus
lium
metriu
nici re
advent
persua
ut mal
reverti
in Mac
atam i
liation
metriu
interfe
niæ reg
tum ex
vocat.
Alexan
occupass
Macedon
tis, vel
trem ent
& Alex
omni mi

2. *Demetrius prælio fusus fugatur. Antipater parricidio facæ perit. In Cassandri familiam numinis vindicta. Ptolemæi placidum fatum.*
3. *Bellum Pyrrhi & Lysimachi. De Heracleæ origine & statu digressio.*
4. *Clearchi, tyranni Heracliensis, artes luculenter describuntur.*
5. *Quibus rationibus Clearchus tyrannidem firmaverit. Clearchus tandem a Chione & Leonide, juvenibus nobilissimis, obtruncatur. Post Clearchi supplicia Heracleæ conditio.*

CAPUT I.

POST Cassandri regis filiiq; ejus Philippi continuas mortes, Thessalonice regina uxor Cassandri, non magno post tempore, ab Antipatro filio, cum vitam etiam per ubera materna, deprecaretur, occiditur. Causa parricidii fuit, quod post mortem mariti in divisione inter fratres regni, propensior fuisse Alexandro videbatur. Quod facinus in eo gravius omnibus visum est, quod nullum maternæ fraudis vestigium fuit. Quamquam in parricidio nulla satis iusta causa ad sceleris patrocina prætexi potest. Ob hæc igitur Alexander in ultionem maternæ necis gesturus cum fratre bellum, auxilium a Demetrio petit, nec Demetrius spe invadendi Macedonici regni moram fecit. Cujus adventum verens Lysimachus persuadet genero suo Antipatro ut malit cum fratre in gratiam reverti, quam paternum hostem in Macedoniam admitti. Inchoatam igitur inter fratres reconciliationem cum præsensisset Demetrius, per insidias Alexandrum interfecit, occupatoq; Macedoniæ regno, eadem apud exercitum excusaturus in concionem vocat. Ibi priorum se petitum ab Alexandro allegat; nec fecisse, sed occupasse insidias. Regem autem se Macedoniæ vel ætatis experimentis, vel causis justiore esse. Patrem enim suum & Philippo regi & Alexandro Magno socium in omni militia fuisse, liberorum de-

AFTER the successive deaths of Cassander and his son Philip, queen Thessalonice, the lady of Cassander, is slain not long time after by Antipater her son, though she begged her life by his mother's breasts. The cause of the parricide was, that after the death of her husband, in the division of the kingdom betwixt the brothers, she seemed to have been more favourable to Alexander. Which villainy seemed the more intolerable to all people, because there was no sign of any underhand proceedings of the mother. Tho' in parricide no sufficient pretence can be alledged for the vindication of the crime. Upon these accounts therefore, Alexander intending to make war with his brother, to revenge his mother's death, begs assistance of Demetrius; nor did Demetrius make any pause upon the matter, in hopes of seizing the kingdom of Macedonia. Whose coming Lysimachus being afraid of, persuades his son-in-law Antipater, rather to return to a good understanding with his brother, than that the enemy of his father should be let into Macedonia. When Demetrius perceived that a reconciliation was begun betwixt the brothers, he took off Alexander by a plot, and seizing the kingdom of Macedonia, he calls his army to an assembly, in order to excuse the murder to them. There he alledges, That he was first attempted by Alexander; nor had he first formed a plot, but prevented one; and that he was the more rightful king of Macedonia, either for the experience of his age, or other good causes. For that his father had been an attendant upon king Philip and Alexander the Great in all their wars, and afterwards a tutor of the children of

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inde Alexandri ministrum, & ad persequendos defectores ducem extitisse. Contra Antipatrum avum horum adolescentium amariorum semper ministrum regni, quam ipsos reges fuisse. Cassandrum verò patrem, extinctorem regie domus, non feminis, non pueris pepercisse, nec cessasse, quoad omnem stirpem regie sobolis deleret. Horum scelerum ultionem, quia nequisset ab ipso Cassandro exigere, ad liberos ejus translatam. Quamobrem etiam Philippum Alexandrumque si quis manum sensus est, non interfectores suos, ac stirpis sue, sed ultores eorum, Macedonia regnum tenere malle. Per hæc mitigato populo, rex Macedonia appellatur. Lyfimachus quoque cum bello Doricetis, regis Thracum, premeretur, ne eodem tempore & adversus eum demicare necesse haberet, tradita ei altera parte Macedonia, quæ Antipatro ejus genero obvenerat, pacem cum eo fecit.

CAP. II. Igitur Demetrius totius Macedonia regni viribus instructus, cum Asiam occupare statuisset, iteratus Ptolemæus, Seleucus & Lyfimachus, experti priore certamine quantæ vires essent concordie, pacto societate adunatisque exercitibus, bellum adversus Demetrium transferunt in Europam. His comitem se & belli socium jungit Pyrrhus rex Epiri, sperans non difficiliter Demetrium admittere Macedonia posse quam acquisierat. Nec spes frustra fuit; quippe exercitu ejus corrupto, ipsoque in fugam acto, regnum Macedonia occupavit. Dum hæc aguntur Lyfimachus generum suum Antipatrum, regnum Macedonia adeptum sibi foci fraude querentem, interficit: filiamque suam Euridicen,

Alexander, and a leading man for pursuing the revoltors. On the other hand Antipater, the grandfather of these young men, had always been, tho' but a minister of the kingdom, more severe than the kings themselves. But that Cassander their father was the murderer of the royal family, and had spared neither women nor children, and had not ceased 'till he had cut off all the stock of the royal family. That the revenge of these villainies was transferred upon the children, because he could not have it of Cassander himself. Wherefore Philip too and Alexander, if there be any thought in departed souls, would not that the murderers of them and their issues, but the avengers of them, should hold the kingdom of Macedonia. By these things the people being sweetened, he is declared king of Macedonia. Lyfimachus too being distressed in a war of Doricetes king of the Thracians, that he might not be obliged at the same time to fight against him too, the other part of Macedonia being delivered up to him, which had fallen to his son-in-law Antipater, he made a peace with him.

CHAP. II. Wherefore Demetrius being supported by the whole strength of Macedonia, and designing to invade Asia, again Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lyfimachus having found by experience in the former war how great the strength of unanimity was, concluding an alliance, and joining their armies, carry the war against Demetrius into Europe. Pyrrhus king of Epirus joins himself to them as a friend and ally in the war, hoping that Demetrius might not with more difficulty lose Macedonia than he had got it. Nor were his hopes in vain; for having corrupted his army, and put himself to flight, he seized upon the kingdom of Macedonia. Whilst these things are transacting, Lyfimachus puts to death his son-in-law Antipater, complaining that the kingdom of Macedonia had been taken from him by the treachery of his father-in-law, and claps his daughter Eurydice, the companion of his complaints, in custody. And

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querclarum sociam, in custodiam tradit. Atque ita universa Cassandri domus Alexandro Magno, seu necis ipsius, seu stirpis extinctæ, pœnas partim cæde, partim supplicio, partim parricidio luit. Demetrius quoque a tot exercitibus circumventus, cum posset honeste mori, turpiter se dedere Seleuco maluit. Finito bello Ptolemæus cum magne rerum gestarum gloria moritur. Is contra jus gentium, minimo natu ex filiis ante infirmitatem regnum tradiderat, ejusque rei populo rationem reddiderat; cujus non minor favor in accipiendo, quam patris in tradendo regno fuerat. Inter cætera patris & filii mutuae pietatis exempla, etiam ea res amorem populi juveni conciliaverat, quod pater regno ei publice tradito, privatus officium regi inter satellites fecerat, omnique regno pulchrius regis esse patrem duxerat.

CAP. III. Sed inter Lyfimachum & Pyrrhum regem, socios paulo ante adversus Demetrium assiduum inter pares discordiæ malum, bellum moverat. Victor Lyfimachus pulso Pyrrho Macedoniam occupaverat. Inde Thraciæ ac deinceps Heracleæ bellum intulerat, cujus urbis & initia & exitus admirabiles fuere; quippe Bæotiis pestilentia laborantibus oraculum Delphis responderat, *coloniam in Ponti regione sacram Herculi conderent*. Cum propter metum longe ac periculosa navigationis, mortem in patria omnibus præoptantibus, res omissa esset, bellum his Phocenses intulerunt; quorum cum adversa prælia paterentur, iterato ad oraculum decurrunt: responsum, *idem belli quod pestilentiae remedium fore*. Igitur conscripta colonorum manu, in Pontum delati urbem Heracle-

thus the whole house of Cassander made satisfaction to Alexander, either for his own murder, or the destroying of his family, partly by their murder, partly by their punishment otherways, and partly by parricide. Demetrius too being surrounded by so many armies, when he might have died honourably, chose rather ignominiously to deliver himself up to Seleucus. The war being ended, Ptolemy dies, with mighty reputation for his exploits. He, contrary to the law of nations, had delivered his kingdom, before his illness, to the youngest of his sons, and had given the people a reason for that proceeding. Whose favour was no less in accepting him, than the father's had been in surrendering the kingdom. Among other instances of mutual affection of father and son, that thing too had procured the young man the love of the people, that the father having publicly delivered up the kingdom to him, had performed his duty to the king as a private person among his guards, and thought it more glorious than any kingdom to be the father of a king.

CHAP. III. But the constant plague of discord among equals had raised a war betwixt Lyfimachus and king Pyrrhus, allies a little before against Demetrius. Lyfimachus being the conqueror, upon beating Pyrrhus, had seized Macedonia. After that he had made war upon Thrace, and then upon Heraclea, the original and catastrophe of which city were wonderful: for the oracle of Delphi had given answer to the Bæotians, when troubled with the plague, That they ought to plant a colony in the country of Pontus, sacred to Hercules. And as the matter was let lone, all of them chusing rather death in their own country, by reason of the dread of a long and dangerous voyage, the Phocensians made war upon them, and as they suffered much in their unfortunate battles against them, they have recourse again to the oracle. Answer was made them, that the remedy for the war and the pestilence was the same. Wherefore raising a body of planters, and arriving in Pontus, they built Heraclea. And be-

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am condiderunt. Et quoniam factorum auspiciis in eas sedes delati erant, brevi tempore magnas opes paravere. Multa deinde hujus urbis adversus finitimos bella, multæ etiam domesticæ dissentiones fuere. Inter cætera magnifica, vel præcipue illud memorabile fuit. Cum rerum potirentur Athenienses, victisq; Persis, Græciæ & Asiæ tributum in tutelam classis descripsissent, omnibus cupide ad præsidium salutis suæ conferentibus; soli Heraclienses ob amicitiam regum Persicorum collationem abnuerant. Missus itaq; ab Atheniensibus Lamachus cum exercitu ad extorquendum quod negabatur, dum relictis in littore navibus, agros Heracliensium populatur, classem cum majore parte exercitus naufragio repentinæ tempestatis amisit. Itaque cum neq; mari posset, amissis navibus, neq; terra auderet cum parva manu inter tot ferocissimas gentes reverti; Heraclienses honestiorem beneficii, quam ultionis occasionem rati instructos com meatibus auxiliisque dimittunt; bene agrorum suorum populationem impensam existimantes, si quos hostes habuerant, amicos reddissent.

CAP. IV. Passi sunt inter plurima mala etiam tyrannidem; quidem cum plebs & novas tabulas & divisionem agrorum divitum impotenter flagitaret, diu re in senatu tracta, cum exitus rei non inveniretur; ad postremum adversus plebem nimio otio lascivientem, auxilia a Timotheo, Atheniensium duce, mox ab Epaminonda Thebanorum petivere. Utrisque negantibus, ad Clearchum, quem ipsi in exilium egerant, decurrunt. Tanta calamitatum necessitas fuit, ut cui patriam interdixerant,

cause they had been brought into that settlement by the direction of the oracle, in a short time they attained to a mighty power. After this, many were the wars of this city against their neighbours, many too their civil dissentions. Among other noble things, that was peculiarly remarkable. When the Athenians bore the sway, and after the overthrow of the Persians, had laid a tax upon Greece and Asia, for the maintenance of a fleet, all people forwardly contributing for their protection and security, the Heracliensians alone declined the contribution, in regard to the friendship of the Persian kings. Wherefore Lamachus being sent by the Athenians, with an army to force from them what was denied, whilst leaving his ships on the shore, he wastes the lands of the Heracliensians, he lost his fleet with the greater part of his army, by shipwreck in a sudden storm. Wherefore as he could not return by sea, since his ships were lost, nor durst return by land, with a small body of men, through so many fierce nations; the Heracliensians thinking this a handsomer opportunity for kindnesses, than revenge, sent them away furnished with provisions and auxiliary troops; thinking the wasting of their lands well laid out, if they made those their friends, whom before they had had for enemies.

CHAP. IV. They fell among many other misfortunes under tyranny too: for when the commons violently insisted upon both a cancelling of debts, and a dividing of the lands of the rich, the matter being a long time debated in the senate, when no good issue of the matter could be found; at last they begged assistance against the commons, wanting by reason of too much ease, from Timothy general of the Athenians, and soon after from Epaminondas general of the Thebans. But both refusing them, they have recourse to Clearchus, whom they themselves had forced into banishment. So great was the necessity of their distress, that they recalled him for

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eum ad tutelam patriæ revocarent. Sed Clearchus exilio facinorosior redditus, & dissentionem populi occasionem invadendæ tyrannidis existimans, primo tacitus cum Mithridate, civium suorum hoste colloquitur; & inita societate pasciscitur, ut revocatus in patriam, prodita ei urbe præfectus ejus constitueretur. Postea autem insidias, quas civibus paraverat, in ipsum Mithridatem verterat. Namque cum velut arbiter civilis discordiæ de exilio reversus esset, statuto tempore quo urbem Mithridati traderet, ipsum cum amicis suis cepit, captumque, accepta ingenti pecunia, dimisit. Atque ut in illo subitum se ex socio fecit hostem, sic ex defensore senatoriæ causæ repente patronus plebis evasit; & adversus auctores potentiæ suæ, a quibus revocatus in patriam, par quos in arce collocatus fuerat, non solum plebem accendit, verum etiam nefandissima quæque tyrannicæ crudelitatis exercuit. Igitur populo ad concionem vocato, neque se affuturum amplius grassanti in populum senatui, ait, intercessurum etiam, si in pristina sævitia perseveret; quod si pares se crudelitati senatorum arbitrentur, abiturum cum militibus suis, neque civilibus discordiis interfuturum. Sin vero diffidant viribus propriis, vindictæ se civium non defuturum. Proinde consulant sibi ipsis, jubeant abire se, si malint, vel causæ populari socium remanere. His verbis sollicitata plebs summum ad eum imperium desert; & dum senatus potentiæ irascitur, in servitutem se tyrannicæ dominationis cum conjugibus & liberis tradit. Igitur Clearchus LX senatores comprehensos (nam cæteri in fugam dilapsi erant) in vincula compin-

the protection of his country, whom they had forbid to come in his country. But Clearchus being rendered more wicked by his banishment, and thinking the disagreement of the people an opportunity of seizing the government, he first confers privately with Mithridates, the enemy of his countrymen; and entering into contract with him, agrees, that when recalled into his country, upon betraying the city to him, he should be made governor of it. But afterwards he turned the plot, which he had formed against his countrymen, upon Mithridates himself. For upon his being returned from banishment, as the arbitrator of their civil difference, a time being appointed, when he was to deliver the city to Mithridates, he seized him with his friends, and after he had seized him, dismissed him, upon the receipt of a huge sum of money. And as with regard to him, he made himself of a friend a sudden enemy, so of a defender of the Senate's house, he immediately became a patron of the commons; and not only inflamed the commons against the authors of his advancement, by whom he had been recalled into his own country, by whom he had been placed in the citadel; but likewise exercised all the most wicked practices of tyrannick cruelty. Wherefore calling the people to an assembly, he says, He would no longer stand by the Senate in the exercise of their cruelty upon the commons, and would interpose too with his authority, if they persisted in their former inhumanity. But if they thought themselves a match for the cruelty of the Senators, he would be gone with his soldiers, and not concern himself in their civil dissentions. But if they distrusted their own strength he would not be wanting for the revenge of his countrymen. Wherefore they might consult among themselves, whether they would order him to be gone, or would rather have him stay as an assistant in the cause of the commons. The commons being wheedled with these words, confer the sovereignty upon him; and whilst they are angry at the senate's power, deliver themselves, with wives and

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git. Lætari plebs, quod a duce potissimum senatorum, senatus deleteretur, versaq; vice, auxilium eorum in exitium conversum esset. Quibus dum mortem passim omnibus minatur, cariora eorum pretia fecit; siquidem Clearchus magna pecunia (quasi minus populi occulte eos subtrahatur) accepta, spoliatos fortunis, vita quoque spoliavit.

sum of money (as if he would privately withdraw them from the threats of people) robbed them of their lives, alter he had stript them of their fortunes.

CAP. V. Cognito deinde, quod bellum sibi ab iis qui profugerant, misericordia in auxilium sollicitatis civitatibus, pararetur, servos eorum manumittit. Et ne quid mali afflictis honestissimis domibus deesset, uxores eorum, filiasque, nubere servis suis, proposita recusantibus morte, compellit, ut eos sibi fidores & dominis infestiores redderet. Sed matronis tam lugubres nuptiæ, graviores repentinis funeribus fuere. Itaque multæ se ante nuptias, multæ in æpis nuptiis, occisis prius novis maritis, interficiunt, & se tam funestis calamitatibus, virtute ingenui pudoris, eripiunt. Prædium deinde committitur; quo victor tyrannos captivos senatores in triumphum modum per orbem alios vincit, torquet alios, alios occidit. Nullus locus urbis a crudelitate tyranni vacat, Accedit sævitie insolentia, crudelitati arrogantia. Interdum enim ex successu continuæ felicitatis obliviscitur se hominem; interdum Jovis se filium dicit. Funt per publicum aurea aquila velut argumentum generis præferebatur; veste purpurea & cithurnis regum tragicorum & aurea corona utebatur; filium quoque suum Ceraunon vocat, ut æcos non mendacio tantum, ve-

children, to the slavery of a tyrannical government. Wherefore Clearchus claps sixty Senators, whom he seized, in chains (for the rest slipt away into banishment.) The commonalty rejoiced that the Senate was ruined, and especially by the chief of the Senators, and that by a reverse of fortune, their support was turned to their destruction. All which, whilst he every where threatens with death, he makes their ransom the higher: for Clearchus receiving a great

CHAP. V. Afterwards understanding that a war was levying against him by those that had got off, several cities being through pity engaged in their assistance, he makes free their slaves. And that no misery might be wanting to complete the distress of the most honourable families, already reduced to a most calamitous condition, he obliges their wives and daughters to marry their slaves, by threatening death to such as refused, that he might render them more faithful to himself, and more violent against their masters. But such dismal matches were more insufferable to the matrons, than sudden death. Wherefore many kill themselves before the wedding, many in their wedding, having first killed their new spouses; and deliver themselves from such direful distress, by the virtue of an ingenuous modesty. After this a battle is fought, in which the tyrant being victorious, he drags the captive Senators, in the way of triumph, before the faces of the citizens. Returning into the city, some he confines, others he racks, and others he puts to death. No place in the city is free from the tyrant's cruelty. Insolence is added to his cruelty, arrogance to his barbarity. Sometimes from the success of his constant good fortune, he forgets he was a man; sometimes he calls himself the son of Jupiter. A golden eagle, as a token of his descent, was carried before him, upon his going through the streets. He made use of a scarlet robe, and the buskins of kings in tragedies, and a golden crown. He calls likewise his son Thunder, that he might play

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rum etiam nominibus illudat. Hæc illum facere duo nobilissimi juvenes Chion & Leonides indignantes, patriam liberatui in necem tyranni conspirant. Erant hi discipuli Platonis philosophi, qui virtutem, ad quam quotidie præceptis magistri erudiebantur, patriæ, exhibere cupientes, quinquaginta cognatos veluti clientes, in insidiis locant. Ipsi more jurgantium, ad tyrannum, velut ad regem, in arcem contendunt; qui jure familiaritatis admissi dum alterum priorem dicentem intentus audit tyrannus, ab altero obtruncatur. Sed & ipsi, fociis tardius auxilium ferentibus, a satellitibus obruuntur. Quare factum est ut tyrannus quidem occideretur, sed patria non liberaretur. Nam frater Clearchi Satyrus eadem viatyrannidem invadit; multisque annis, per gradus successionis, Heraclienses sub regno tyrannorum fuere.

upon the Gods, not only with lying, but names too. Two very noble youths, Chion and Leonides, being enraged that he should dare to do these things, in order to deliver their country, resolve together upon the death of the tyrant. These were the disciples of Plato the philosopher, who being desirous to exert, in favour of their country, the virtue to which they were daily trained up by the precepts of their master, place fifty of their relations, as so many clients, in ambush. They, with the air of persons that were quarrelling, go into the citadel to the tyrant, as to their king; who being upon the score of their familiarity let in, whilst the tyrant attentively hears one of them that spoke first, he is killed by the other. But they too are overpowered by the guards, their friends bringing them assistance too late. Wherefore so it was, that the tyrant indeed was slain; but their country was not delivered. For Satyrus, the brother of Clearchus, in the same manner usurps the government; and for many years and stages of succession, the Heracliensians were under the dominion of tyrants.

LIBER XVII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Lyfimachi regis tragædia.*
2. *Amisissis xv liberis in prælio occumbit. Seleucus per insidias occiditur a Ptolemæo. Ptolemæus principum amicitias, Pyrrhi præsertim sibi conciliat.*
3. *De Epirotarum regno, ejusdemque origine ac regibus digressio. Pyrrhi varia fortuna.*

CAPUT I.

PER idem ferme tempus in Hellesponti & Chersonesi regionibus terræ motus fuit; maxime tamen Lyfimachia urbs ante duos & viginti annos a Lyfimacho rege condita everfa est. Quod portentum dira Lyfimacho stirpique ejus, ac regni ruinam

ABOUT the same time there was an earthquake in the parts of the Hellespont, and the Chersonese; but especially Lyfimachia, a city built two and twenty years before by Lyfimachus, was ruined. Which omen forboded dreadful things to Lyfimachus and his family, and the ruin of his kingdom, with the deva-

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cum clade vexatarum regionum portendebat. Nec ostentis fides defuit; nam brevi post tempore Agathoclem filium suum, quem in successionem regni ordinaverat, per quem multa bella prospere gesserat, non solum patrium, verum etiam humanum ultra morem perosus, ministra Arsinoe noverca, veneno interfecit. Hæc illi prima mali labes, hoc initium impendentis ruinæ fuit. Nam parricidium principum sequutæ cædes sunt, luentium supplicia quod occisum juvenem dolebant. Itaque & hi qui cædibus superfuerant, & hi exercitibus præerant, certatim ad Seleucum deficiunt; eumque pronum jam ex æmulatione gloriæ, bellum Lyfimacho inferre compellunt. Ultimum hoc certamen commilitonam Alexandri fuit, & velut ad exemplum fortunæ, par reservatum. Lyfimachus quatuor & LXX annos natus erat; Seleucus septem & LXX. Sed in hac ætate utrique animi juveniles erant, imperiique cupiditatem insatiabilem gerebant. Quippe cum orbem terrarum duo soli tenerent, anguis sibi met inclusi videbantur, vitæque finem non annorum spatio, sed imperii terminis mittebantur.

CAP. II. In eo bello Lyfimachus amissis ante variis casibus XV liberis non instrenue moriens, postremus domus suæ ruinæ cumulus accessit. Latus tanta victoria Seleucus, & quod majus victoria putabat, solum se de echorte Alexandri remansisse; victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus sed divinum munus gloriatur; ignarus prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum. Quippe post menses admodum septem, a Ptolemaeo, cujus sororem Lyfimachus

station of the harrassed provinces. Nor was the completion of these prodigies wanting: for in a short time after, hating Agathocles his son, whom he had appointed to succeed him in his kingdom, and by whom he had successfully managed many of his wars, not only beyond what's usual with a father, but other men, took him off by poison, by his agent Arsinoe his step-mother. This was the first rise of his misfortunes; this was the beginning of his approaching ruin. For the murder of the great men followed this parricide, who underwent that punishment, because they lamented the young man's being taken off. Wherefore both those who survived this havoc, and those who commanded his armies, revolt very fast to Seleucus, and engage him already inclinable from an emulation of glory, to make war upon Lyfimachus. This was the last dispute betwixt the fellow-soldiers of Alexander, and a pair reserved as it were for an example of fortune. Lyfimachus was seventy and four years old, Seleucus seventy-seven. But at this age each of them had youthful spirits, and bore about them an insatiable appetite for power. For tho' they two alone enjoyed the whole world, they seemed to themselves confined within narrow bounds, and measured the end of their lives, not by the term of years, but by the limits of their dominions.

CHAP. II. In that war Lyfimachus, after he had lost by various misfortunes fifteen children, dying with no little bravery, was superadded as the last heap to the ruin of his family. Seleucus rejoicing at so great a victory, and what he thought more than the victory, that he was left alone of all the tribe of Alexander's friends, boasts that it was not the work of man, but a divine favour: little knowing that not long after he himself was to be an example of human frailty. For after about seven months, being trepanned by a plot by Ptolemy, whose sister Lyfimachus had had in marriage, he is slain, and loses the kingdom of Macedo-

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in matrimonio habuerat, per insidias circumventus occiditur; regnumq; Macedonia, quod Lyfimacho eripuerat, cum vita pariter amittit. Igitur Ptolemæus cum & in gratiam memoriæ magni Ptolemæi patris, & in favorem ultionis Lyfimachi ambitiosus apud populares esset, primo Lyfimachi filios conciliare sibi statuit; nuptiasque Arsinoes sororis suæ, matris eorum petit, puerorum adoptione promissa, ut cum in locum patris eorum successisset, nihil illi moliri, vel verecundia matris, vel appellati-
one patris, auderent. Fratri quoq; regis Ægypti concordiam per epistolas deprecatur; professus, deponere se offensam erepti paterni regni, neque amplius a fratre quaesiturum, quod honestius a paterno hoste perceperit. Omnique arte adulatur Eumeni & Antigono, Demetrii filiis, Antiocho, filio Seléuci, cum quibus bellum habiturus erat, ne tertius sibi hostis accederet. Sed nec Pyrrhus rex Epiri omissus, ingens momentum futurus, utri parti socius accessisset: qui & ipse spoliare singulos cupiens, omnibus se partibus venditabat. Itaq; Tarentinis adversus Romanos laturus auxilium, ab Antigono naves ad exercitum in Italiam deportandum mutuò petit, ab Antiocho pecuniam, qui opibus quam militibus instructor erat, a Ptolemæo Macedonum militum auxilia. Sed Ptolemæus, cui nulla dilationis ex infirmitate virium venia esset, quinque millia peditum, equitum quatuor millia, elephantos quinquaginta, non amplius quam in biennii usum dedit. Ob hæc Pyrrhus filia Ptolemæi in matrimonium accepta, vindicem eum regni reliquit; ne, abducta in Italiam juventute, prædam hostibus regnum relinqueret.

nia, which he had taken from Lyfimachus, together with his life. Wherefore Ptolemy being in great favour with the people, both upon account of Ptolemy the Great his father, and in regard to the revenge of Lyfimachus, he first resolves to engage the sons of Lyfimachus to him; and desires in marriage his sister Arsinoe, their mother, promising to adopt the sons, that upon his succeeding in the place of their father, they might not dare to attempt at any thing against him, either out of reverence to their mother, or in regard to the name of a father. He desires too by a letter, an agreement with his brother the king of Egypt, declaring, that he laid aside all resentment upon account of his father's kingdom being taken from him; and that he would not any longer seek that from a brother, which he had more honourably got from his father's enemy. And with all his art flatters Eumenes and Antigonus the sons of Demetrius, and Antiochus the son of Seleucus, with whom he was like to have a war, that a third enemy might not come in against him. But neither was Pyrrhus king of Epirus neglected, who would be of mighty import, to which side soever he should join himself as an ally: who desirous to strip them every one, offers himself to all parties. Wherefore designing to carry assistance to the Tarentines against the Romans, he borrows of Antigonus ships to transport his army into Italy; money from Antiochus, who was better provided with wealth than soldiers; from Ptolemy some troops of Macedonian soldiers. But Ptolemy, who could have no pardon for his delay, by reason of the weakness of his strength, sends five thousand foot, four thousand horse, and fifty elephants, for no more than two year's service. For these things Pyrrhus, taking the daughter of Ptolemy in marriage, leaves him the guardian of his kingdom, making peace with all his neighbours, that he might not upon carrying into Italy all the men fit for service, leave his kingdom a prey to his enemies.

CAP. III. Sed quoniam ad Epiri mentionem ventum est, de origine regni ejus pauca narranda sunt. Molossorum primum in ea regione regnum fuit. Post Pyrrhus Achillis filius, amisso per absentiam Trojanis temporibus paterno regno, in his locis confedit, qui Pyrrhidæ primo, postea Epirotæ dicti sunt. Sed Pyrrhus, cum in templum Dodonæi Jovis ad consulendum venisset, ibi Lanassam neptem Herculis rapuit, ex cujus matrimonio octo liberos sustulit. Ex eis nonnullas virgines nuptum finitimis regibus tradidit, opesq; affinitatum auxilio magnas paravit; atque ita Heleno, filio Priami regis, ob industriam singularem, regnum Chaonum, & Andromachen Hæctoris, quam & ipse matrimonio suo in divisione Trojanæ prædæ acceperat, uxorem tradidit; brevique post tempore, Delphis insidiis Orestæ filii Agamemnonis, inter altaria dei interiit. Successor huic Pialis filius fuit. Per ordinem deinde regnum ad Arrybam descendit; cui, quoniam pupillus & unicus ex gente nobili superesset, intentiore omnium cura servandi ejus educandique, publice tutores constituuntur. Athenas quoque erudiendi gratia missus, quanto doctior majoribus suis, tanto & gratior populo fuit. Primus itaque leges & senatum, annuosq; magistratus & reipublicæ formam composuit. Et ut a Pyrrho sedes, sic vita cultior populo ab Arryba statuta. Hujus filius Neoptolemus fuit; ex quo nata est Olympias, mater Alexandri Magni, & Alexander qui post eum regnum Epiri tenuit; & in Italia bello gesto in Brutiis interiit. Post ejus mortem frater Æacides regno successit, qui assiduis adversus Macedonas bel-

CHAP. III. But since I am got upon the mention of Epir, a few things must be said concerning the original of that kingdom. The kingdom of the Molossi was the first in that country. Afterwards Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, having lost his father's kingdom, during his absence in the time of the Trojan war, settled in those parts; the inhabitants of which were first called Pyrrhidæ, afterwards Epirotæ. Now Pyrrhus coming into the temple of Dodonæan Jove to consult him, there carried off by force Lanassa the granddaughter of Hercules, by the marriage of whom he had eight children. Of these, some daughters he disposed of in marriage to the neighbouring kings: and acquired great power by the help of these alliances. He delivered too to Helenus the son of king Priam, for his singular industry, the kingdom of the Chaonians, and Andromache the widow of Hector, to wife, whom he had received in marriage, in the division of the spoil of Troy; and a short time after, he perished at Delphi, by the treachery of Orestes the son of Agamemnon, amidst the altars of the God. His son Pialis was his successor. After that the kingdom came by order of succession to Arrybas; for whom, because he was an orphan, and the only one left of that noble family, tutors are publicly appointed, with a mighty concern of all people for the preserving and educating of him. Being sent to Athens upon the account of education, he was as much more acceptable to the people, as he was more learned than his ancestors. He was the first therefore that established laws, a senate, yearly magistrates, and a regular form of government. And as a settlement had been procured the people by Pyrrhus, so was a more polite way of life introduced by Arrybas. Neoptolemus was his son, of whom proceeded Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, and Alexander, who after him had the kingdom of Epir; and died in a war carried on by him in Italy among the Bruti. After his death his brother Æacides succeeded in the kingdom, who by wearying his people with continual contests of wars against

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lorum certaminibus populum fatigando offensam civium contraxit; ac propterea in exilium actus Pyrrhum filium unicum admodum parvulum in regno reliquit. Qui & ipse cum a populo propter odium patris ad necem quæreretur, furtim subtractus in Illyrios desertur; traditusque est Beroæ, Glauciæ regis uxori, nutriendus, quæ & ipsa generis Æacidarum erat. Ibi eum, seu misericordia fortunæ ejus, seu infantilibus blandimentis inductus rex, adversum Cassandrum Macedoniæ regem, qui eum sub belli comminatione deposcebat, diu protexit, addito in auxilium etiam adoptionis officio. Quibus rebus moti Epirotæ, odio in misericordiam verso, annorum xi eum in regnum revocaverunt, datis tutoribus, qui regnum usque adultam ejus ætatem tuerentur. Adolescens deinde multa bella gessit, tantusque rerum successu haberi coëptus est, ut Tarentinos solus adversus Romanos tueri posse videretur.

the Macedonians, contracted the disgust of his subjects, and upon that account being driven into banishment, left Pyrrhus his only son, a very young child, in his kingdom. Who, himself too being sought after by the people to be put to death, because of their hatred of the father, being privately conveyed away, is carried among the Illyrians, and delivered to Beroa, the lady of king Glaucias, to be nursed, who herself too was of the family of the Æacidæ. There the king induced either by the commiseration of his hard fortune, or the blandishments of the infant, protected him a long time against Cassander king of Macedonia, who demanded him with threats of war, adding likewise the favour of adoption for his security. With which thing the Epirotæ being wrought upon, their hatred being now turned into pity, they recalled him into his kingdom, when eleven years old, appointing him guardians to take care of the kingdom 'till his adult age. Afterwards, whilst a young man, he carried on many wars, and he began to be looked upon as so considerable for the success of his affairs, that he alone seemed capable of defending the Tarentines against the Romans.

LIBER XVIII.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. *Pyrrho, Tarentinis adversus Romanos suppetias ferenti, Valerius Lævinus occurrit, unde prælia & strages.*
2. *Carthaginiensium auxilium Romani remittunt. Pax cum Pyrrho componitur. Romanorum continentia. Pyrrhus Siciliam occupat.*
3. *De Carthaginiensium origine & veteribus incolis digressio, in qua etiam de Sydonis & Tyri conditoribus.*
4. *Incolæ Tyri, inter quos Elissa, quæ a Pygmalione fratre recessit, ut rebus consuleret.*
5. *Elissa, agnomine Dido, Cyprum appellit: deinde in sinum Africæ defertur, & Carthaginem condit.*
6. *Elissa propter Iarbæ votum vim sibi infert. Carthaginiensium crudelis superstitio.*

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7. Clades

7. *Clades Carthaginiensium in Sardinia. Superstites in exilium pulsī, patriam armis recuperare nituntur : unde Malei patris in Cartalonem filium severitas, & paulo post cruentus interitus.*

C A P U T I.

Igitur, Pyrrhus, rex Epiri, cum iterata Tarentinorum legatione, additis Samnitium & Lucanorum precibus, & ipsis auxilio adversus Romanos indigentibus, fatigaretur, non tam supplicum precibus, quam spe invadendi Italiæ imperii inductus, venturum se cum exercitu pollicetur. In quam rem inclinatum semel animum præcipientem agere cœperant exempla majorum ne aut inferior patruo suo Alexandro videretur, quo defensore iidem Tarentini adversus Brutios usi fuerant; aut minores animos Magno Alexandro habuisse, qui tam longa a domo militia Orientem subegit. Igitur relicto custode regni filio Ptolemæo, annos, xv nato, exercitum in portu Tarentino exponit duobus parvulis filiis Alexandro & Heleno, in solatia longinquæ secum expeditionis abductis. Cujus audito adventu, consul Romanus, Valerius Lævinus, festinans, ut prius cum eo congrediretur, quam auxilia fociorum conveniret, exercitum in aciem educit. Nec rex, tametsi numero militum inferior esset, certamini moram fecit. Sed Romanos vincentes jam, inusitata ante elephantorum forma, stupere primo, mox cedere prælio coegit, victoresque jam nova Macedonum monstra repente vicerunt. Nec hostibus incruenta victoria fuit. Nam & ipse Pyrrhus graviter vulneratus est, & magna pars militum ejus cæsa, majoremq; gloriam ejus victoriae, quam lætitiā habuit Hujus pugnae eventum multæ ci-

PYRRHUS therefore king of Epirë, being solicited by a repeated embassy of the Tarentines, with the instances of the Samnites and Lucanians superadded, they too wanting assistance against the Romans, being induced, not so much by the solicitations of the people addressing him, as the hopes of acquiring the dominion of Italy, promises to come with an army. To which affair, his mind being once inclined, the examples of his ancestors begun now to push him headlong, that he might not appear either inferior to his uncle Alexander, whom the same Tarentines had made use of as their protector against the Brutians, or to have less spirit than Alexander the Great, who in so long an expedition from home subdued the East. Wherefore his son Ptolemy being left guardian of his kingdom, but fifteen years old, he lands his army in the harbour of Tarentum, his two little boys, Alexander and Helenus, being taken along with him, for his consolation in this expedition so remote from home. Upon hearing of whose arrival, the Roman consul, Valerius Lævinus, in all haste draws out his army into the field, that he might engage with him before the forces of his allies joined him. Nor did the king make any delay to fight him, tho' he was inferior in number of men. But the appearance of the elephants, which they had not been used to before, forced the Romans, though now prevailing at first, to stand amazed, and soon after to quit the fight; and these strange monsters of the Macedonians, all on a sudden conquered the conquerors. Nor had the enemy a bloodless victory. For both Pyrrhus himself was grievously wounded, and a great part of his soldiers slain: and he received more glory from that victory than joy. Many cities, following the event of this battle, surrender themselves to Pyrrhus. Among the rest the Locri too,

vitates

vitates secutæ Pyrrho se tradunt. Inter cæteros etiam Locri prodito præsidio Romano, ad Pyrrhum deficiunt. Ex ea præda Pyrrhus cc captivos milites Romanam gratis remisit, ut cognita virtute ejus, Romani cognoscerent etiam liberalitatem. Interjectis deinde diebus, cum sociorum exercitus supervenisset, iterato prælium cum Romanis facit, in quo par fortuna priori bello fuit.

CAP. II. Interea Mago, dux Carthaginiensium, in auxilium Romanorum cum ccc navibus missus, senatum adiit ægre tulisse Carthaginienses, affirmans, quod bellum in Italia a peregrino rege paterentur. Ob quam causam missum se, ut quoniam ab externo hoste oppugnarentur, externis auxiliis juvarentur. Gratia a senatu Carthaginiensibus actæ, auxiliaq; remissa. Sed Mago, Punico ingenio, post paucos dies tacitus, quasi pacificator Carthaginiensium, Pyrrhum adit, speculaturus consilia ejus de Sicilia, quo cum arcessiri fama erat. Nam Romanis eadem causa mittendi auxilia Carthaginiensibus fuerat, ut Romano bello, ne in Siciliam transire posset Pyrrhus, in Italia detineretur. Dum hæc aguntur, legatos a senatu Romano Fabricius Lucinus missus, pacem cum Pyrrho composuit. Ad quam confirmandam, Cyneas Romanum cum ingentibus a Pyrrho donis missus, neminem, cujus domus muneribus pateret, invenit. Huic continentia Romanorum simile exemplum iidem ferme temporibus fuit. Nam missi a senatu in Ægyptum legati, cum ingentia sibi a Ptolemæo rege missa munere sprevisent, interjectis diebus ad cænam invitatis aureæ coronæ missæ sunt, quas illi honoris causa receptas

betraying the Roman garrison to revolt to Pyrrhus. Out of the spoils Pyrrhus sent back, gratis to Rome, two hundred soldiers taken prisoners, that the Romans, after they had had experience of his courage might likewise experience his generosity. Then some days after, when the army of the allies was come up, he again fights a battle with the Romans, in which his fortune was like to that of the former battle.

CHAP. II. In the mean time Mago, general of the Carthaginians, being sent to the assistance of the Romans, with an hundred and twenty ship, went to the senate, declaring, that the Carthaginians bore it with no small concern, that they should be distressed in war in Italy by a foreign prince; for which reason he was sent, that as they were attacked by a foreign prince, they might be assisted with foreign aid. Thanks were given the Carthaginians by the senate, and the auxiliaries returned. But Mago, with the cunning of a Carthaginian, privately goes to Pyrrhus, as a mediator from the Carthaginians, in order to sift his intentions with relation to Sicily, whither there was a report he was sent for. For the reason of the Carthaginians sending assistance to the Romans was, that Pyrrhus might be detained by a war against the Romans in Italy, that he might not pass over into Sicily. Whilst these things are doing, Fabricius Lucinus, being sent ambassador by the Roman senate, made a peace with Pyrrhus. For the ratifying of which, Cineas being sent to Rome by Pyrrhus with great presents, found no body whose house was open to his presents. There was another instance of the Roman integrity like this, about the same time. For the ambassadors sent by the senate into Egypt, having rejected the great presents sent them by Ptolemy, some days after, upon their being invited to supper, golden crowns were sent them, which they out of respect to the king having received, the day following put upon the king's statues.

postera die statuis regis imposuerunt. Igitur Cineas, cum turbatum cum Romanis pacem ab Appio Claudio renuntiasset, interrogatus a Pyrrho, *qualis Roma esset*, respondit, *regum urbem sibi visam*. Post hæc legati Sicolorum superveniunt, tradentes Pyrrho totius insulæ imperium, quæ assiduus Carthaginiensium bellis vexabatur. Itaq; relicto Locris Alexandro filio, firmatissime sociorum civitatibus valido præsidio, in Siciliam exercitum trajecit.

CAP. III. Et quoniam ad Carthaginiensium mentionem ventum est, de origine eorum pauca dicenda sunt, repetitis Tyrionum paulo altius rebus, quorum casus etiam delendi fuerunt. Tyrionum gens condita a Phœnicibus fuit, qui terræ motu vexati, relicto patriæ solo, Assyrium stagnum primo, mox mari proximum littus incoluerunt; condita ibi urbe, quam a piscium ubertate, Sidona appellaverunt; nam piscem Phœnices Sidon vocant. Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascaloniorum expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem ante annum Trojanæ cladis condiderunt. Ibi Persarum bellis diu varieque fatigati, victores quidem fuere; sed attritis viribus, a servis suis multitudine abundantibus indigna supplicia perpassi sunt; qui conspiratione facta omnem liberum populum cum dominis interficiunt; atque ita potiti urbe lares dominorum occupant, rempublicam invadunt, conjuges ducunt, & quod ipsi non erant, liberos procreant. Unus ex tot millibus fervorum fuit, qui miti ingenio senis domini, parvuliq; filii ejus fortuna moveretur, dominusq; non truci feritate, sed piæ misericordiæ humanitate

Wherefore when Cineas brought word to Pyrrhus, that the peace with the Romans was broke off by Appius Claudius, being asked by Pyrrhus, what sort of a city Rome was, he answered, it seemed to him a city of kings. After these things, the ambassadors of the Sicilians come, delivering up the dominion of the whole island to Pyrrhus, which was infested with the continual wars of the Carthaginians. Wherefore leaving his son Alexander at Locri, and the cities of his allies being secured by a strong garrison in each, he transported his army into Sicily.

CHAP. III. And because I am got upon the mention of the Carthaginians, a few things must be said concerning their original, by deducing the affairs of the Tyrians from more antient times, whose misfortunes were indeed lamentable. The nation of the Tyrians was founded by the Phœnicians, who being solely distressed by earthquakes, leaving their country soil, inhabited first near the Assyrian lake, soon after upon the shore nigh the sea, having built there a city, which from the plenty of fish they called Sidon, for the Phœnicians called a fish Sidon. Then after many years being conquered by the king of the Ascalonians, arriving in their ships upon another part of the coast, they built the city Tyre, a year before the destruction of Troy. There being harassed a long time, and various ways, with the wars of the Persians, they were indeed victorious, but their strength being impaired, they suffer unworthy usage from their slaves, grown very numerous, who forming a conspiracy, kill all the freemen with their masters; and so making themselves masters of the city, seize upon the houses of their masters, and take upon them the government, marry their wives, and beget what they themselves were not, freemen. There was one of so many thousands of slaves, that was moved to pity by the mild disposition of his aged master, and the hard fortune of his little son; and looked upon his masters, not with savage fierceness, but the humanity of a pitiful compassion. Where-

respiceret.

respiceret. Itaq; cum velut occisos alienasset, servisque de statu reipublicæ deliberantibus placuisset regem ex suo corpore creari, cumq; potissimum quasi acceptissimum diis, qui solem orientem primus vidisset, rem ad Stratonem (hoc enim ei nomen erat) dominum occulte latentem detulit. Ab eo formatus, cum medio noctis omnem in unum campum processissent, cæteris in Orientem spectantibus, solus Occidentis regionem intuebatur. Id primum aliis videri furor, in Occidente solis ortum quærere. Ubi vero dies adventare cœpit, editissimisq; culminibus urbis oriens splendere; expectantibus aliis, ut ipsum solem aspicerent, hic primus omnibus fulgorem solis in summo fastigio civitatis ostendit. Non servilis ingenii ratio visa; requirentibusq; auctorem de domino confitetur, Tunc intellectum est; quantum ingenua servilibus ingenia præstarent, malitiaq; servos, non sapientia vincere. Igitur venia seni filioq; data est; & velut numine quodam reservatos arbitantes, regem Stratonem creaverunt. Post cujus mortem regnum ad filium, ac deinde ad nepotes transit. Celebre hoc servorum facinus, metuendumque exemplum toto orbe terrarum fuit. Itaq; Alexander Magnus, cum interjecto tempore in Oriente bellum gereret, velut ultor publicæ securitatis, expugnata eorum urbe, omnes qui prælio superfuerant, ob memoriam veteris cædis, crucibus affixit, genus tantum Stratonis inviolatum servavit, regnumque stirpi ejus restituit, ingenuis & innoxii incolis insulæ attributis, ut extirpato servili germine, genus urbis ex integro conderetur

fore having put them out of the way, as if they were slain, and the slaves deliberating about the state of the government, having resolved that one of their own body should be made king, and be above the rest, as most acceptable to the Gods, who should first see the sun rise, he carried the matter to his master, who lay privately concealed, Strato (for that was his name). Being instructed by him, after they were all come, about midnight, into one plain, the rest looked towards the East, he alone looked towards the Western quarter. That at first appeared madness to the rest, to seek for the sun-rise in the West. But when day begun to advance, and the rising sun to shine upon the highest eminences of the city, whilst others waited to see the sun itself, first shewed them all the sun-shine upon the highest eminence of the city. This seemed not to be the invention of a slave's wit, and upon their desiring to know the author, he made a confession to them about his master. Then it appeared how much the genius of freemen exceeded that of slaves, and that slaves exceeded in wickedness, not in wisdom. Wherefore a pardon was granted to the old man and his son, and they thinking them saved by the favour of some God, made Strato king. After whose death the kingdom descended to his son, and afterwards to his grandson. This villainy of these slaves was much taken notice of, and a dreadful example to the whole world. Wherefore Alexander the Great, when some time after he carried on a war in the East, as if he was the avenger of the cause of the public security, after he had taken their city, he crucified all those who survived the war, in memory of the former massacre; yet he preserved the family of Strato unviolated, and restored the sovereignty to his descendants, assigning to the island inhabitants free-born and innocent, that now the race of the slaves was utterly destroyed, the stock of the city might be restored anew.

CAP. IV. Hoc igitur modo Tyrii Alexandri auspiciis conditi, parsimonia & labore quærendi cito convaluere. Ante cladem dominorum, cum & opibus & multitudine abundarent, missa in Africam juventute, Uticam condidere: cum interim rex Mutgo Tyro decedit, filio Pygmalione, & Elissa filia, insignis formæ virginæ hæredibus institutis. Sed populus Pygmalioni admodum puero regnum tradidit. Elissa quoque Acerbæ avunculo suo, sacerdoti Herculis, qui honos secundus a rege erat, nubit. Huic magnæ, sed dissimulatæ opes erant; aurumq; metu regis non tectis, sed terræ crediderat. Quam rem, etsi homines ignorabant, fama tamen loquebatur. Qua incensus Pygmalion, oblitus juris humani, avunculum suum, cundemq; generum, sine respectu pietatis occidit. Elissa diu fratrem propter scelus adversata, ad postremum dissimulato odio, mitigatoq; interim vultu, fugam tacita molitur, assumptis quibusdam principibus in societatem, quibus par odium in regem esse, eandemq; fugiendi cupiditatem arbitrabatur. Tunc fratrem dolo aggreditur, fingit se ad eum migrare velle, ne amplius ei mariti domus, cupidæ oblivionis, gravem luctus imaginem renovaret, nec ultra amara admonitio oculis ejus occurrat. Non invitus Pygmalion verba sororis audit, existimans cum ea & aurum Acerbæ ad se venturum. Sed Elissa ministros migrationis a rege missos navibus cum omnibus opibus suis prima vespere imponit, provectaq; in altum compellit eos onera arenæ pro pecunia involucris involuta in mare dejicere. Tunc deslens ipsa lugubriq; voce Acerbam ciet: orat, ut libens suas opes recipiat, quas re-

CHAP. IV. Wherefore the Tyrian being in this manner new founded by the direction of Alexander, quickly grew considerable by their frugality and industry. Before the massacre of their masters by the slaves, as they abounded in riches and numbers of people, sending a colony into Africa, they built Utica, whilst in the mean time their king Mutgo dies at Tyre, his son Pygmalion, and his daughter Elissa, a virgin of remarkable beauty, being appointed his heirs. The people delivered the kingdom to Pygmalion, when but a meer boy. Elissa too marries her uncle Acerbas, the priest of Hercules, which dignity was next to that of the king. He had great but concealed riches, and he had disposed of his gold, for fear of the king, not in his house, but in the earth. Which thing, tho' the world was really ignorant of it, yet common report buzzed about. By which Pygmalion being fired, forgetful of the laws of humanity, he murdered his uncle, and the same his brother-in-law, without any regard to natural affection. Elissa hating her brother a long time for this villainy, at last, concealing her resentment, and smoothing up her countenance in the mean time, she privately attempts flight taking some of the chiefs of the city into a share in the design, who she thought had the same grudge against the king, and the same desire of being gone. Then she accosts her brother with this wile; she pretends that she had a mind to remove to his house, that the house of her husband might no more revive in her, desirous to forget him, the intolerable scene of her former mourning; nor the cruel means of renewing his memory any more occur to her eyes. Pygmalion heard these words of his sister gladly, supposing that the gold of Acerbas would come along with her to him. But Elissa puts the servants that were to assist her in her removal, sent by the king, with all her riches aboard some ships, in the beginning of the evening: and launching out into the main, obliges them to throw loads of sand wrapt up in covers for money into the sea, Then weeping and with a lamentable voice, liquerat,

liquerat, habeatque inferias quas habuerat causam mortis. Tunc ipsos ministros aggreditur, sibi quidem ait optatam olim mortem, sed illis acerbos cruciatus, & dira supplicia immenere, qui Acerbae opes, quarum spe parricidium rex faceret, avaritiæ tyranni subtraxerint. Hoc metu omnibus injecto, comites fugæ accepit. Junguntur & senatorum in eam noctem preparata agmina, atq; ita sacris Herculis, cujus sacerdos Acerbas fuerat, repetitis, exilio sedes quæerunt.

against that night, having performed a sacrifice to Hercules, whose priest Acerbas had been, seek a new settlement by banishment.

CAP. V. Primus illis appulsus terræ Cyprus insula fuit; ubi sacerdos Jovis, cum conjuge & liberis, deorum monitu, comitem se Elissæ sociumq; fortunæ præbuit, pactus sibi posterisque perpetuum honorum sacerdotii. Conditio pro manifesta omine accepta. Mos erat Cypri, virgines ante nuptias statuis diebus dotalem pecuniam quæsituras, in questum ad littus maris mittere, pro reliqua pudicitia libamenta Veneri soluturas. Harum igitur ex numero LXXX admodum virgines raptas navibus imponi Elissa jubet; ut & juvenus matrimonia, & urbs sobolem habere posset. Dum hæc aguntur, Pygmalion, cognita sororis fuga, cum impio bello fugientem persequi pararet, ægre precibus matris, & deorum minis victus, quievit. Cui cum inspirati vates canerent, non impune laturum, si incrementa urbis toto orbe auspiciatissimæ interpellasset, hoc modo spatium respirandi fugientibus datum. Itaq; Elissa delata in Africæ sinum, incolæ loci ejus, adventu perigrinorum, mutuarumq; rerum commercio gaudentes, in amicitiam

she calls upon Acerbas, and begs, that he would willingly receive his wealth, and accept of it as funeral offerings, which he had found the cause of his death. Then she addresses the servants, and says, that death had formerly been wished for by her, but that cruel torments and dreadful punishments threatened them, who had withdrawn Acerba's riches, in hopes of which the King had committed parricide, from the tyrant's avarice. This terror being struck into them all, she took them with her, as the companions of her flight. Several companies of the senators too, who were ready a-

CHAP. V. The first place of their landing was the Isle of Cyprus, where the priest of Jupiter, with his wife and children, by the admonition of the gods, joined himself to Elissa as her companion, and the partner of her fortune, having stipulated for the perpetual honour of the priest-wood for himself and his posterity. This proposal was taken for a manifest omen of success. It was a custom with the Cyprians to send the young women, before their marriage to the sea shore, upon certain days, for prostitution, to procure themselves by that means a fortune, and make oblations to Venus for their future chastity. Wherefore about fourscore Virgins of the number of these being seized, Elissa orders to be put on board her ships, that the men might have wives, and her city have children. While these things are doing, Pygmalion having heard of his sisters flight, and preparing to pursue her in her flight with impious war, being with much ado prevailed upon by the entreaties of his mother, and the threats of the gods, he gave over. To whom whilst the inspired prophets foretold, that he would not go unpunished, if he interrupted the growth of a city, that was to be the most fortunate in the world; by this means time to take breath was given to the fugitives. Wherefore Elissa arriving in a bay of Africa, engages the inhabitants of the
solicitat.

solicitat. Deinde empto loco, qui corio bovis tegi posset, in quo fessius longa navigatione socios, quoad proficisceretur, reficere posset; corium in tenuissimas partes secari jubet; atque ita majus loci spatium quam petierat occupat; unde postea ei loco Byrsæ nomen fuit. Confluentibus deinde vicinis locorum, qui spe lucri multa hospitibus venalia inferabant, sedesque ibi statuentibus, ex frequentia hominum velut instar civitatis effectum est. Uticentium quoque legati dona ut consanguineis attulerunt, hortatiq; sunt, urbem ibi conderent, ubi sedes sortiti essent. Sed & Afros detinendi advenas amor cepit. Itaque consentientibus omnibus, Carthago conditur, statuto annuo vectigali pro solo urbis. In primis fundamentis caput bubulum inventum est; quod auspiciū quidem fructuosæ terræ, sed laboriosæ, perpetuoque servæ urbis fuit; propter quod in alium locum urbs translata. Ibi quoque equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans, urbi auspiciatum sedem dedit. Tunc ad opinionem novæ urbis concurrentibus gentibus, brevi & populus & civitas magna facta.

CAP. VI. Cum successu rerum florentes Carthaginis opes essent, rex Mauritanorum Jarbas decem Pænorum principibus ad se arcessit, is Elissæ nuptias sub belli denuntiatione petit; quod legati reginæ referre metuentes Punico cum eā ingenio egerunt: nuntiantes regem aliquem poscere, qui cultiores victus eum Afrosque perdoceat: sed quem inveniri posse, qui ad Barbaros & ferarum more viventes transire a

place, who were glad of the arrival of strangers, and the traffick of their mutual commodities, in her friendship. And then purchasing as much ground as could be covered with an ox's hide, wherein she might refresh her attendants, weary with their long voyage, 'till she could conveniently go away, she orders the hide to be cut into very small parts, and thus takes up a greater compass of ground than she had requested, from whence that place had the name of Byrsa. After this the neighbours of the place flocking in, who in hopes of gain, brought many things to sell to the strangers, and fixing their habitation there by this crowd of people some face of a city was made. Embassadors of the Uticensians too brought presents as to their relations, and encouraged them to build a city there, where they had made this temporary settlement. The Africans too had a mind to detain the strangers. Wherefore all agreeing in the matter, Carthage is built, an annual tribute being settled for the soil of the city, In the first laying of foundations, an ox's head was found, which was indeed a presage of a fruitful country, but of a city that would be obliged to labour, and always in a state of slavery, for which reason the city was translated into another place. There too an horse's head being found, portending that the people would be warlike and powerful, gave a lucky situation to this city. Then the neighbouring nations flocking in upon the fame of this new city, in a short time both the people and the city became great.

CHAP. VI. The power of the Carthaginians being now in a flourishing condition by reason of the success of their affairs, Jarbas king of the Mauritanians, sending for ten of the principal of the Carthaginians to him, demands in marriage Elissa, under a denuntiation of war; which the deputies fearing to tell the queen, dealt with her with the cunning of Carthaginians, telling her, that the king desired somebody to teach him and his Africans a more polite way of life; but who could be found, who would go

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consanguineis velit? Tunc a regina castigati, si pro salute patriæ asperiores vitam recusarent, cui etiam ipsa vita, si res exigat, debeatur: regis mandata aperuere, dicentes, quæ præcipiat aliis, ipsi facienda esse, si velit urbi consultum esse. Hoc dolo capta, diu Acerbæ viri nomine cum multis lacrymis & lamentatione flebili invocato, ad postremum ituram se quo suæ urbis fata vocarent, respondit. In hoc trium mensium sumpto spatio, pyra in ultima parte urbis extructa, velut placatura viri manes, inferiasque ante nuptias missura, multas hostias cædit, & sumpto gladio pyram conscendit; atq; ita ad populum respiciens, iturum se ad virum, sicut præceperant, dixit, vitamque gladio finivit. Quamdiu Carthago invicta fuit, pro dea culta est. Condita est urbs hæc LXXII annis antequam Roma; cujus virtus sicut bello clara fuit, ita demi status variis discordiarum casibus agitatus est. Cum inter cætera mala, etiam peste laborarent, cruenta sacrorum religione & scelere pro remedio usi sunt. Quippe homines ut victimas immolabant; & impuberes (quæ ætas etiam hostium misericordiam provocat) aris admovebant, pacem deorum sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vita dii rogari maxime solent.

CAP. VII. Itaque adversis tanto scelere numinibus, cum in Sicilia diu feliciter dimicassent; translato in Sardiniam bello, amissa majore exercitus parte, gravi prælio victi sunt. Propter quod ducem suum Malchum, cujus auspiciis & Siciliæ partem domuerant, & adversus Afros magnas res gesserant, cum parte

from their relations to Barbarians, and such as lived after the manner of wild beasts. Then being reprimanded by the queen, if they should refuse a hard life for the safety of their country, to which their very life was due, if occasion required; they discovered the king's message, saying, that she herself must do what she enjoined others, if she would secure the city. Being trepanned by this trick, after she had for some time called upon the name of her husband Acerbas, with many tears and a mournful lamentation, at last she replies, that she would go whither the fate of the city called her. Taking three months time for this purpose, a pile being raised in the furthest part of the city, she kills many sacrifices, as if she would appease the ghost of her husband, and make her offerings to him before her marriage; and taking a sword, she mounts the pile; and then looking back to the people, she said, that she would go to her husband, as they had ordered her; and then put an end to her life with the sword. As long as Carthage was unconquered, she was worshipped for a Goddess. This city was built seventy-two years before Rome. Whose conduct as it was famous in war, so was its state at home disturbed by various misfortunes of civil differences. When among other calamities they were troubled with the plague, they made use of a bloody piece of religion, and a horrid abomination, for a remedy. For they sacrificed men as victims, and brought to the altars children (which age moves the pity even of enemies) begging the favour of the Gods by shedding their blood, for the life of whom, the Gods used principally to be solicited.

CHAP. VII. Wherefore the Gods being their enemies for so great a villainy, after they had fought successfully a long time in Sicily, the war being removed into Sardinia, they were overthrown in a great battle, losing the greater part of their army. For which reason they ordered their general Malchus, by whose conduct they had both conquered a part of Sicily, and had performed great things against the exercitus,

exercitus, quæ superfuerat, exulare iusserunt. Quam rem ægre ferentes milites legatos Carthaginem mittunt; qui reditum primo, veniamque infelicis militiæ petant; tum denuncient quod precibus nequeant armis se consecuturos. Cum & preces & minæ legatorum spretæ essent, interjectis diebus, consensis navibus, armati ad urbem veniunt; ibi deos hominesque testati, non se expugnatum, sed recuperatum, patriam venire; ostensurosque civibus suis, non virtutem sibi priore bello, sed fortunam defuisse: prohibitis commatibus, obsessaque urbe, in summam desperationem Carthaginenses adduxerunt. Interea Cartalo, Malchi exulis ducis filius, cum præter castra patris a Tyro, quo decimas Herculis ferre ex præda Siciliensi, quam pater ejus ceperat, a Carthaginensibus missus fuerat, reverteretur, arcessitusque a patre esset, prius publicæ se religionis officia exsecutorum quam privatæ pietatis, respondit. Quam rem etiam indigne ferret pater, non tamen vim afferre religioni ausus est. Interjectis deinde diebus Cartalo, petito comœatu a populo, cum reversus ad patrem esset, ornatusque purpura & infulis sacerdotii, omnium se oculis ingereret, tunc in secretum abducto pater ait: Aususne es, nefandissimum caput, ista purpura & auro ornatus in conspectum tot miserorum civium venire? & mœsta ac lugentia castra circumfluentibus quietæ felicitatis insignibus, velut exultans intrare? nusquamne te aliis jactare potuisti! nullus locus aptior, quam sordes patris, & exilii infelicis ærumnæ fuerunt? Quid, quod paulo ante vocatus, nan dico patrem, lucem certe civium tuorum superbe spreveristi? quid porro tu in purpura ista coronisque

Africans, with part of the army which was left, to go into banishment. Which thing the soldiers taking heinously, send deputies to Carthage, to desire in the first place their restitution, and then to declare, That what they could not procure by their intreaties, they would obtain with their arms. When both the prayers and threats of the deputies were slighted, some days after, going aboard their ships, they come armed to the city, and they call gods and men to witness, That they came not to force, but recover their country, and would shew their countrymen, that not their courage, but fortune had failed them in the former war: all provisions being stopt, and the city besieged, they reduced the Carthaginians to the utmost despair. In the mean time Cartalo, the son of Malchus, the exiled general, returning by his father's camp from Tyre, whither he had been sent by the Carthaginians, to carry the tythes of the Sicilian plunder to Hercules, which his father had taken; and being sent for by his father, he replied, That he would perform the duties of the religion of his country, before those of private obligation. Which thing tho' his father took heinously, yet he durst not offer any violence on his religion. Then some days after Cartalo, having requested leave to go from the people, returning to his father, and offering himself to the eyes of all people, dressed up in scarlet and the ribbands of his priestly office, his father taking him aside, says, Hadst thou the assurance, thou abominable villain, to come into the sight of so many of thy miserable countrymen, dressed in that scarlet and golden ornaments; and enter, as it were in triumph, this sad and mournful camp, with all the badges of peaceable prosperity about thee? Couldst thou no where else set thyself off to others? Was there no fitter opportunity for it, than that of the poor circumstances of thy father, and the distress of his unfortunate banishment? What shall I say, that when sent for a little before, thou didst proudly despise, I do not say thy father, the general how-

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aliud, quam victoriarum mearum titulos geris? quoniam igitur tu in patre nihil nisi exulis nomen agnoscis; ego quoque imperatorem me magis, quam patrem judicabo; statuamque in te exemplum, ne quis posthac infelicibus miseriis patris illudat. Atque ita eum cum ornatu suo, in altissimam crucem in conspectu urbis suffigi iussit. Post paucos deinde dies Carthaginem capit; evocatoque populo ad concionem, exilii injuriam queritur, belli necessitatem excusat; contentumque victoria sua, punitis auctoribus miserorum civium, injuriosi exilii omnibus se veniam dare dicit. Atque ita decem senatoribus interfectis, urbem legibus suis reddidit. Nec multo post ipse affectati regni accusatus duplicis & in filio & in patria parricidii poenas dedit. Huic Mago imperator successit, cujus industria & opes Carthaginensium & imperii fines & bellicae gloriae laudes creverunt.

as general, by whose industry both the power the Carthaginians, and the extent of their empire, and their military glory was improved.

ever of thy countrymen? Besides, what dost thou wear else in that scarlet, and those crowns, than titles of my victories? Since therefore thou ownest nothing in thy father, but the name of an exile, I shall consider myself as a general more than a father; and will make an example of thee, that no one may hereafter play upon the unfortunate condition of a father. And accordingly he ordered him, with all his finery, to be nailed to a very high cross, in the sight of the city. A few days after he took Carthage, and calling the people to an assembly, he complains of the injustice of his banishment, pleads the necessity of war for his excuse, and tells them, That being content with his victory, and punishing the authors of their countrymen's misery, he granted a pardon for this injurious banishment to all the rest. And accordingly ten senators being put to death, he restored the city to its laws. And not long after being accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, he underwent the punishment of his parricide committed both upon his son, and his country. Mago succeeded him as general, by whose industry both the power the Carthaginians, and the extent of their empire, and their military glory was improved.

LIBER XIX.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Magoni Carthaginensium imperatori succedunt Hasdrubal & Hamilcar. Hasdrubal in Sardinia perit. Inde Siculum bellum & Persarum legatio.*
2. *Horum filii & Carthaginensis clades exercitus in Sicilia.*
3. *Imilco, dux hujus exercitus, Carthaginem reversus, spe omni abjecta mortem sibi infert.*

CAPUT I.

MAGO Carthaginensium imperator, cum primus omnium ordinata disciplina militari imperium Pœnorum condidisset, viresque civitatis non mi-

MAGO, general of the Carthaginians, having first of all by regulating their military discipline founded the empire of the Carthaginians, and advanced the strength of the city, no less by

nus

nus bellandi arte quam virtute firmasset, diem fungitur, relictis duobus filiis Hasdrubale & Hamilcare; qui per vestigia paternæ virtutis decurrentes, sicut generi, ita & magnitudini patris successerunt. His ducibus Sardinia bellum illatum; adversus Afros quoque vectigal pro solo urbis multorum annorum repetentes dimicatum; sed Afrorum sicuti causa iustior, ita & fortuna superior fuit; bellumque cum his solutione pecuniæ non armis, finitum. In Sardinia quoque Hasdrubal graviter vulneratus, imperio Hamilcari fratri tradito, interijt; cuius mortem, cum luctus civitatis, tum & dictaturæ undecim & triumphus quatuor insignem fecere; hostibus quoque crevere animi, veluti cum duce vires Pœnorum cecidissent. Itaque Siciliae populis propter assiduas Carthaginiensium injurias, ad Leonidam fratrem regis Spartanorum concurrentibus, grave bellum natum; in quo & diu & varia victoria præliatum fuit. Dum hæc aguntur, legati a Dario, Persarum rege, Carthaginem venerunt, afferentes edictum, quo Pœni humanas hostias immolare, & canina vesci prohibebatur; mortuorumque corpora cremare potius quam terra obruere a rege jubebantur; petentes simul auxilia adversus Græciam, cui illaturus bellum Darius erat. Sed Carthaginienses auxilia negantes propter assidua finitimorum bella, cæteris, non per omnia contumaces viderentur, cupide parvere.

CAP. II. Interea Hamilcar bello Siciliensi interficitur, relictis tribus filiis, Imilcone, Hannone, Giscone. Hasdrubali quoque par numerus filiorum fuit, Annibal & Asdrubal & Sappho. Per hos res Carthaginiensium ea

the art of war than his valour, dies, leaving two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar; who proceeding in the steps of their father's conduct, succeeded as to the blood, so to the greatness of their father. By these generals war was made upon Sardinia, and a contest carried on against the Africans too, demanding the tribute of many years for the soil of the city. But as the cause of the Africans was more just, so was their fortune superior; and the war with them was ended by a payment of the money, and not by arms. In Sardinia too Hasdrubal being dangerously wounded, died, delivering up the command to his brother Hamilcar, whose death both the mourning of the city, and eleven dictatorships, and four triumphs rendered remarkable; and the courage of the enemy grew too upon it, as if the strength of the Carthaginians was gone with their general. Wherefore the states of Sicily flying to Leonidas, brother of the king of the Spartans, by reason of the continual injuries of the Carthaginians, a grievous war broke out, in which they were a long time engaged, and with various success. Whilst these things are a doing, ambassadors came from Darius king of the Persians to Carthage, bringing an edict, by which the Carthaginians were forbid to offer human sacrifices, and eat dog's flesh, and were commanded to burn the bodies of the dead, rather than bury them in the earth: begging at the same time assistance against Greece, upon which Darius was about to make war. But the Carthaginians refusing their assistance, because of continual wars with their neighbours, that they might not appear contumacious in all things, very willingly obeyed the other order.

CHAP. II. In the mean time Hamilcar is slain in the war of Sicily, leaving three sons, Imilco, Hanno, and Giscon. Hasdrubal had also the like number of sons, Hannibal, and Hasdrubal, and Sappho. By these the affairs of the Carthaginians were managed at that time, tempestate

tempestate gerebantur. Itaq; & Mauris bellum illatum, & adversus Numidas pugnatum, & Afri compulsi stipendium urbis conditæ Carthageniensibus remittere. Deinde cum familia tanta imperatorum gravis liberæ civitati esset, omniaque ipsi agerent simul & judicarent, centum ex numero senatorum iudices deliguntur, qui reversis a bello ducebatur rationem rerum gestarum exigerent, ut hoc metu ita in bello imperia cogitarent, ut domi iudicia legesq; respicerent. In Sicilia in locum Hamilcaris imperator Imilco succedit; qui cum navali terrestrique bello secunda prælia fecisset, multasq; civitates cepisset, repente pestilentis fidebris vi exercitum amisit. Quæ res cum nuntiata Carthagini esset, mœste civitas fuit; omnia ululatibus, non secus ac si urbs ipsa capta esset, personabant; clausæ privatæ domus, clausa deorum templa, intermissa omnia sacra, omnia privata officia damnata. Cuncti deinde ad portum congregantur, egredientesq; paucos e navibus, qui cladi superfuissent, de suis percontantur. Ut vero dubia ante spe, & suspenso metu, incerta orbitatis expectatione, casus suorum miseris eluxit, tunc toto littore plangentium gemitus, tunc infelicium matrum ululatus & flebiles querelæ audiebantur.

CAP. III. Inter hæc procedit inops e navi sua imperator sordida, serviliq; tunica discinctus ad ejus conspectum plangentium agmina junguntur. Ipse quoq; manus ad cælum tendens, nunc fortem suam, nunc publicam fortunam deflet; nunc deos accusat, qui tanta belli decora & ut ornamenta victoriarum, quæ ipsi dederant, abstulerint: qui captis tot urbibus, totiesq; hostibus

Wherefore war was made upon the Moors, as likewise against the Numidians; and the Africans were obliged to give up to the Carthaginians the tribute paid for the building of their city. But as so numerous a family of commanders was dangerous to a free state, and they managed and decided all things, an hundred judges are chosen out of the number of the Senators, who upon the return of the generals from the war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that upon this awe they might so consider their command in the war, as to have a regard to the judicature and laws at home. In Sicily Imilco succeeds as general in the room of Hamilcar, who after he had fought several successful battles in this war, both by land and sea, and had taken many cities, on a sudden lost his army by the influence of some pestilential constellation. Which thing being told at Carthage, the city was very melancholy, and all places rung with howlings, no otherwise than if the city itself had been taken. Private houses were shut up, the temples of the Gods were shut, and all religious exercises laid aside, all private offices condemned. Then they all flock to the harbour, and enquire after their friends, of those few that came out of their ships, that had survived the calamity. But when, whilst their hopes were dubious, and their fear suspended upon the uncertain expectation of the loss of their friends, the misfortune of their relations appeared to the poor creatures, then were heard all over the shore the groans of people in lamentation, the howlings and mournful complaints of unhappy mothers.

CHAP. III. In the mean time comes the poor general out of his ship, in a sordid tunick, and like what slaves use; at the sight of whom, the troops of people in lamentations join. He likewise holding up his hands to heaven, one while bewails his own fate, another while the public fortune; another while accuses the Gods, who had taken from him the honour of so many glorious achievements in the war, and the ornaments of so many victories, which they had given him;

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terrestri navalique prælio victis, exercitum victorem non bello sed peste deleverint. Deferre se tamen civibus suis non modica solatia quod malis eorum hostes gaudere, non gloriari possent. Quippe cum neque eos qui mortui sunt, a se occisos; neque eos qui reversi sunt, a se fugatos possint dicere. Prædam, quam relictis a se castris abstulerint, non esse talem, quam velut spoliâ victi hostis ostendent; sed quam possessione vacua fortuitis dominorum mortibus, sicuti caduca occuparint. Quod ad hostes pertinet, victores se recessisse; quod ad pestem victos. Nihil tamen se gravius ferre, quam quod inter fortissimos viros mori non potuerit, servatusque sit non ad vitæ jucunditatem, sed ad ludibrium calamitatis. Quanquam ubi miserâs copiarum reliquias Carthaginem reduxerit, se quoque secuturum commilitones suos; ostensurumque patriæ, non ideo se in eam diem vixisse, quoniam velit vivere; sed ne hos, quibus nefanda lues perpererat inter hostium exercitus relictos, morte sua proderet. Tali vociferatione per urbem ingressus, ut ad limina domus suæ venit, proscutâ multitudinem velut postremo alloquio dimisit; obsecratisque foribus, ac nemine ad se, ne filiis quidem admittis, mortem sibi conscivit.

tended him, as if it was the last time he should speak to them; and locking his door, and no body, not so much as his sons, being admitted to him, he killed himself.

who after so many cities had been taken, and the enemy had been routed by sea and land, had destroyed the victorious army, not by war, but by a plague. Yet he brought no small consolation to his countrymen, that the enemy might rejoice, but not glory in their misfortunes: since they could not say that those who were dead, had been slain by them; nor that those who returned, were forced away by them. That the plunder taken in the camp that was left by them, was not such, as they could shew as the spoil of a conquered enemy, but what they had seized, as falling to them, for want of owners, by the casual deaths of the possessors. As to the enemy, they were come off conquerors; but as to the plague, conquered. Yet he bore nothing more impatiently, than that he could not die among those brave men, and that he was reserved not for the pleasure of life, but for the sport of misery. Though now that he had brought back the miserable remains of his troops to Carthage, he likewise would follow his fellow-soldiers, and shew his country, that he had not therefore lived to that day because he was desirous to live; but that he might not by his death betray those, whom the dreadful pestilence had spared, forsaken among the enemy's armies. *Marching through the town with this lamentation, when he came to the entrance of his own house, he dismissed the crowd that at-*

LIBER XX.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Dionysius Siciliæ tyrannus, Græciæ Magnæ incolæ bello aggreditur.
2. Metapontinorum origo & fata.
3. Crotoniensium & Locrentium bella.

4. Pythagoras

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4. *Pythagoras philosophus Crotonienses ad frugalitatem revocat.*
 5. *Dionysius, victis Locrensis, Crotonienses adoritur quos relinquit ab Hannone retractus, & tandem suorum insidiis opprimitur.*

CAPUT I.

Dionysius e Sicilia Carthaginiensibus pulsus, occupatoque totius insulæ imperio, grave otium regno suo periculosam desidiam tanti exercitus ratus, copias in Italiam trajecit: simul ut militum vires continuo labore acuerentur, & regni fines proferrentur. Prima militia adversus Græcos, qui proxima Italici maris littora tenebant, fuit; quibus devictis, finitimos quosq; aggreditur, omnesq; Græci nominis Italiam possidentes hostes sibi destinant; quæ gentes non partem, sed universam ferme Italiam ea tempestate occupaverant. Deniq; multæ urbes adhuc post tantam vetustatem vestigia Græci moris ostentant. Namque Tuscorum populi, qui oram inferi maris possident, a Lydia venerunt: & Venetos, quos incolas superi maris videmus capta & expugnata Troja, Antenore duce, misit. Adria quoque Illyrico mari proxima, quæ & Adriatico mari nomen dedit Græca urbs est; & Arpos Diomedes exciso Hio, naufragio in ea loca delatus, condidit. Sed & Pisæ in Liguribus Græcos auctores habent: & in Tuscis, Tarquinii a Thessalis & Spina in Umbris, Perusini quoq; originem ab Achæis ducunt; Quid Ceren urbem dicam? quid Latinos populos, qui ab Ænea conditi videntur? Jam Falisci, Nolani, Abellani, nonne Chalcidensium coloni sunt? quid tractus omnis Campaniæ? quid Brutii, Sabinique? quid Samnites? quid Tarentini? quos Lacedæmone profectos, Spuri-

Dionysius having driven the Carthaginians out of Sicily, and seized the government of the whole island, thinking that peace would be dangerous to his kingdom, and want of action in so great an army hazardous, drew his army into Italy, that at once the strength of the soldiery might be whetted by continual labour, and the borders of his kingdom advanced. His first expedition was against the Greeks, who were possessed of the neighbouring shores of the Italian sea; who being conquered, he attacks their neighbours, and destines for himself as enemies, all those of the Græcian name, that were in possession of Italy; which nations at that time had seized not a part only, but almost all Italy. In fine, many cities as yet, after so long a continuance, shew some remains of the Græcian manner of living. For the people of the Thuscans, who possess the coast of the lower sea, came from Lydia; and Troy, when taken, sent thither the Veneti, who we see border upon the upper sea, under Antenor as their commander. Adria too nigh the Illyrian sea, which gave name to the Adriatick sea, is a Græcian city: and Diomedes, after the destruction of Troy, being driven by shipwreck into these parts, built Arpi. But Pisæ too, in the country of the Ligures, has Græcian founders: among the Thuscans Tarquinii derives its original from the Thessalians, as likewise Spina among the Umbrians, and the Perusini too from the Achæans. Why shall I mention the city of Ceres? why the Latins, who seem to have been founded by Æneas? Now the Falisci, the Nolans, the Abellans, are they not colonies of the Chalcidians? What is all the country of the Campania? What are the Brutians and Sabines? What are the Samnites? What are the Tarentines? who, we are told, came from Lacedæmon, and were called Spuri-

osque

osque vocatos acceptimus? Thurinorum urbem condidisse Philocteten ferunt, ibique adhuc monumentum ejus visitur; & Herculis sagittæ in Apollinis templo, quæ fatum Trojæ fuere.

CAP. II. Metapontini quoque in templo Minervæ feramenta, quibus Epeus a quo conditi sunt, equum Trojanum fabricavit, ostentant. Propter quod omnis illa pars Italiæ major Græcia appellata est. Sed principio originum Metapontini cum Sybaritanis & Crotoniensibus pellere cæteros Græcos Italia statuerunt. Cum primum urbem Sirim cepissent, in expugnatione ejus quinquaginta juvenes amplexos Minervæ simulacrum, sacerdotemque deæ velatum ornamentis, inter ipsa altaria trucidaverunt. Ob hæc cum peste & seditionibus vexarentur, priores Crotonienses Delphicum oraculum audierunt. Responsum his est, *finem mali fore, si violatum Minervæ numen & intersectorum manes placassent.* Itaque cum statuas juvenibus justæ magnitudinis, & imprimis Minervæ fabricare cœpissent, Metapontini, cognito oraculo deorum, occupandam manum & deæ pacem rati, juvenibus modica & lapidea simulacra ponunt, & deam panificiis placant. Atq; ita pestis utrobique sedata est, cum alteri magnificentia, alteri velocitate certassent. Recuperata sanitate, non diu Crotonienses quievire. Itaque indignantes, in oppugnatione Siris auxilium contra se a Locrensisibus latum, bellum his intulerunt. Quo metu territi Locrenses ad Spartanos decurrunt; auxilium supplices deprecantur. Illi longinqua militia gravati auxilium a Castore & Polluce petere eos jubent. Neq;

They say Philoctetes built the city of the Thurini, and there his monument is seen to this day; and the arrows of Hercules in the temple of Apollo, which were the destruction of Troy.

CHAP. II. The Metapontini too shew in the temple of Minerva the iron tools, with which Epeus, by whom they were founded, made the Trojan horse. For which reason, all that part of Italy was called the bigger Greece. But at first the Metapontini, with the Sybaritians and the Crotonians, designed to drive the rest of the Greeks out of Italy. When they first took the city Siris, in the taking of it they slew among the altars fifty young men that embraced the statue of Minerva, and the priest of the goddess dressed up in his ornaments. For these things being distressed by famine and seditions, first the Crotonians went to the oracle at Delphos. Answer was made them, an end would be put to their distress, if they appeased the offended deity of Minerva and the ghosts of the slain. Wherefore after they had begun to make statues for the young men, of proper magnitude, and especially for Minerva, the Metapontini understanding the answer of the Gods, thinking it convenient to be beforehand with them in procuring the favour of the ghosts and the Goddess, they erect moderate statues, and of stone, to the young men, and appease the Goddess with an offering of bread. And thus the plague was stayed in both places, whilst one people shewed their zeal by their magnificence, and the other by their expedition. After they had thus recovered their health, the Crotonians were not long quiet. For being incensed that assistance had been brought against them by the Locrians in the attacking of Siris, they made war upon them. With which fear the Locrians being terrified, they apply to the Spartans, and with humble entreaties beg their assistance. They not caring to undertake an expedition so far from home, bid them ask assistance of Castor and Pollux. Nor did the ambassadors

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legati responsum sociæ urbis spreverunt; profectiq; in proximum templum, facto sacrificio, auxilium deorum implorant. Litatis hostiis, obtentoque ut rebantur, quod petebant, haud secus læti, quam si deos ipsos secum vecturi essent, pulvinaria iis in navi componunt, faustisq; profecti omnibus, solatia suis pro auxiliis deportant.

CAP. III. His cognitis, Crotonienses & ipsi legatos ad oraculum Delphos mittunt, victoriæ facultatem belliq; prosperos eventus deprecantes. Responsum, prius votis hostes, quam armis vincendos. Cum vovissent Apollini decimas prædæ, Locrenses & voto hostium, & responso dei cognito, nonas voverunt; tacitamque eam rem habuere, ne votis vincerentur. Itaque, cum in aciem processissent, & Crotoniensium centum viginti millia armatorum constitissent, Locrenses paucitatem suam circumspicientes (nam solo quindecim millia militum habebant) ommissa spe victoriæ, in destinatam mortem conspirant; tantusque ardor ex desperatione singulos cepit, ut victores se putarent, si non inulti morerentur. Sed dum mori honeste quærunt, feliciter vicerunt. Nec alia causa victoriæ fuit, quam quod desperaverunt. Pugnantibus Locris, aquila ab acie nunquam recessit, eosq; tam diu circumvolavit, quoad vincerent. In cornibus quoque duo juvenes, diverso a cæteris armorum habitu, eximia magnitudine, & albis equis, coccineis paludamentis, pugnare visi sunt, nec ultra apparuerunt, quam pugnatum est. Hanc admirationem auxit incredibilis famæ velocitas. Nam eadem die qua in Italia pugnatum est, & Corintho, & Athenis, & Lacedæmone nuntiata est victoria.

despise the answer of their allied city; but going into the next temple, and offering sacrifice, they implore the assistance of the Gods. The omens in the victims appearing favourable, and having obtained as they thought, what they desired, being no less glad, than if they had carried the Gods away with them, they make beds for them in the ships, and going with lucky omens, they bring comfort, instead of assistance, to their countrymen.

CHAP. III. When these things were known, the Crotonians themselves too send to Delphos to the oracle, begging the favour of victory, and a prosperous issue of the war. Answer was made them, That the enemy were to be conquer'd by vows, before they could be conquered by arms. After they had vowed the tenths of the spoil to Apollo, the Locrensiens understanding both the vows of their enemies, and the answer of the God, they vowed the ninth, and kept that matter secret, that they might not be outdone in vows. Wherefore after they had marched out into the field, and a hundred and twenty thousand of the Crotonians stood drawn up against them, the Locrensiens considering the smallness of their number, (for they had only fifteen thousand soldiers) laying aside all hopes of victory, conspire together for a resolute death; and such a heat of courage possessed them upon despair, that they thought they should be conquerors, if they did not die unrevenged. But whilst they seek to die honourably, they fortunately conquered. Nor was there any other cause of their victory, than that they were desperate. Whilst the Locrians were fighting, an eagle never departed from the army, and flew about them so long, till they conquered. In the wings likewise two young men, in different suits of armour from the rest, of an extraordinary bigness, were seen fighting on white horses, and in red robes; nor did they appear any longer than the battle lasted. The incredible swiftness of fame increased this admiration. For the same day that the battle was fought in Italy, the news of the victory was told in Corinth, Athens, and Lacedemon.

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CAP. IV. Post hæc Crotoniensibus nulla virtutis exercitatio, nullo armorum cura fuit. Oderant enim quæ infeliciter sumpserant, mutuascentq; vitam luxuria, ni Pythagoras philosophus fuisset. Hic Sami Demarato locuplete negotiatore natus, magnisq; sapientiæ incrementis ornatus, Ægyptum primo, mox Babyloniam ad perdiscendos siderum motus, originemq; mundi spectandam profectus, summam scientiam consecutus erat. Inde regressus, Crætam & Lacedæmona, ad cognoscendas Minos & Lycurgi inclytas ea tempestate leges, contenderat. Quibus omnibus instructus Crotonam venit, populumq; in luxuriam lapsum, auctoritate sua ad usum frugalitatis revocavit. Laudabat quotidie virtutem, & vitia luxuriæ, casusque civitatum ea peste perditarum enumerabat; tantumque studium ad frugalitatem multitudinis provocavit, ut aliquos ex his luxuriatos incredibile videretur. Matronarum quoque separatam a viris doctrinam & puerorum a parentibus frequenter habuit. Docebat nunc has pudicitiam, & obsequia in viros; nunc illos modestiam, & literarum studium. Inter hæc velut geneticem virtutem frugalitatem omnibus ingerebat, consecutusq; disputationum assiduitate erat, ut matronæ auratas vestes, cæteraque dignitatis suæ ornamenta, velut instrumenta luxuriæ, deponerent, eaq; omnia delata in Junonis ædem ipsi deæ consecrarent, præ se ferentes, vera ornamenta matronarum pudicitiam, non vestes esse. In juventute quoque quantum profligatum sit, victi sceminarum contumaces animi manifestant. Sed ecc ex juvenibus, cum sodalitiis juris sacramento quodam

CHAP. IV. After this the Crotonians had no exercise of their valour, no care for arms. For they hated what they had so unfortunately taken up, and would have changed their then way of living for luxury, had not Pythagoras the philosopher been there. He was a native of Samos, the son of Demaratus, a rich merchant; and being trained up in the highest improvements of wisdom, he went first to Egypt, after that to Babylon, to learn the motions of the stars, and study the original of the world; and attained to very great knowledge. Upon his return from thence, he had gone to Crete and Lacedæmon, to get acquainted with the laws of Minos and Lycurgus, famous at that time. With all which being furnished, he came to Crotona, and recovered the people falling off to luxury, by his authority, to the practice of frugality, he commended virtue every day, and recounted the mischiefs of luxury, and the misfortunes of cities ruined by that plague; and raised in the people such a mighty zeal for good husbandry, that it was at last thought incredible that any of them should be luxurious. He frequently had lectures for the matrons apart from the men, and of children separate from the parents. He taught one while them chastity, and obedience to their husbands; another while these modesty, and the study of letters. And in the midst of this he inculcated upon all frugality, as the mother of all virtues; and he gained so much upon them by the constancy of his lectures, that the matrons laid by their raiment of cloth of gold, and other ornaments of their dignity, as instruments of luxury, and consecrated them all, being brought into Juno's temple, to the Goddess, declaring that the true ornaments of matrons were chastity, and not cloaths. How much he wrought upon the youth too, the stubborn minds of the women being subdued declare. But three hundred of the young men being united together by an oath of social right, and living a separate life from the rest of the citizens, as if they held a meeting for a secret conspiracy, turned the city upon them, which designed

next

nexi separatam a cæteris civibus vitam exercerent, quasi cœtum clandestinæ conjurationis haberent, civitatem in se converterunt, quæ eos cum in unam domum convenissent, cremare voluit. In quo tumultu LX ferme periere, cæteri in exilium profecti; Pythagoras autem cum annos xx Crotonæ egisset, Metapontum migravit, ibique decessit; cujus tanta admiratio fuit, ut ex domo ejus templum facerent, eumque pro deo colerent.

CAP. V. Igitur Dionysius tyrannus, quam supra a Sicilia exercitum in Italiam trajecisse, bellumque Græcis intulisse memoravimus, expugnatis Locris, Crotonienses vix vires longo otio ex prioris belli clade resumentes, aggreditur: qui fortius cum paucis tanto exercitui ejus, quam antea cum tot millibus Locrensiū paucitati restiterunt. Tantum virtutis paupertas adversus insolentes divitias habet, tantoque insperata interdum sperata victoria certior est. Sed Dionysium gerentem bellum, legati Gallorum, qui paucos ante menses Romam incenderant, societatem amicitiamque petentes adeunt; gentem suam inter hostes ejus positam esse, magnoque usui ei futurum vel in acie bellanti, vel de tergo, intentis in prælium hostibus affirmant. Grata legatio Dionysio fuit. Ita pacta societate, & auxiliis Gallorum auctus, bellum velut ex integro restauret. His autem Gallis causa in Italiam veniendi, sedesque; novas quærendi, intestina discordia, & assidue domi dissentiones fuere; quarum tædio, cum in Italiam venissent, sedibus Tuscos expulerunt; & Mediolanum, Comum, Brixiam, Veronam, Vergomum, Tridentum, Vicentiam condiderunt. Tusci quoque, duce Rhæto, avitis sedibus amissis, Alpes, occupavere; & ex nomi-

to burn them, upon their having met together in one house. In which uproar about sixty perished; the rest went into banishment. But Pythagoras, after he had lived twenty years at Crotona, removed to Metapontum, and there died. The admiration of whom was so great, that they made a temple of his house, and worshipped him for a God.

CHAP. V. Wherefore Dionysius the tyrant, who, we have said before, drew an army out of Sicily into Italy, and made war upon the Greeks, after he had taken Locri, falls upon the Crotonians, who had hardly recovered the strength by a long peace, after the loss of the former war; who with a few resisted so great an army of his more bravely than they had before with so many thousands the smaller number of the Locrensiens. So much prevalence has poverty against insolent riches, and so much more certain sometimes is a victory unexpected than one expected. But the ambassadors of the Gauls, who had burnt Rome some months before, came to Dionysius, as he was carrying on the war, desiring an alliance and friendship with him. They affirm, that their nation was situated among his enemies, and would be of great use to him, either fighting in the field, or in the rear of the enemy intent upon the battle. The embassy was well pleasing to Dionysius. Accordingly an alliance being agreed on, and being reinforced with the auxiliaries of the Gauls, he renews the war as it were afresh. Civil discord, and continual jars at home were the occasion of these Gauls coming into Italy, and seeking for new habitations there. Being tired with which after they came into Italy, they drove the Tuscans out of their habitations, and built Mediolanum, Comus, Brixia, Verona, Vergomus, Tridentum, and Vicentia. The Tuscans likewise under their leader Rhætus, having lost their old country, seized upon the Alps, and founded the nations of the Rætians, so called from the name of

ne ducis gentes Rhætorum condiderunt. Sed Dionysium in Siciliam adventus Carthaginensium revocavit; qui, reparato exercitu, bellum, quod lue deferuerant, auctis viribus repetebant. Dux belli Hanno Carthaginensis erat; cujus inimicus Suniatus, potentissimus ea tempestate Pœnorum, cum odio ejus, Græcis literis, Dionysio adventum exercitus & segnitiem ducis familiariter prænuntiasset, comprehensis epistolis, proditi-
onis damnatur, facto senatus consulto, ne quis postea Carthaginensis, aut literis Græcis, aut sermoni studeret; ne aut loqui cum hoste, aut scribere sine interprete posset. Nec multo post Dionysius, quem paulo ante non Sicilia, non Italia capiebat, assiduus belli certaminibus victus fructusque, insidiis ad postremum suorum interficitur.

their leader. But the coming of the Carthaginians recalled Dionysius into Sicily; who recruiting their army, renewed the war, which they had forsaken by reason of the plague, with improved strength. Hanno the Carthaginian was the general of this war, whose enemy Suniatus, the most powerful of the Carthaginians at that time, having out of hatred to him given notice to Dionysius, by a letter in Greek, of the coming of the army, and of the inactivity of the general, the letter being intercepted, he is condemned for treachery; a decree of the senate being made upon it, that for the future no Carthaginian should apply himself to the Grecian literature or language, that he might not be able to talk with the enemy, or write without an interpreter. Not long after Dionysius, whom a little before neither Sicily nor Italy could hold, being impaired and brought low by his continual contests in war, is slain at last by a plot of his own subjects.

L I B E R XXI.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. *Dionysii juniores artes tyrannicæ describuntur.*
2. *Ejusdem luxuria, crudelitas, doli, exilium, tyrannis in Locrenses.*
3. *Callido commento Locrenses spoliatur & obtruncat, ac Syracusas per prodicionem recipit.*
4. *Hannonis, tyrannidem Carthagini occupare tentatis, tragædia.*
5. *Dionysius junior, Sicilia ejectus, Corinthi moratur.*
6. *Hamilcarem, cognomine Rhodanum, Alexandri consilia speculatum, ingrati Carthaginenses interficiunt.*

EXtincto in Sicilia Dionysio tyranno, in locum ejus milites maximum natu ex filiis, ejus nomine Dionysium, suffecerunt; & naturæ jus secuti, & quod firmitus futurum esse regnum, si penes unum remansisset

AFTER Dionysius the tyrant was taken off in Sicily, the soldiers set up in his room the eldest of his sons, Dionysius by name; both following in that the law of nature, and because they thought the kingdom would be stronger, if it continued in the hands of one, than if it
quam

quam portionibus inter plures filios divideretur, arbitrabantur. Sed Dionysius inter initia regni, avunculos fratrum suorum, velut æmulus imperii sui, hortatoresque puerorum ad divisionem regni tollere gestiebat. Quare paulisper dissimulatum animum prius ad favorem popularium conciliandum intendit; excusatus facturus quod statuerat, si probatus ante omnibus foret. Igitur nexorum tria millia e carcere dimittit, tributa populo per triennium remittit, & quibuscunq; delinimentis potest, animus omnium sollicitat. Tunc ad destinatum facinus conversus non cognatus tantum fratrum, sed etiam ipsos interficit: ut, quibus consortium regni debebat ne spiritus quidem consortium relinqueret, tyrannidem in suos priusquam in externos, aspiciatus.

CAP. II. Sublatis deinde æmulis, in segnetiem lapsus saginam corporis ex nimia luxuria, oculorumque valetudinem contraxit, adeo ut non solem, non pulverem, non denique splendorem ferre lucis ipsius posset. Propter quæ dum contemni se putat, sævitia grassatur, nec ut pater, carcerem nexis, sed cædibus civitatem replet. Ob quæ non contemptior omnibus, quam invisior fuit. Itaq; cum bellum adversus eum Syracusani decrevisset, diu dubitavit, imperium deponeret, an bello resisteret. Sed a militibus, prædam & urbis direptionem sperantibus, descendere in prælium cogitur. Victus, cum iterato non felicius fortunam tentasset, legatos ad Syracusanos mittit, spondens se depositurum tyrannidem, si mitterent ad eum quibuscum sibi de pace conveniret. In quam rem missos primores in carcere reti-

should be divided by portions among several sons. But Dionysius, in the beginning of his reign, was very desirous to take off the uncles of his brothers, as his rivals for the kingdom, and encouragers of the boys to a partition of it. But concealing his intention for a while, he applies himself first to gain the favour of the people, being likely to do what he proposed more excusably, if he was beforehand approved by all. Wherefore he releases three thousand prisoners out of jail, and remits to the people the taxes for three years, and engages the affections of all men by whatsoever blandishments he can. And then turning to his intended villainy, he not only kills the relations of his brothers, but them too. So that he left not even a share of life to those, to whom he ought a share of his kingdom, beginning his tyranny upon his own relations, before he practised it upon strangers.

CHAP. II. His rivals being now taken off, giving himself up to sloth, he contracted a grossness of body by excessive luxury, and a distemper in his eyes, so that he could not endure the sun, nor dust, nor finally, the very splendor of the light. For which things whilst he thinks himself despised, he proceeds against his subjects with cruelty; nor does he fill the prison, like his father, with bondsmen, but the city with massacres. For which he was not more contemptible so much as he was more odious to all men. Wherefore the Syracusans having resolved upon a war against him, he was in doubt a long while, whether he should lay down the government, or oppose them by war. But he is obliged by the soldiers, who hoped for booty, and the plunder of the city, to march out to battle. Being defeated, and trying his fortune not more luckily a second time, he sends deputies to the Syracusans, promising, that he would lay down his usurped authority, if they would send some persons to him, with whom he might agree about a peace. For which purpose some of the grandees

net, atque ita incautis omnibus, nec quicquam hostili metuentibus, exercitum ad delendam civitatem mittit. Fit igitur in ipsa urbe anceps prælium; in quo oppidanis multitudine superantibus, Dionysius pellitur; qui cum obsidionem arcis timeret, cum omni regio apparatu in Italiam profugit tacitus. Exul a Locrensisbus fociis exceptus, velut jure regnaret, arcem occupat; solitamque sibi sævitiam exercet. Conjuges principum ad stuprum rapi jubebat; virgines ante nuptias abducebat, stupratasque sponis reddebat; locupletissimos quosque aut civitate pellebat, aut occidi imperabat, bonaque eorum invadebat.

CAP. III. Dein cum rapinæ occasio deesset, universam civitatem callido commento circumvenit. Cum Rheginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur, voverant, si victores forent, ut die festo Veneris virgines suas possetuerent. Quo voto intermisso, cum adversa bella cum Lucanis gererent, in concionem eos Dionysius vocat, hortatur, ut uxores filiasque suas in templum Veneris, quam possint ornatissimas, mittant, ex quibus sorte ducæ centum, voto publico fungantur, religionisque gratia, uno stent in lapanari mense, omnibus ante juratis viris ne quis ullam attaminet. Quæ res ne virginibus, voto civitatem solventibus, fraudi esset decretum facerent: ne qua virgo nuberet, priusquam illæ maritis traderentur. Probato consilio, quo & superstitioni & pudicitiae virginum consulebatur, certatim omnes fœminæ, impensius exornatæ, in templum Veneris conveniunt, quas omnes Dionysius immisiss militibus spoliat, ornamentaque

of them being sent, he detains them in prison; and so all being unaware of him, and fearing nothing of hostility, he sends his army to destroy the city. Wherefore a dubious engagement ensues in the city itself, in which the townsmen prevailing by their numbers, Dionysius is repulsed, who apprehending a siege of the citadel, got off privately into Italy, with all his royal furniture. The banished tyrant being received by the Locrensiens his allies, as if he had a right to the sovereignty among them, seizes the citadel, and practises his usual cruelty upon them. He orders the wives of the principal of them to be seized for ravishment, the young women he carried off before their marriage, and restored them, after he had deflowered them, to their spouses: the richest of them he either banished, or ordered to be put to death, and seized upon their estates.

CHAP. III. And now, when all opportunity for rapine was wanting, he trepanned the whole city by a crafty contrivance. The Locrensiens being distressed by a war of Leophron, the tyrant of the Rhegini, had vowed, if they were conquerors, to prostitute all their virgins to the festival of Venus. Which vow being neglected, and they being engaged in an unsuccessful war against the Lucanians, Dionysius calls them to an assembly, and advises them to send their wives and daughters into the temple of Venus, dressed up as fine as they could; out of which an hundred chosen by lot should fulfil the public vow, and on the score of satisfying their obligation, stand one month in the stews, the men being all sworn beforehand that no one should defile any of them. Which thing, that it might be no prejudice to the virgins, thus discharging the city of the obligation of their vow, they should make a decree, that no maid should marry before they were disposed of to husbands. This advice being approved, by which care was taken to satisfy their superstition, and secure the chastity of their virgins, all the women very forwardly repair to the temple of Venus, finely dressed; all which Dionysius, matronarum

matronarum in prædam suam vertit. Quarundam viros ditiores interficit, quasdam ad prodeundas virorum pecunias torquet. Cum his artibus per annos sex regnasset, conspiratione Locrorum civitate pulsus, in Siciliam redit. Ibi Syracusas, securis omnibus, post longam intercapedinem pacis, per prodicionem recipit.

CAP. IV. Dum hæc in Sicilia geruntur, interim in Africa princeps Carthaginensium Hanno opes suas, quibus vires reipublicæ superabat, ad occupandam dominationem intendit, regnumque invadere, interfecto senatu, conatus est. Cui sceleri solennem nuptiarum diem filix suæ legit, ut religione votorum nefanda commenta facilius tegerentur. Itaque plebi epulas in publicis porticibus, senatui in domo sua parat, ut, poculis veneno infectis, secretius senatum & sine arbitris interficeret, orbamque rempublicam facilius invaderet. Qua re magistratibus per ministros prodita, scelus declinatum, non vindicatum est, ne in viro tam potenti plus negotii faceret res cognita, quam cogitata. Contenti itaque cohibuisse, decreto modum nuptiarum sumptibus statuunt; idque observari non ab uno, sed ab universis jubent, ne persona designata, sed vitia correctæ viderentur. Hoc consilio præventus, iterum servitia concitat, statutaque rursus cædium die, cum denuo se proditum videret, timens iudicium, munitum quoddam castellum cum viginti milibus fervorum armatis occupat. Ibi, dum Afros regemque Maurorum concitat, capitur, virgisque cæsus, effossis oculis, & manibus cruribusque fractis, velut a singulis membris pœnæ exige-

nting in his soldiers, strips, and converts the finery of the matrons into plunder. The rich husbands of some he kills, some he tortures to betray their husbands' money. After he had reigned by these arts for six years, being driven out of the city by a confederacy of the Locrensiens against him, he returns into Sicily. There, whilst all were free from any apprehension of danger, after a long interval of peace, he recovers Syracuse.

CHAP. IV. Whilst these things are doing in Sicily, in the mean time in Africa Hanno, a leading man of the Carthaginians, employs his power, by which he overruled the strength of the government, to seize upon the sovereignty, and resolved to usurp a regal authority, by killing the senate. For the execution of which villainy, he chuses the day of his daughter's wedding, that his wicked contrivances might be the more easily covered under the sanctity of prayers. And accordingly he prepares a feast for the common people in the public piazza's, for the Senate in his own house, that the cups being infected with poison, he might take off the Senate the more privately, and without any witnesses by: and so the more easily seize upon the commonwealth, deprived of its governors. Which things being discovered to the magistrates by the servants, the villainous intention was declined, but not revenged, lest the thing, if publickly known, should occasion more bustle with so potent a man, than its being only designed could do. Wherefore being content to hinder it, by a decree they prescribe bounds to the expense of marriages, and order that to be observed not by him alone, but by all, that his person might not appear designed in the thing, but only vice to be corrected. Being prevented by this contrivance, again he raises the slaves, and having once more fixed a day for the massacre, when he found himself again betrayed, apprehending a trial for it, he seizes upon a certain strong castle with twenty thousand slaves in arms. There, whilst he raises the Africans, and the king of the Moors, he is taken, and being lashed with rods, his eyes

rentur,

rentur, in conspectu populi occiditur; corpus verberibus lacerum in cruce figitur. Filii quoque, cognatique omnes, etiam, innoxii, supplicio traduntur, ne quisquam aut ad imitandum scelus, aut ad mortem ulciscendam, ex tam nefaria domo superesset.

CAP. V. Interea Dionysius Syracusis receptus, cum gravior crudeliorque in dies civitati esset, iterata conspiratione obsidetur. Tunc deposito imperio, arcem Syracusanis cum exercitu tradit; receptoque privato instrumento, Corinthum in exilium proficiscitur. Ibi humillima quæque tutissima exillimans, in sordidissimum vitæ genus descendit; non contentus in publico vagari, sed potare; nec conspici in poponis, lupanaribusque, sed totis diebus desidere; cum perditissimo quoque de minimis rebus disceptare, pannosus & squalidus incedere; risum libentius præbere, quam captare; in marcello perflare; quod emere non poterat, oculis devorare; apud ædiles adversus lenones jugari; omniaque ista facere, ut contemnendus magis, quam metuendus videretur. Novissime, ludimagistrum professus, pueros in trivio docebat, ut aut a timentibus semper in publico videretur, aut a non timentibus facilius contemneretur. Nam lice tyrannicis vitiis semper abundaret: tamen simulatio hæc vitiorum, non naturæ erat, magisque hæc arte, quam omisso regali pudore faciebat, expertus quam invisa tyrannorum forent etiam sine opibus nomina. Laborabat itaque invidium præteritorum contemptu præsentium demere; neque honesta, sed tuta consilia circumspiciebat.

put out, and his hands and legs broke, as if punishment was exacted from every member, he is put to death in the sight of the people, and his body, torn with stripes, is fixed upon a cross. His sons likewise, and all his relations, tho' innocent, are delivered up to punishment, that no one of so wicked a family might be left either to imitate his villainy, or to revenge his death.

CHAP. V. In the mean time Dionysius being received at Syracuse, and being every day more intollerable, and more cruel to the city, is besieged by a renewed conspiracy against him. Then laying down the government, he delivers up the citadel with the army to the Syracusians, and receiving his private furniture, goes to Corinth into banishment. There looking upon the lowest circumstances as the safest, he submitted to the most sordid kind of life. Not content to stroll about in the streets, but he would drink there too. And not being content to be seen in victuallings-houses and stews, but he would stay loitering whole days together, would wrangle with every sorry fellow about the most trifling things, would go ragged and dirty, and more willingly furnish others with occasion of laughter, than take occasion for laughing himself; he would stand long in the shambles, and what he could not buy would devour with his eyes, would wrangle with the Lenos before the Ædiles, and all these things he did, that he might appear rather contemptible than terrible. At last he professed himself a schoolmaster, and taught children in the publick parts of the town, either that he might always be seen in the streets by those that feared him, or might be the more easily despised by them that did not fear him. For tho' he was always well stocked with the vices more peculiar to tyrants, yet this was only a counterfeiting of vice, and not natural; and he did these things rather out of art, than that he had lost the modesty becoming a king, having found how odious the names of tyrants were, even without the power. Wherefore he endeavoured to take off the odium due to his past conduct,

Inter

Inter has tamen simulationum artes infimulatus est affectatæ tyrannidis, nec aliter quam dum contemnitur, liberatus est.

CAP. VI. Inter hæc Carthaginienses tanto successu rerum Alexandri Magni exterriti, verentes ne Persico regno & Africam vellet adjungere, mittunt ad speculandos ejus animos Hamilcarem, cognomento Rhodanum, virum solertia facundiaq; præter cæteros insignum. Augebant enim metum, & Tyrus urbs, auctor originis suæ, capta & Alexandria æmula Carthaginis, in terminis Africæ & Ægypti condita, & felicitas regis apud quem nec cupiditas, nec fortuna ullo modo terminabantur. Igitur Hamilcar per Parmenionem aditu regis obtento, profugisse se ad regem expulsum patria fingit, militemq; se expeditionis offert. Atque ita consiliis ejus exploratis, in tabellis ligneis, vacua desuper cera inducta, civibus suis omnia prescribebat. Sed Carthaginienses post mortem regis reversum in patriam, quasi urbem regi venditasset, non ingrato tantum, verum etiam invidio & crudeli animo necaverunt.

by the contemptibleness of his present circumstances. Nor did he pursue honourable, but safe councils. Yet in the midst of all these arts of dissimulation, he was accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, nor was he any otherwise delivered from that charge, than as he was despised.

CHAP. VI. During these things, the Carthaginians being terrified with the success of the affairs of Alexander, and fearing lest he should be desirous to add Africa to the kingdom of the Persians, they send Hamilcar, by surname Rhodanus, a man remarkable for his dexterity in business, and eloquence, above the rest of the Carthaginians, to sound his intentions. For both the city Tyre, that had given rise to them, being taken, and Alexandria built in the confines of Africa and Egypt, as a rival to Carthage, and the success of the king, with whom neither ambition nor fortune were bounded by any measures, increased their fears. Wherefore Hamilcar having obtained admittance to the king by Parmenio, pretends, that being banished his country, he was fled to the king; and offers himself as a soldier in the expedition he was about. And so having discovered his intentions, he writ an account of all things to his countrymen in wooden tablets, with empty wax drawn over the writing. But the Carthaginians put him to death upon his return into his country after the king's decease, as if he had offered to sell the city to the King, not only with an ungrateful, but even with an envious and cruel mind.

LIBER XXII.

BREVARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Agathoclis Siciliæ tyranni pueritia adolescentia, misera conditio, felicitas bellica, nova dignitas, perfidia, crudelitas, tyrannis.
2. Ope Hamilcaris Syracusis potitur.
3. Bella Agathoclis.
4. Syracusis a Carthaginiensibus obsessis, Agathocles audaci consilio bellum in Africam infert.

5. Exposito

5. *Exposito in littore Africæ exercitu, gravi oratione suos ad pugnam accendit.*
6. *Discussa superstitionis nebula, & navibus incensis, Carthaginienses prælio superat, & urbes nobilissimas recipit.*
7. *Siciliam Carthaginienses relinquere coguntur, & infelicer cum Agathocle pugnant in Africa. Fatum acerbum Arphellæ & Bomilcare.*
8. *Agathocles totius Siciliæ imperium occupat: in Africam reversus infelicer pugnat, castra deserit unde militum dejectio: filiorum Agathoclis mors cruenta: & Agathoclis pax inita cum Carthaginiensibus.*

C A P U T I.

Agathocles Siciliæ tyrannus, qui magnitudini prioris Dionysii successit, ad regni majestatem ex humili & sordido genere pervenit. Quippe in Sicilia patre figulo natus, non honestiorem pueritiam, quam principia originis habuit. Siquidem forma & corporis pulchritudine egregius diu vitam stupri patientia exhibuit. Annos deinde pubertatis egressus libidinem a viris ad fœminas transtulit. Post hæc apud utrumque sexum famosus vitam latrocinii mutavit. Interjecto tempore, cum Syracusas concessisset, adscitusque in civitatem inter incolas esset, diu sine fide fuit; quoniam nec fortunis quod amitteret, nec in verecundia quod inquinaret, habere videbatur. In summa gregariam militiam fortius non minus tunc seditiosa, quam antea turpi vita, in omne facinus promptissimus erat. Nam & manu sirenuus & in concionibus perfacundus habebatur. Brevi itaq; centurio ac deinceps tribunus militum factus est. Primo bello adversus Ætneos magna experimenta sui Syracusanis dedit. Sequenti Campanorum, tantam de se spem omnibus fecit, ut in locum demortui duces Damasconis sufficeretur. Cujus uxorem adulterio cognitam post mortem viri in matrimonium recepit. Nec contentus quod ex inope repente

Agathocles the tyrant of Sicily, who succeeded to the greatness of the former Dionysius, attained to royal dignity from a mean and sordid extract. For being born in Sicily, and from a father that was a potter, he spent the time of his youth in a way not more honourable than his original. For being extraordinary for beauty and handsomeness of person, he for a long time got his living by suffering the most infamous abuse. Then entering upon the years of puberty, he transferred his lust from men to women. After that being infamous with both sexes, he changed that way of life for robbery. Some time after having withdrawn to Syracuse, and being taken into the city among the inhabitants, he was a long time without any credit; because he neither seemed to have any thing in his fortune to lose, nor in his modesty to defile. In fine, engaging in the service as a common soldier, his life being then no less seditious than scandalous before, he was very ready for all manner of villainy. For he was reckoned brave in action, and very eloquent in harangues. Wherefore in a short time he was made a centurion, and afterwards a tribune of the soldiers. In the first war against the Ætneans, he gave noble specimens of himself to the Syracusans. In the following war of the Campanians, he gave all people such great hopes of him, that he was put in the room of the general Damascon deceased; whose wife being known in adultery, after the death of her husband, he took in marriage. And not content, that of a poor man he was on a sudden become rich, he practised piracy against his country. His security
dives

dives factus esset, piraticam adversus patriam exercuit. Saluti ei fuit, quod socii capti tortiq; de illo negaverunt. Bis occupare imperium Syracusarum voluit; bis in exilium actus est.

CAP. II. A Murgantinis apud quos exulabat, odio Syracusanorum, primo prætor, mox dux creatur. In eo bello & urbem Leontinorum capit, & patriam suam Syracusas obsidere cœpit; ad cuius auxilium Hamilcar, dux Pœnorum, imploratus, depositis hostilibus odiis, præsidia militum mittit. Ita uno eodemq; tempore Syracusæ, & ab hoste, civili amore defensæ, & a cive, hostili odio impugnatae sunt. Sed Agathocles, cum videret fortius defendi urbem quam oppugnari, precibus per internuntios Hamilcarem exorat, ut inter se & Syracusanos pacis arbitria suscipiat, peculiaria in ipsum officia sua repromittens. Quaspe impletus Hamilcar societatem cum eo metu potentiae ejus jungit; ut quantum virium Agathocli adversus Syracusanos dedisset, tantum ipse ad incrementa domesticæ potentiae recuperaret. Igitur non pax tantum Agathocli conciliatur, verum etiam prætor Syracusis constituitur. Tunc Hamilcari expositis ignibus cereis tatisque in obsequia Pœnorum jurat. Deinde acceptis ab eo quinque millibus Afrorum, potentissimos quosque ex principibus interficit; atq; ita veluti reipublicæ statum formaturus populum in theatrum ad concionem vocari jubet, contracto in gymnasio senatu quasi quædam prius ordinaturus. Sic compositis rebus, immisissis militibus populum obsidit, senatum trucidat; cuius peracta cæde, ex plebe quoque locupletissimos & promptissimos interficit.

was, that his accomplices being taken and tortured, denied as to him. He twice attempted to seize the government of Syracuse, was forced into banishment.

CHAP. II. He is made first prætor, and then general by the Murgantini, with whom he was in banishment, out of hatred to the Syracusans. In that war he both takes the city of the Leontini, and begun to besiege his native city Syracuse: to whose assistance Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginians, being invited, laying aside the hatred of an enemy, sends him a garrison of soldiers. Thus at one and the same time Syracuse was defended by an enemy with the love of a citizen, and attacked by a citizen with the hatred of an enemy. But Agathocles seeing the city more bravely defended than attacked, with entreaties prevailed upon Hamilcar by deputies to undertake the mediation of a peace betwixt him and the Syracusans, promising on his part singular good services for it. With which hopes Hamilcar being full, makes an alliance with him for fear of his power, that as much strength as he furnished Agathocles with against the Syracusans, so much he himself should receive for the increase of his power at home. Wherefore not only a peace is procured Agathocles, but he is likewise made Prætor at Syracuse. Then, wax-lights being brought and touched, he swears to Hamilcar obedience to the Carthaginians. And then receiving from him five thousand Africans, he put to death the most powerful of the great men. And thus, as if designing to form the state of the commonwealth, he orders the people to be called together into the theatre into an assembly, having drawn the Senate together in a Gymnasium, as if designing to settle some matters first. Matters being thus laid, sending his soldiers to the theatre, he besieges the people there, massacres the senate; the slaughter of whom being ended, he likewise put to death the richest and boldest of the common people.

CAP.

CAP. III. His ita gestis, militem legit, exercitumq; conscribit; quo instructus finitimas civitates nihil hostile metuentes ex improvise aggreditur. Pœnorum quoq; socios, permittente Hamilcare, fœdē vexat: propter quod querelas Carthaginem socii, non tam de Agathocle, quam de Hamilcare detulerunt; hunc ut dominum & tyrannum, illum ut proditorem arguentes; a quo infestissimo hosti, fortunæ sociorum, interposito pactione donatæ sint; sicut ab initio Syracusæ in pignus societatis sint traditæ, urbs semper Pœnis infesta & de imperio Sicilia Carthaginis æmula; nunc insuper civitates sociorum eidem titulo pacis addictas. Denuntiare igitur se, hæc brevī ad ipsos redundatura, ac propediem sensuros, quantum malum non Siciliae magis, quam ipsi Africae attulerint. His querelis senatus in Hamilcarem accenditur. Sed quoniam in imperio esset, tacita de eo suffragia tulerunt, & sententias, priusquam recitarentur, in urnam conjecta obsignari jusserunt, dum alter Hamilcar, Gisconis filius, a Sicilia reverteretur. Sed hæc callida commenta Pœnorum, & sententias inauditas mors Hamilcaris prævenit, liberatusque est fati munere, quem sui per injuriam cives inauditum damnaverant. Quæ res Agathocli adversus Pœnas occasionem movendi belli dedit. Prima igitur illi cum Hamilcare, Gisconis filio, prælii congressio fuit; a quo victus majore mole reparaturus bellum Syracusas concessit, sed secundi certaminis eadem fortuna, quæ & prioris fuit.

CAP. IV. Cum igitur victores Pœni Syracusas obsidione cinxissent, Agathoclesque se nec

CHAP. III. *These things being thus done, he levies soldiers, and raises an army; with which being provided, he attacks by surprize the neighbouring cities, apprehensive of no hostilities; and basely harrasses the allies of the Carthaginians, by the permission of Hamilcar: for which reason the allies carry their complaints to Carthage, not so much against Agathocles, as Hamilcar; charging the one as a lord and a tyrant, and the other as a traytor; by whom the fortunes of their allies had been given up to their most bitter enemies, upon an agreement that passed betwixt them; as at first Syracuse had been delivered up as a pledge of their confederacy, a city always an enemy to the Carthaginians, and a rival of Carthage for the mastery of Sicily; and now besides that the cities of their allies were turned over to them under the colour of a peace. Wherefore they forewarned them, that these things in a short time would come home to them, and that they would quickly perceive, how much mischief they had brought upon, not Sicily, more than Africa itself. By these complaints the Senate is inflamed against Hamilcar. But because he was in commission as general, they gave their votes about him in secret, and ordered the sentences, when thrown into the urn, to be sealed up before they were read over, till the other Hamilcar, the son of Giscon, returned from Italy. But these cunning inventions of the Carthaginians, and unheard-of sentences the death of Hamilcar prevented, and he was delivered by the kindness of his destiny, whom his fellow-citizens had condemned injuriously unheard. Which thing gave Agathocles an occasion of raising a war against the Carthaginians. His first rencounter of a battle was with Hamilcar Giscon's son, by whom being defeated, he withdrew to Syracuse, in order to renew the war with greater strength. But the fortune of the second battle was the same as that of the first.*

CHAP. IV. *When therefore the victorious Carthaginians had shut up Syracuse by a close siege, and Agathocles saw that*

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viribus parem, neque ad obsidionem ferendam instructum videret; super hæc a sociis crudelitate ejus offensis desertus esset, statuit bellum in Africam transferre. Mira prorsus audacia, ut quibus in solo urbis suæ par non erat, eorum urbi bellum inferret; & qui sua tueri non poterat; impugnaret aliena, victusq; victoribus insultaret. Hujus consilii non minus admirabile silentium, quam commentum fuit. Populo hoc solum professus invenisse se victoriæ viam; animos illi tantum in brevem obsidionis patientiam firmarent; vel si cui status præsentis fortunæ displiceret, dare se ei discedendi liberam potestatem. Cum mille sexcenti discessissent, cæteros ad obsidionis necessitatem frumento & stipendio instruit; quinquaginta tantum secum talenta ad præsentem usum aufert, cætera ex hoste melius, quam ex sociis paraturus. Omnes deinde servos, militaris ætatis, libertate donatos, sacramento adegit, eosq; & majorem partem ferme militum navibus imponit; ratus exæquata utriusq; ordinis conditione, mutuum inter eos virtutis æmulationem futuram; cæteros omnes ad tutelam patriæ reliquit.

CAP. V. Septimo igitur imperii anno, comitibus duobus adultis filiis, Archagatho & Heraclida, nullu militum sciente quo veheretur, cursum in Africam dirigit. Cum omnes aut in Italiam prædatum se, aut in Sardiniam ituros crederent, tum primum, exposito in Africæ littore exercitu, consilium suum omnibus aperit. Quo in loco Syracusæ positæ sint, ostendit, quibus aliud nullum auxilium superesset, quam ut hostibus faciant, quæ ipsi patiantur. Quippe aliter domi,

he was not equal to them in strength, nor provided for enduring a siege; and besides, that he was forsaken by his allies, who were offended with his cruelty, he resolves to transfer the war into Africa. It was wonderful boldness indeed to make war upon the city of those, of whom he was not a match in the soil of his own city; and that he who could not defend his own country, should invade that of others; and tho' conquered, insult over the conquerors. The concealment of this design was no less wonderful than the contrivance. He only declared this to the people, that he had found out a way to victory, provided they would but resolutely set their minds for the short enduring of the siege; or if the condition of their present fortune displeased any of them, he gave them leave to depart. Upon this a thousand six hundred departing, he furnishes the rest with corn and money for the necessity of a siege; he only carries fifty talents along with him for present use, being like to provide himself with other things better from the enemy, than from his allies. Then he obliged all the slaves of an age fit for war, being first presented with their freedom, to take the military oath, and puts them, and almost the greatest part of the soldiers on board his ships; supposing the condition of both being made equal, there would be a mutual emulation betwixt them in the point of good behaviour. He left all the rest for the defence of their country.

CHAP. V. Wherefore in the seventh year of his reign, with his two sons now adult attending him, Archagathus and Heraclidas, none of the soldiers knowing whither he was going, he steers his course for Africa. Whilst all thought they were a going either into Italy a plundering, or into Sardinia, then first of all, having landed his army upon the coast of Africa, he discovers his design to them all. He shews them in what place Syracuse lay, for which there was no other relief, but that they should do to the enemy what they themselves suffered. For wars were managed one way at home, another a-

aliter

aliter foris bella tractari. Domi ea sola auxilia esse, quæ patriæ vires subministrant; foris hostem etiam suis viribus vinci, deficientibus sociis, & odio diuturni imperii extera auxilia circumspicientibus. Huc accedere, quod urbes, castellaq; Africa non muris cinctæ, non in montibus posita sint, sed in planis campis, sine ullis munimentis jaceant; quas omnes metu excidii faciles ad belli societatem perlici posse. Majus igitur Carthaginensibus ab ipsa Africa, quam ex Sicilia exarsurum bellum, coituraque auxilia omnium adversus unam urbem, nomine quam opibus ampliores, & quas non attulerit vires, inde sumpturum. Nec in repentino Pænorum metu modicum momentum victoriæ fore, qui tanta audacia hostium percussi trepidaturi sint. Accessura & villarum incendia, castellorum urbiumque contumacium direptionem, tum ipsius Carthaginis obsidionem. Quibus omnibus non sibi tantum in alios, sed & aliis in se sentient patere bella. His non solum Pænos vinci sed & Siciliam liberari posse. Nec enim moraturos in ejus obsidione hostes, cum sua urgerentur. Nusquam igitur alibi facilius bellum, sed nec prædam uberius inveniri posse. Nam capta Carthagine omnem Africam Siciliamque præmium victorum fore. Gloriam certe tam honestæ militiæ tantam in omne ævum futuram, ut terminari nullo tempore oblivione possit. Ut dicatur eos solos mortaliū esse, qui bella, quæ domi ferre non poterant, ad hostes transtulerint, victique victores infecuti sint, & obsessores urbis suæ obsederint. Omnibus igitur forti ac læto animo bellum ineundum, quo nullum aliud possit aut præmium victoribus uberius, aut victis monumentum illustrius dari.

broad. At home all their support was what the strength of their country supplied: that abroad the enemy was conquered by their own strength, their allies revolting, and looking out for foreign help, from an aversion to their long continued dominion. To this was superadded, that the cities and castles of Africa were not surrounded with walls, nor placed upon mountains, but laid in the plain fields, without any fortifications; all which would easily be brought over to join in the war, by the fear of destruction. Wherefore a greater war would break out against the Carthaginians from Africa itself, than from Sicily; and that the forces of all would draw together against one city, greater in name than power; and that he should take from them the strength which he had not brought *with him*. Nor would there be a small advantage for *the gaining of victory*, in the sudden fear of the Carthaginians, who being astonished at the mighty boldness of the enemy, would be in a mighty consternation. To *these things* would be added likewise the firing of country houses, the plundering of castles and cities *that were* contumacious, as also the siege of Carthage itself. By all which things they will find that wars were not only feasible for them against others, but for others against them. By *these means* not only the Carthaginians would be conquered, but Sicily likewise might be freed from them. For the enemy would not continue in the siege of Siracuse, when their own country was in distress. That therefore the war could be found to be more easy no where else, nor plunder more plentiful. For if Carthage should be taken, all Africa and Sicily would be the reward of the conquerors. The glory however of so honourable an expedition would be so considerable to all ages, that it could in no time be bounded by oblivion. That it might be said, that they were the only men of all mankind who transferred the war they were not able to abide at home to their enemies,

and

and tho' conquered, pursued their conquerors, and besieged the besiegers of their city. Wherefore they ought all to enter upon the war with a courageous and joyful mind, than which there could not be given a more ample reward to them if conquerors, nor a more illustrious monument to them if conquered.

CAP. VI. His quidam adhortationibus animi militum erigebantur; sed terrebat eos portenti religio quod navigantibus eis sol defecerat. Cujus rei rationem non minore cura rex, quam belli reddebat, affirmans, si priusquam profiscerentur, factum esset, crediturum adversus profecturos prodigium esse: nunc quod egressis acciderit, illis ad quod eatur portendere. Porro defectus naturalium siderum semper presentem rerum statum mutare; certumque esse florentibus Carthaginiensium opibus, adversisque rebus suis commutationem significari. Sic consolatis militibus, universas naves consentiente exercitu incendi jubet, ut omnes scirent, auxilio fugæ adempto, aut vincendum, aut moriendum esse. Deinde cum omnia, quacunque ingrederentur, posternerent, villas castellaque; incenderent, obvi-
us eis fuit cum xxx millibus Pœnorum Hanno; sed prælio commisso, duo de Siculis, tria millia de Pœnis, cum ipso duce cecidere. Hac victoria & Siculorum animi eriguntur, & Pœnorum franguntur. Agathocles victis hostibus, urbes castellaque expugnat, prædas ingentes agit, hostium multa millia trucidat. Castra deinde in quinto lapide a Carthagine statuit, ut damna carissimarum rerum, vastitatemque agrorum & incendia villarum, de muris ipsius urbis specularentur. Interea ingens tota Africa deleti Pœnorum exercitus fama, occupatarumque urbium, divulgatur. Stupor itaque omnes & admiratio incessit, unde tanto imperio tam subitum bellum,

CHAP. VI. The minds of the soldiers were raised by these exhortations; but a superstitious whim of an omen terrified them, because the sun was eclipsed as they sailed. The reason of which thing the king gave them with no less care, than he did that of the war; affirming, If it had happened before they came from home, he should have thought the prodigy had been against their going; now seeing it happened after they were come out, it portended ill to those against whom they were going. Besides, the eclipses of the luminaries did always change the present state of affairs; and that it was certain a change was signified in the flourishing state of the Carthaginians, and in all their circumstances. Having thus comforted his soldiers, he orders all the ships to be set on fire, with the consent of the army, that all might know, all relief from flight being thus taken away, they might either conquer, or die. Then as they laid all flat before them wherever they came, set fire to the country-houses and castles, Hanno met them with thirty thousand Carthaginians; but a battle being fought, two thousand of the Sicilians, three thousand of the Carthaginians, with their general, fell. By this victory both the minds of the Sicilians are encouraged, and those of the Carthaginians dejected. Agathocles having defeated the enemy, takes their cities and castles, sweeps a great deal of plunder, and kills many thousands of the enemy. After that he pitches his camp five miles from Carthage, that they might see from the walls of their city, the loss of their dearest things, the wasting of their lands, and the firing of their country-houses. In the mean time a mighty rumour is spread all over Africa of the destructions of the Carthaginian army, and the taking of their cities. Wherefore amazement and admiration seized upon all people, from whence so sudden a war could præsertim

præsertim ab hoste jam victo. Admiratio deinde paulatim in contemptum Pœnorum vertitur. Nec multo post, non Afri tantum, verum etiam urbes nobilissimæ novitatem secutæ, ad Agathoclem defecere; frumentoque & stipendio victorem instruxere.

CAP. VII. His Pœnorum malis etiam deletus in Sicilia cum imperatore exercitus, velut quidam ærumnarum cumulus accessit. Nam post profectionem a Sicilia Agathoclis, in obsidione Syracusarum Pœni segniores redditæ, ad Antandro, fratre regis Agathoclis, occisione cæsi nuntiabantur. Itaque cum domi forisq; eadem fortuna Carthaginiensium esset, jam non tributariæ tantum ab his urbes, verum etiam focii reges deficiebant, amicitiarum jura non fide, sed successu ponderantes. Erat inter cæteros, rex Cyrenarum Aphellas, qui spe improba regnum totius Africæ amplexus societatem cum Agathocle per legatos junxerat, pactusq; cum eo fuerat, ut Siciliæ illi, sibi Africæ imperium victis Carthaginiensibus, cederet. Itaq; cum ad belli societatem cum ingenti exercitu ipse venisset, Agathocles blando alloquio & humili adulatione, cum sæpius simul cœnassent, adoptatusq; filius ejus ab Aphella esset, incautum interficit; occupatoque exercitu ejus, iterato Carthaginienses omnibus viribus bellum cientes, magno utriusq; exercitus sanguine, gravi prælio superat. Hoc certaminis discrimine tanta desperatio illata Pœnis est, ut nisi in exercitu Agathoclis orta seditio fuisset, transiturus ad eum Bomilcar rex Pœnorum, cum exercitu fuerit. Ob quam noxam in medio foro a Pœnis patibulo

come upon so mighty an empire, especially from an enemy already conquered. Then their admiration by little and little is changed into a contempt of the Carthaginians. And not long after, not only the Africans, but the noblest cities, out of fondness for novelty, revolted to Agathocles, and furnished the conqueror with corn and money.

CHAP. VII. To these misfortunes of the Carthaginians, the cutting off of their army, with their general, in Sicily, was added as another heap of misfortunes. For after the departure of Agathocles from Sicily, the Carthaginians being rendered more lazy in the siege of Syracuse, were said to be cut off with an entire destruction, by Antander the brother of king Agathocles. Wherefore when the fortune of the Carthaginians was the same at home and abroad, now not only the tributary cities but likewise kings their allies revolted from them, weighing the rights of friendship, not by faith, but success. There was among others a king of Cyrene, by name Aphellas, who with extravagant hopes grasping at the dominion of all Africa, had made an alliance with Agathocles by his ambassadors, and had agreed with him, that the dominion of Sicily should fall to him, but that of Africa to himself, when the Carthaginians were conquered. Wherefore when he came to join in the war with a great army, Agathocles took him off, being rendered incautious by his fawning address, and low flattery, after they had supped together several times, and he had been adopted as his son by Aphellas; and seizing his army, he again defeats in a mighty battle the Carthaginians renewing the war with all their strength, with a great slaughter of both armies. By this battle the Carthaginians were struck with so much despair, that unless a sedition had broke out in the army of Agathocles, Bomilcar, king of the Carthaginians, would have gone over to him with his army. For which crime he was fixed to a cross by the Carthaginians in the middle of the Forum, that the same place might be a monument of his punishment, which had been before

suffixus

suffixus est; ut idem locus monumentum suppliciorum ejus esset, qui ante fuerat ornamentum honorum. Sed Bomilcar magno animo crudelitatem civium tulit, adeo ut de summa cruce veluti de tribunali, in Pœnorum scelera concionaretur; objectans illis nunc *Hannonem falsa affectati regni invidia circumventum*; nunc *Gisconis innocentis exilium*; nunc *in Hamilcarem patrum suum tacita suffragia, quod Agathoclem socium illis facere quam hostem maluerit*. Hæc cum in maxima populi concioni vociferatus esset, expiravit.

CAP. VIII. Interea Agathocles, profligatis in Africa rebus, tradito Archagatho filio exercitu in Siciliam recurrit; nihil actum in Africa existimans, si amplius Syracusæ obsiderentur. Nam post occisum Hamilcarem, Gisconis filium, novus eo a Pœnis missus exercitus fuerat. Statim igitur primo adventu ejus Siciliæ urbes, auditis rebus quas in Africa gesserat, certatim se ei tradunt; atq; ita pulsus e Sicilia Pœnis totius, insulæ imperium occupavit. In Africam deinde reversus seditione militum excipitur. Nam stipendiorum solutio in adventum patris dilata a filio fuerat. Igitur ad concionem vocatos blandis verbis permulsit: *stipendia illis non a se flagitanda esse, sed ab hoste quærenda: communem victoriam, communem prædam futuram*. Paulum modo anniterentur, dum belli reliquæ peraguntur, cum sciant, Carthaginem captam spes omnium expleturam. Sedato militari tumultu interjectis diebus, ad castra hostium exercitum ducit; ibi inconsultius prælium committendo majorem partem exercitus perdidit. Cum itaque in castra fugisset, versamque in se

an ornament to his honours. But Bomilcar bore the cruelty of his countrymen with great resolution; so that he harangued from the top of the cross, as from a rostrum, against the villainy of the Carthaginians; upbraiding them one while with Hanno, who had been taken off by a false odium upon pretence of his aspiring to the sovereignty; another while with the banishment of innocent Gisco; another while with their clandestine votes against his uncle Hamilcar, because he chose rather to make Agathocles their ally than their enemy. After he had with a loud voice uttered these things in a very great assembly of the people, he expired.

CHAP. VIII. In the mean time Agathocles, his business being almost done in Africa, delivering up his army to his son Archagathus, returns into Sicily, thinking nothing had been done in Africa, if Syracuse was besieged any longer. For after Hamilcar, the son of Gisco was slain, a new army was sent thither by the Carthaginians. Wherefore immediately upon his first arrival, the cities of Sicily having heard of the exploits which he had performed in Africa, very forwardly surrendered themselves up to him. And thus driving the Carthaginians out of Sicily, he seized the government of the whole island. Then returning into Africa, he is entertained by a mutiny of the soldiers. For the payment of the soldiers had been put off by the son 'till the coming of his father. Wherefore he soothes them, being called to an assembly, with smooth words; That their pay was not to be demanded from him, but to be sought from the enemy; that the victory would be common, and the plunder common, would they but exert themselves a little, 'till the remainder of the war was finished; since they knew that Carthage, once taken, would satisfy all their hopes. This mutiny of the soldiers being quelled, he leads his army to the enemy's camp. There he lost the greater part of his army, by unadvisedly joining battle with them. Wherefore flying into his camp, and finding the

invidiam temere commissi belli videret, pristinamque offensam non depensi stipendii metueret; concubia nocte solus a castris cum Archagatho filio profugit. Quod ubi milites cognovere, haud secus, quam si ab hoste capti essent, trepidavere; his se a rege suo in mediis hostibus relictos esse, proclamantes, salutemque suam desertam ab eo esse, quorum ne sepultura quidem relinquenda fuerit. Cum persequi regem vellent, a Numidis excepti, in castra revertuntur, comprehenso tamen reductoq; Archagatho, qui a patre noctis errore discesserit. Agathocles autem navibus, quibus reversus a Sicilia fuerat, cum custodibus earundem, Syracusas deferitur. Exemplum flagitii singulare, rex exercitus sui desertor, filiorumque pater proditor. Interim in Africa post fugam regis milites pactione cum hostibus facta, interfectis Agathoclis liberis, Carthaginensibus se tradidere. Archagathus cum occideretur ab Arcesilao, amico antea patris, rogavit eum quidnam liberis ejus facturum Agathoclem putet, per quem ipse liberis careat? Tunc respondit, satis habere se quod superstites eos esse Agathoclis liberis sciat. Post hæc Pæni ad persequendum bellis reliquias duces in Siciliam miserunt, cum quibus Agathocles pacem æquis conditionibus fecit.

odium of this rash engagement turned upon himself, and fearing the revival of their former displeasure for the non-payment of their arrears; about midnight he fled alone, with his son Archagathus, from the camp. Which when the soldiers understood, they were no less terrified, than if they had been taken by the enemy; crying out, they were twice left by their king in the middle of their enemies; and that their protection had been deserted by him, whose burial ought not to have been unregarded. Intending to pursue after the king, and being met with by some Numidians, they return into the camp; having caught however and brought back Archagathus, who by a mistake in the night had parted with his father. But Agathocles arrives at Syracuse in the ships wherein he had returned from Sicily, with those appointed to guard them. A singular instance of villainy, a king the deserter of his army, and a father the betrayer of his own sons. In the mean time in Africa, after the flight of the king, the soldiers making a capitulation with the enemy, and killing the children of Agathocles, surrendered themselves to the Carthaginians. Archagathus, when he was put to death by Arcesilaus, a friend before of his father, asked him, What he thought Agathocles would do with his children, by whom he was deprived of his own children? Upon that he replied, He was satisfied, so long as he knew they would survive the children of Agathocles. After this the Carthaginians sent generals into Sicily, to go on with what remained of the war there; with whom Agathocles made a peace upon equal terms.

LIBER XXIII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Agathocles transit in Italiam adversus Brutios: quorum origo & potentia paucis perstringitur.*

2. *Agathocles*

2. *Agathocles vi morbi expugnatus revertitur in Siciliam, ubi turbæ domesticæ, quæ uxorem & liberos Agathoclis in Ægyptum pellunt. Agathoclis obitus.*
3. *Pyrrhi Epirotæ bella & res pestæ, cum in Sicilia, tum in Italia.*
4. *Hieronis, Siciliæ principis laudatissimi, dignitas & virtus.*

CAPUT I.

Agathocles, rex Siciliæ, pacificatus cum Carthaginensibus, partem civitatum a se fiducia virium dissidentium armis subegit. Dein quasi angustis insulæ terminis clauderetur, cuius imperii partem primis incrementis ne speraverat quidem in Italiam transcendit; exemplum Dionysii secutus, qui multas civitates Italiæ subegerat. Primi igitur hostes illi Brutii fuere, qui & fortissimi tum & opulentissimi videbantur, simul & ad injurias vicinorum prompti. Nam multas civitates Græci nominis Italia expulerant; auctores quoque suos Lucanos bello vicerant, & pacem cum his æquis legibus fecerant. Tanta feritas animorum erat, ut nec origini suæ parcerent. Namque Lucani iisdem legibus liberos suos, quibus & Spartani instituere soliti erant. Quippe ab initio pubertatis in silvis inter pastores habebantur, sine ministerio servili, sine veste quam induerent, vel cui incubarent; ut a primis annis duritiæ parcimoniæque, sine ullo usu urbis, assuescerent. Cibus his prædo venatica; potus, aut lactis, aut fontium liquor erat. Sic ad labores bellicos indurabantur. Horum igitur ex numero quinquaginta primo ex agris finitimorum, prædari soliti, confluentes deinde multitudine, sollicitati præda, cum plures facti essent, infestas regiones reddebant. Itaque fatigatus querelis sociorum Dionysius, Siciliæ tyrannus, sexcentos Afros ad compescen-

Agathocles the king of Sicily, having clapt up a peace with the Carthaginians, subdued by his arms a part of the cities that fell off from him, in confidence of their strength. Then as if he was couped up within too narrow limits of an island, a part of the dominion of which in his first rise he had not in the least hoped for, he goes over into Italy; following the example of Dionysius, who had subdued many cities of Italy. Wherefore the Bruti were his first enemies, who seemed then the bravest and the wealthiest, and at the same time forward enough to the abuse of their neighbours: for they had driven many cities of the Græcian name out of Italy. They had likewise conquered in war the Lucanians their founders, and had made a peace with them upon equal terms. Such was the violence of their tempers, that they would not spare their founder. For the Lucanians were used to educate their children under the same regulations as the Spartans. For from the beginning of their puberty they were kept in the woods among the shepherds, without any attendance of slaves, without any cloaths to put on, or lie upon; that from their early years they might be inured to hardiness and frugality, without any intercourse with the town. Their meat was game taken in hunting; their drink, either the liquor of milk, or of springs. Thus were they hardened for the toils of war. Wherefore at first fifty of their number that were used to carry off plunder from the lands of their neighbours, and after that, upon numbers flocking in to them, being tempted by the booty, and grown now very numerous, they infested the country. Wherefore Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, being wearied by the complaints of his allies, had sent six hundred Afri-

dos

dos eos miserat, quorum castellum proditum sibi per Bruttiam mulierem expugnaverunt; ibique civitatem concurrentibus ad opinionem novæ urbis pastoribus, statuerunt: Brutiosque se ex nomine mulieris vocaverunt. Primum illis cum Lucanis, originis suæ auctoribus, bellum fuit. Qua victoria erecti, cum pacem æquo jure fecissent, cæteros finitimos armis subegerent; tantasque opes brevi consecuti sunt ut perniciosi etiam regibus haberentur. Denique Alexander, rex Epiri, quum in auxilium Græcarum civitatum cum magno exercitu in Italiam venisset, cum omnibus copiis ab his deletus est. Quare feritas eorum successu felicitatis incensa diu terribilis finitimis fuit. Ad postremum imploratus Agathocles spe ampliandi regni a Sicilia in Italiam trajecit.

CAP. II. Principio adventus ejus opinione concussi, legatos ad eum, societatem amicitiamque petentes, miserunt. Quos Agathocles ad cœnam invitatos, ne exercitum trajici viderent, in posterum statuta his die, conscensa nave frustratus est. Sed fraudis haud lætus eventus fuit; siquidem reverti eum in Siciliam, interjectis paucis diebus, vis morbi coegit, quo toto corpore comprehensus, per omnes nervos articulosque humore pestifero grassante velut intestino singulorum membrorum bello impugnabatur. Ex qua desperatione bellum inter filium nepotemque ejus, regnum jam quasi mortui vindicantes oritur; occisoque filio regnum nepos occupavit. Igitur Agathocles cum morbi & ægritudo graviore essent, & inter se alterum alterius malo cresceret desperatis rebus, uxorem suam Texenam genitosque ex

cans to quell them, whose castle they took, being betrayed to them by a woman named Bruttia; and there built a city, the shepherds flocking in on the fame of this new city, and called themselves Brutians from the name of the woman. Their first war was with the Lucanians, the authors of their original. By which victory being encouraged, after they had made a peace upon an equal foot, they subdued by their arms the rest of their neighbours; and in a short time attained to so great a strength, that they were reckoned pernicious to kings. Finally, Alexander king of Epirus, after he was come into Italy to the assistance of the Græcian cities with a great army, was cut off, with all his army, by them. Wherefore their fierceness, inflamed by their happy success, was for a long time terrible to their neighbours. At last Agathocles being invited over, passed from Sicily into Italy, in hopes of enlarging his kingdom.

CHAP. II. Upon his first arrival, being shocked with his fame, they sent ambassadors to him, desiring an alliance and friendship with him. Whom being invited to supper, that they might not see his army shipped over, Agathocles appointing them the day following for their audience, and going immediately aboard his ships, he baulked them. But the event of his treachery was not happy for him; for the violence of a distemper he contracted, obliged him after a few days to return into Sicily; with which distemper being seized all over his body, the pestiferous humour spreading through all his nerves and joints, he was as it were attacked by a civil war in every member. Upon which desperate condition of his, a war commences betwixt his son and grandson, each claiming his kingdom, as if he had been dead; and the grandson killing his son, seized the kingdom. Wherefore Agathocles, as the cure of his distempers and his trouble was now become intolerable, one evil being inflamed by the other, his case being desperate, he sends back his wife Texena, and two little

ea duos parvulos, cum omni pecunia & familia, regalique instrumento, quo præter illum nemo regum ditior fuit, navibus imposites Ægyptum, unde uxorem acceperat, remittit, timens ne prædonem regni sui hostem paterentur. Quamquam uxor diu ne ab ægro divelleretur, deprecata est, ne discessus suus adjungi nepotis parricidio posset, & tam cruenta hæc deseruisse virum, quam illi impugnasse avum videretur; *Nubendo se non prosperæ tantum, sed omnis fortunæ iniisse societatem: nec invitam periculo spiritus sui empturam ut extremos viri spiritus exciperet; & exequiarum officium, in quod, profecta se nemo sit successurus, obsequio debitæ pietatis impleret.* Dilcedentes parvuli flebili ululatu amplexi patrem tenebant. Ex altera parte uxor maritum non amplius visura osculis fatigabat. Nec minus senis lacrymæ miserabiles orant. Flebant hi morientem patrem, ille exules liberos, hi discessu suo solitudinem patris, ægri senis; ille in spem regni susceptos relinqui in egestate lugebat. Inter hæc regia omnis assistentium fletibus tam crudelis discidium impleta resonabat. Tandem finem lacrymis necessitas profectionis imposuit, & mors regis proficiscentes filios insecuta est. Dum hæc aguntur, Carthaginienses, cognitis quæ in Sicilia agebantur, occasionem totius insulæ occupandæ datam sibi existimantes, magnis viribus eo trajiciunt, multasque civitates subigunt.

CAP. II. Eo tempore & Pyrrhus adversus Romanos bellum gerebat, qui imploratus a

sons he had by her, with all his money and servants, and royal furniture, in which none of the kings of that time was richer, being put aboard some ships, into Egypt, from whence he had received his wife; fearing lest they should find the usurper of his kingdom their enemy. Tho' the wife begged long that she might not be separated from her sick husband, that her departure might not be added to the parricide of his grandson, and she seem to have forsaken her husband as cruelly, as the grandson seemed to have attacked him: That by marrying him she had not only engaged in a partnership of his good fortune, but of his whole fortune whatever it was; nor would she willingly purchase, at the hazard of her own life, the opportunity of receiving her husband's last breath and of performing, with all the obsequiousness of due conjugal duty, the office of his last obsequies, for which no one else would succeed her if she departed. The little children at parting embraced and held fast their father with mournful lamentation. On the other hand, the wife being to see her husband no more, wearied him with kisses. Nor were the tears of the old prince less pityable. The children lamented the case of their dying father, he that of his banished children; they bewailed the forlorn condition of their father, a sick old man, upon their departure; he lamented that his children, who had been begot to the hopes of a kingdom, should be left in want. During these things, the palace was filled, and rung with the cries of the by-standers for so cruel a separation. At length the necessity of their departure put an end to their tears, and the death of the king followed the departure of his sons. Whilst these things are a doing, the Carthaginians having understood what was passed in Sicily, thinking an opportunity was now given them of seizing the whole island, go over thither with a mighty force, and subdue many cities.

CHAP. III. At that time Pyrrhus too carried on a war against the Romans, who being invited by the Sicilians to their

Siculis

Siculis in auxilium, sicuti, dictum est, cum Syracusas venisset, multasque civitates subegisset, rex Siciliae, sicut Epiri appellatur. Quarum rerum felicitate lætus, Heleno filio Siciliae, velut avitum (nam susceptus ex filia Agathoclis regis erat) Alexandro autem Italiae regnum destinat. Post hæc, multa secunda praelia cum Carthaginiensibus facit. Interjecto deinde tempore, legati ab Italicis sociis venire, nuntiantes *Romanis resisti non posse, deditionemque futuram, nisi subveniat.* Anxius tam ambiguo periculo, incertusque; quid ageret, vel quibus primum subveneret, in utrumque, pronus consultabat. Quippe instantibus hinc Carthaginiensibus, inde Romanis, periculofum videbatur exercitum in Italiam non trajicere: periculosius a Sicilia deducere; ne aut illi non lata ope, aut hi deserti amitterent. In hoc æstu periculorum tutissimus portus consiliorum visus est, omnibus viribus decernere in Sicilia, & profligatis Carthaginiensibus, victorem exercitum transponere in Italiam. Itaque concerto praelio, cum superior fuisset, quoniam tamen a Sicilia abiret, pro victo fugere visus est; ac propterea socii ab eo defecerunt; & imperium Siciliae tam cito amittit, quam facile quæsierat. Sed nec in Italia meliore felicitate usus in Epirum revertitur. Admirabilis utriusque rei casus in exemplum fuit. Nam sicut ante secunda fortuna, rebus supra vota fluentibus, Italiae Siciliaeque imperium, & tot de Romanis victorias abstruxerat; ita nunc adversa, velut in ostentationem fragilitatis humanæ, destruens quæ cumulaverat, Siciliensi ruinæ Romanos pugnam, turpemque ab

assistance, as has been said, when he came to Syracuse, and had subdued many cities, he is called king of Sicily, as well as Epiri; with his success in which affairs being overjoyed, he intends the kingdom of Sicily for his son Helenus, as that of his grandfather (for he had been begot of the daughter of Agathocles) and that of Italy for Alexander. After this, he fights many successful battles with the Carthaginians. Then some time after, ambassadors came from his Italian allies, bringing word, That they could not withstand the Romans, and that a submission must ensue, unless he relieved them. Being much concerned at this mighty danger, and uncertain what to do, or whom he should first relieve, being inclinable both ways, he consulted about the business. For the Carthaginians pressing him on one hand, and the Romans on the other, it seemed dangerous not to ship his army over into Italy; but more dangerous to draw it out of Sicily; lest either those friends should be lost, if he did not carry them assistance, or these if deserted. In this storm of danger the most secure harbour of advice seemed to be to engage with all his strength in Sicily, and so routing the Carthaginians, to transport his victorious army into Italy. Wherefore fighting a battle, and coming off superior, yet because he departed out of Sicily, he seemed to fly as vanquished, and therefore his allies revolted from him; and he lost the kingdom of Sicily as soon, as he had easily acquired it. But not meeting with better fortune in Italy, he returns into Epiri. His fortune in both cases was wonderful for example. For as before his good fortune, his affairs succeeding above his wishes, had procured him the empire of Italy and Sicily, and so many victories over the Romans; so now his ill fortune, as it were to shew human frailty, demolishing what it had accumulated, added a wreck at sea to the loss of Sicily, as also an ignominious fight against the Romans, and a scandalous departure out of Italy.

naufragium maris, & scædam adversus Italia discessum adjecit.

CAP. IV. Post profectionem a Sicilia Pyrrhi, magistratus Hiero creatur : cujus tanta moderatio fuit, ut consentiente omnium civitatum favore, dux adversus Carthaginienses primum mox rex crearetur. Huius futuræ majestatis ipsa infantis educatio quasi prænuntia fuit; quippe genitas erat patre Hierocle, nobile viro, cujus origo a Gelone, antiquo Siciliæ tyranno, manabat; sed maternum illi genus sordidum, atque adeo pudendum fuit. Nam ex ancilla natus, ac propterea a patre, velut deonestamentum generis, expositus fuerat. Sed parvulum & humanæ opis egentem, apes, congesto circa jacentem melle, multis diebus aluere. Ob quam rem responso aruspicum admonitus pater, qui regnum infanti portendi caneant, parvulum recolligit, omnique studio ad spem majestatis quæ promittebatur, instituit. Eidem in ludo inter cœquales discenti lupus tabulum in turba puerorum repente conspectus eripuit. Adolescenti quoque prima bella ineunti aquila in clypeo, noctua in hasta confedit. Quod ostentum, & consilio cautam, & manu promptum, regemque futurum significabat. Denique adversos provocatores sæpe pugnavit, semperque victoriam reportavit. A Pyrrho rege multis militaribus donis donatus est. Pulchritudo ei corporis insignis, vires quoque in homini admirabiles fuere; in alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse, præter regnum, videretur.

CHAP. IV. After Pyrrhus's retreat out of Sicily, Hiero is made chief magistrate : whose moderation was such, that by the unanimous favour of all the cities, he was first made general against the Carthaginians, and soon after king. The very education of him, whilst an infant, was ominous of his future grandeur; for he sprung from a father, Hierocles by name, a noble man, whose descent was derived from Gelo, an ancient prince of Sicily; but his extraction by the mother's side was sordid, and indeed scandalous. For he was born of a maid-servant, and therefore exposed by his father, as a disgrace to his family. But bees for several days fed the infant, destitute of all human assistance, with honey heaped about him as he lay. For which reason the father being encouraged to it by the answer of the aruspices, who declared that sovereign power was thereby foreboded to the infant, takes home the child, and with the utmost care educates him for the hopes of the majesty that was promised. A wolf that appeared on a sudden in a company of boys, took from him, as he was learning at school among his fellows, his book. An eagle likewise sat upon his shield, and an owl upon his spear, when a young man, and first entering in war. Which omen signified that he would be wary in his conduct, brisk in action, and a king. Finally, he often fought against persons that challenged him, and always got the victory. He was presented by king Pyrrhus with many military gifts. There was an extraordinary handsomeness of person, and admirable strength in the man. He was smooth in his address, just in business, moderate in command; so that there seemed nothing wanting to him suitable for a king, but a kingdom.

L I B E R XXIV.

B R E V I A R I U M C A P I T U M.

1. *Græciæ civitates aliæ in alias assurgunt.*
2. *Ptolemæi Macedonis in sororem Arsinoen conspiratio.*
3. *Incestuosæ Ptolemæi & Arsinoes nuptiæ tragicis casibus solvuntur.*
4. *Gallorum qui Ptolemæum vicerunt & interfecerunt, in Macedoniam irruptio.*
5. *Quo stratagemate Ptolemæum aggressi sint, & oppressint. Macedonum luctus & instauratio.*
6. *Alia Gallorum, Brenno duce, in Græciam expeditio: & de spoliatione Delphici templi consilium. Hujus templi & oraculi descriptiones.*
7. *Brenni & aliorum consultatio de templi oppugnatione; & hortatio ad milites.*
8. *Oppugnatio irrita, & clades Gallici exercitus, Brenno interfecto.*

C A P U T. I.

DUM hæc in Sicilia geruntur, interim in Græcia dissidentibus inter se bello Ptolemæo Cerauno & Antiocho & Antigono regibus, omnes ferme Græciæ civitates, ducibus Spartanis, velut occasione data, ad spem libertatis erectæ, missis invicem legatis, per quos in societatis fœdera alligarentur, in bellum prorumpunt. Et, ne cum Antigono, sub cujus regno erant, bellum cepisse viderentur, socios ejus Ætolos aggrediuntur, causas belli prætendentes, quod consensu Græciæ sacratum Apollini Cirræum campum per vim occupassent. Huic bello ducem eligunt Arean, qui, adunato exercitu, urbem sataque in his campis posita depopulatur; quæ auferri non poterant, incendit. Quod cum e montibus conspicati Ætolorum pastores essent, congregati admodum quingenti, sparfos hostes, ignorantesque; quanta manus esset, quoniam conspectum illis metus & incendio-

WHILST these things are doing in Sicily, in the mean time in Greece, the kings Ptolemy, Ceraunus, and Antiochus, and Antigonus, engaging in a war among themselves, almost all the cities of Greece, under their leaders the Spartans, as if a fine opportunity was now given them, being roused to the hopes of liberty, sending ambassadors to one another, by whom they might be engaged in leagues of friendship, break out into open war. And that they might not seem to have undertaken a war against Antigonus, under whose government they were, they fall upon his allies, the Ætolians; pretending as their reasons for this war, that they had seized by violence the Cirræan plain, that had been consecrated to Apollo by the consent of Greece. They chose Areas as general for this war, who drawing together an army, lays waste the city, and the corn that was sown in those plains; what could not be carried away he set on fire. Which when the shepherds of the Ætolians saw from their mountains, gathering together to the number of about five hundred, they pursue the enemies that were dispersed, and knew not how great the body might

rum

rum fumus abstulerat, consecrantur, trucidatisque admodum novem millibus, prædones in fugam verterent. Reparantibus deinde Spartanis bellum auxilium multæ civitates negaverunt, existimantes, dominationem eos, non libertatem Græciæ, quærere. Interea inter reges bellum finitur; nam Ptolemæus, pulso Antigono, cum regnum totius Macedoniæ occupasset, pacem cum Antiocho facit, affinitatemque cum Pyrrho, data ei in matrimonium filia sua, jungit.

CAP. II. Exinde externo metu deposito, impium & facinorosum animum ad domestica scelera convertit, insidiasque Arsinoe sorori suæ instruit, quibus & filios ejus vita, & ipsam Cassandreæ urbis possessione privaret. Primus ei dolus fuit, simulato amore, sororis matrimonium petere. Aliter enim ad sororis filios, quorum regnum occupaverat, quam concordiae fraude, pervenire non poterat. Sed nota scelerata Ptolemæi voluntas sorori erat. Itaque non credenti mandat, velle se cum filiis ejus regni consortium jungere; cum quibus non ideo se armis contendisse, quoniam eripere his regnum, sed quod id facere sui muneris vellet. In hoc mitteret arbitrum jurisjurandi; quo presente apud deos patrios, quibus vellet obsecrationibus se obligaret. Incerta Arsinoe quid ageret; si mitteret, decipi perjurio; si non mitteret, provocare rabiem fraternæ crudelitatis timebat. Itaque plus liberis, quam sibi timens, quos matrimonio suo protecturam se arbitrabatur, mittit ex amicis suis Chodionem; quo perducto in sanctissimum Jovis templum, veterrimæ Macedonum religionis, Ptolemæus sumptis in manus altaribus, contingens ipsa simulachra

be, because their fear, and the smoke of the fire had deprived them of the sight of them, and slaying about nine thousand, put the robbers to flight. The Spartans after that renewing the war, many cities denied their assistance, supposing they were concerned for the dominion, and not the liberty of Greece. In the mean time the war is ended between the kings; for Ptolemy, after he had routed Antigonus, having seized the kingdom of all Macedonia, makes a peace with Antiochus, and contracts an affinity with Pyrrhus, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

CAP. II. After that laying aside all fear of foreigners, he applies his impious and wicked mind to domestic villainy, and lays a plot for his sister Arsinoe, whereby to deprive her sons of life, and her of the possession of the city of Cassandrea. His first stratagem was under the pretence of love, to sue for a marriage with his sister. For he could not otherwise come at his sister's sons, whose kingdom he had seized, than by the treacherous pretence of an agreement. But the wicked intention of Ptolemy was known to his sister. Wherefore he sends word to her not believing him, that he had a mind to share the kingdom with her sons, with whom he had not therefore contended by arms, because he intended to take the kingdom from them, but because he was desirous of making it a matter of his own kindness. She might send for that purpose one to take his oath, in the presence of whom he would engage himself before their country Gods, by what execrations she pleased. Arsinoe not knowing what to do, was afraid, if she did send one, to be deceived by his perjury; if she did not send, to provoke the rage of her brother's cruelty. Wherefore being more concerned for her children than herself, whom she supposed she should protect by her marriage, she sends Chodion, one of her friends; who being brought into the most sacred temple of Jupiter, in mighty veneration of old among the Macedonians, Ptolemy taking the altars in
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& pulvinaria deorum; inauditis ultimisq; execrationibus adjurat, se sincera fide matrimonium sororis petere, nuncupaturumq; se eam reginam, neque in contumeliam ejus se aliam uxorem, aliosve, quam filios ejus liberos habiturum. Arsinoe postquam & spe impleta est, & metu soluta, ipsa cum fratre colloquitur; cujus vultus & blandientes oculi, cum fidem non minorem, quam jusjurandum promitterent, reclamante Ptolemæo filio fraudem subesse, in matrimonium fratris concedit.

CAP. III. Nuptiæ magno apparatu lætitiæq; omnium celebrantur. Ad concionem quoque vocato exercitu, capiti sororis diadema imponit, reginamque eam appellat. Quo nomine in lætitiâ effusa Arsinoe, quia quod morte Lysimachi prioris mariti amiserat, recepisset; ultro virum in urbem suam Cassandream invitat, cujus urbis cupiditate fraus struebatur. Prægressa igitur virum diem festum urbi in adventum ejus indicit: domos, templa, cæteraq; omnia exornari jubet: aras ubique hostiasq; disponi; filios quoq; suos Lysimachum sexdecim annos natum, Phillippum triennio minorem, utrumque forma insignem, coronatos occurrere jubet. Quos Ptolemæus, ad celandam fraudem, cupide & ultra modum veræ affectionis amplexus, osculis diu fatigat. Ubi ad portam ventum est, occupari arcem jubet, pueros interfici. Qui cum ad matrem confugissent, in gremio ejus inter ipsa oscula trucidantur. Proclamante Arsinoe, quod tantum nefas aut nubendo, aut post nuptias contraxisset, pro filiis sæpe se percussoribus obtulit, frequentur corpore suo puerorum corpora amplexata protexit, vulneraque excipere, quæ

his hands, and touching the images and beds of the Gods, swears with unheard-of and terrible execrations, that he did with the most sincere honesty sue for the marriage of his sister, and that he would give her the title of queen, nor would he to affront her have any other wife, or any other children than her sons. After Arsinoe was thus filled with hopes, and delivered from her fears, she confers with her brother, whose look and flattering eyes promising no less sincerity than his oath, Ptolemy her son crying out that there was treachery at bottom, she agrees to the marriage of her brother.

CHAP. III. The wedding is celebrated with great solemnity, and joy of all people. The army too being called to an assembly, he puts a diadem upon his sister's head, and calls her queen. Upon which name Arsinoe being overjoyed, because she had recovered what she had lost by the death of Lysimachus her former husband, she frankly invites her husband into her city Cassandrea, out of a desire of which city the plot was contrived. Wherefore going before her husband, she proclaims a festival in the city against his coming, and orders the houses, temples, and all other places to be finely set forth, altars and victims to be planted every where: and likewise orders Lysimachus sixteen years old, and Philip three years younger, both remarkable for comeliness of person, to go to meet him with crowns upon their heads. Whom Ptolemy, to conceal his treachery, embracing eagerly and beyond the bounds of a real affection, wearies a long time with kisses. After he was come to the gate of the city, he orders the citadel to be seized, and the boys to be slain. Who flying to their mother, are slain upon her lap, whilst she was kissing them. Arsinoe crying out what great crime she had committed either in marrying him, or after her marriage, oftentimes offered herself, instead of her sons, to the assassins, and frequently covered the bodies of her sons, which she embraced with her own body, and was desirous to receive the wounds which were designed for her children. At last being

liberis

liberis intendebantur, voluit. Ad postremum etiam spoliata funebus filiorum, scissa veste & crinibus sparsis, cum duobus servulis ex urbe protracta Samothracia in exilium abiit; eo miserior, quod mori cum filiis ei non licuit. Sed nec Ptolemæo inulta scelera fuerunt. Quippe diis immortalibus tot perjuria, & tam cruenta parricidia vindicantibus, brevi post a Gallis spoliatus regno, captusq; vitam ferro, ut merruerat, amittit.

CAP. IV. Namq; Galli, abundanti multitudine, cum eos non caperent terræ quæ genuerant, trecenta millia hominum ad sedes novas quærendas, velut ver sacrum miserunt. Ex his portio in Italia confedit, quæ & urbem Romanam captam incendit; & portio Illyricos sinus, ducibus avibus (nam augurandi studio Galli præter cæteros callent) per strages Barbarorum penetravit, & in Pannonia confedit; gens aspera, audax, bellicosa, quæ prima post Herculem, cui ea res virtutis admirationem, & immortalitatis fidem dedit, Alpium invicta iuga, & frigore intractabilia loca transcendit. Ibi domitis Pannoniis, per multos annos cum finitimis varia bella gesserunt. Hortante deinde successu, divisim agminibus, alii Græciam, alii Macedoniam, omnia ferro proterentes, petivere. Tantusq; terror Gallici nominis erat, ut etiam reges non laceffiti ultro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur. Solus rex Macedoniae Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hisque cum paucis & incompositis, quasi bella non difficiliora, quam scelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furiis agitatatis occurrit. Dardanorum quoq; legationem viginti millia armatorum in auxilium

left childless by the murder of his sons, and dragged out of the city with her cloaths rent, and her hair loose, with two servants, she went into Samothrace into banishment; being the more miserable, because she was not allowed to die with her sons. But the villainies of Ptolemy were not unrevenged: for the immortal Gods inflicting vengeance for so many perjuries, and such cruel parricides, he was stript of his kingdom in a short time after by the Gauls and taken prisoner, and lost his life by the sword, as he had deserved.

CHAP. IV. For the Gauls, the country that produced them not being able to contain them, by reason of their exceeding great numbers, sent out three hundred thousand men, as it were a sacred spring, to seek a new habitation. Part of these settled in Italy which likewise took and burnt the city of Rome; and part penetrated into the furthest part of Illyricum, under the guidance of birds (for the Gauls are skilled in the science of augury above other people) with great slaughter of the Barbarians, and settled in Pannonia, a rough, bold, warlike nation, which first passed the insuperable mountains of the Alps, and places insufferable for cold, after Hercules, to whom that thing procured a mighty admiration of his resolution, and a belief of his immortality. There after they had subdued the Pannonians, they carried on various wars with their neighbours for many years. Then their success inviting them, divided their troops, some marched into Greece, others into Macedonia, laying waste all before them with the sword. And such were the terror of the Gallick name, that even kings not attacked by them, did of their own accord purchase a peace at a large sum. Only Ptolemy king of Macedonia heard undaunted the news of the coming of the Gauls, and pushed on with fury, the effect of his parricides, meets them with a few and disorderly troops, as if wars were managed with no more difficulty than villainous projects. He likewise rejected an embassy of the Dardanians offering him twenty thousand armed offerentem

offerentem spreuit, addita insuper contumelia : *actum de Macedonia dicens, si cum totum Orientem soli domuerint, nunc in vindictam finium Dardanis egeant : milites se habere filios eorum, qui sub Alexandro rege stipendia, toto orbe terrarum victores, facerint. Quæ ubi Dardano rege nuntiata sunt, inclytum illud Macedonia regnum brevi, immaturi juvenis temeritate casurum dixit.*

CAP. V. Igitur Galli, duce Belgio, ad tentandos Macedonum animos legatos ad Ptolemæum mittunt, offerentes pacem, si emere velit. Sed Ptolemæus inter suos belli metu pacem Gallos petere gloriatus est. Nec minus ferociter se legatis, quam inter amicos jactavit : *aliter se pacem daturum negando nisi principes suos obfides dederint, & arma tradiderint : non enim fidem se nisi inermibus habiturum.* Renuntiata legatione, risere Galli, undique acclamantes, *brevi sensurum, sibi an illi consulentes, pacem obtulerint.* Interjectis diebus, prælium conferitur, victiq; Macedones cæduntur. Ptolemæus multis vulneribus saucius capitur; caput ejus amputatum & lancea fixum tota acie ad terrorum hostium circumfertur. Paucos ex Macedonibus fuga servavit; cæteri aut capti, aut occisi. Hæc cum nuntiata per omnem Macedoniam essent, portæ urbium clauduntur, luctu omnia replentur; nunc orbitatem amissorum filiorum dolebant; nunc excidia urbium metuebant; nunc Alexandri Phillipique regum suorum nomina, sicuti nomina in auxilium vocabant; *sub illis se non solum tuto, verum etiam victores orbis terrarum extitisse : tuerentur patriam suam, quam gloria*

men for his assistance, adding moreover abusive language, by saying that Macedonia was in a sad case, if after they had by themselves subdued the whole East, they should now stand in need of the Dardanians for the defence of their country. He had for his soldiers the sons of those who had served under Alexander the Great; and been victorious all the world over. Which words being related to the Dardanian king, he said, that famous kingdom of Macedonia would in a short time fall to ruin by the rashness of this raw youth.

CHAP. V. Wherefore the Gauls, under their commander Belgius, send ambassadors to Ptolemy, to sound the minds of the Macedonians, offering him a peace if he would buy it. But Ptolemy boasted among his subjects, that the Gauls sued for peace out of fear of war. Nor did he less haughtily set himself off to the ambassadors, than among his subjects, by denying that he would otherwise grant them a peace, unless they gave up their chiefs for hostages, and delivered their arms; for he should not trust them, unless they were unarmed. Upon the relation of their embassy, the Gauls laughed, crying out on all hands, That he should in a short time perceive, whether they offered him a peace out of regard to themselves, or him. Some days after a battle is fought, and the Macedonians being defeated, are miserably slaughtered. Ptolemy receiving many wounds, is taken; his head cut off, and being fixed upon a lance, is carried round the whole army, to the terror of the Macedonians. Flight saved a few of the Macedonians; the rest were either taken or slain. When these things were told thro' all Macedonia, the gates of the cities are shut, and all places are filled with mourning. One while they lamented the loss of their sons; another while they feared the destruction of their cities; another while they invoked the names of their kings Alexander and Philip, as deities, to their assistance; saying, that under them they were not only secure, but likewise conquerors of the world; and begged, that

rerum

rerum gestarum cælo proximam reddidissent; ut opem afflictis ferrent, quos furor & temeritas Ptolemæi regis perdidisset, orabant. Desperantibus omnibus, non votis agendum Sosthenes unus de Macedonum principibus ratus, contracta juventute, & Gallos victoria exultantes compescuit, & Macedoniam ab hostili populatione defendit. Ob quæ virtutis beneficia multis nobilibus regnum Macedoniae affectantibus ignobilis ipse præponitur; & cum rex ab exercitu appellatus esset, ipse non in regis, sed ducis nomen jurare milites compulit.

CAP. VI. Interea Brennus, quo duce portio Gallorum in Græciam se effuderat, audita victoria suorum, qui Belgio duce Macedones vicerant; indignatus parta victoria opimam prædam, & Orientis spoliis onustam, tam facile relictam esse, ipse adunatis CL millibus peditum & XV millibus equitum, in Macedoniam irrumpit. Cum agros villasque popularetur, occurrit ei cum instructu exercitu Macedonum Sosthenes. Sed pauci a pluribus, trepidi a valentibus facile vincuntur. Itaq; cum victi se Macedones intra muros urbium condidissent; victor Brennus, nemine prohibente, totius Macedoniae agros depredatur. Inde quasi terrena jam spolia forderent, animum ad deorum immortalium templa convertit, scurriliter jocatus, locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere. Statim igitur Delphos iter vertit, prædam religioni, aurum offensæ deorum immortalium præferens quos nullis opibus egere, ut qui eas largiri hominibus soleant, affirmabat. Templum autem Apollinis Delphis positum est in

they would protect their country, which they had raised up to heaven by the glory of their exploits; that they would give assistance to the afflicted, whom the madness and rashness of Ptolemy had ruined. *Whilst all were in despair, Sosthenes, one of the chiefs of the Macedonians, thinking their business was not to be done by prayers, drawing together an army, both defeated the Gauls whilst they were rejoicing for their victory, and defended Macedonia from the ravage of the enemy. For which advantages from his conduct, he, tho' ignoble, is preferred before the many nobles that aspired to the kingdom of Macedonia; and tho' he was proclaimed king by the army, he obliges the soldiers to take an oath to him, not as their king, but as their general.*

CHAP. VI. In the mean while Brennus, under whom, as their general, a part of the Gauls had poured themselves in upon Greece, having heard of the success of their friends, who under their general Belgius had overthrown the Macedonians: being angry that after the victory had been gained, the fine booty, consisting of the spoils of the East, had been so easily quitted, drawing together an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, breaks into Macedonia. Whilst he was laying waste the lands and towns, Sosthenes met him with a well provided army of the Macedonians: but being but few, and under a great consternation, they are easily conquered by the more numerous and powerful Gauls. Wherefore the defeated Macedonians retiring within the walls of their cities, the victorious Brennus, whilst nobody opposes him, lays waste the lands of all Macedonia. And then as if terrestrial spoils were too mean for him, he turns his thoughts upon the temples of the immortal Gods, jesting in a scurrilous manner, that the rich Gods ought to be bountiful to men. Wherefore he immediately directs his march for Delphi, preferring plunder to religion, and regarding gold more than the anger of the immortal Gods, who, he said, stood in no need of riches, as who used to bestow them upon men. Now

monte

monte Parnasso, in rupe undiq; impendente; ibi civitatem frequentia hominum fecit; qui ad affirmationem majestatis undiq; concurrentes in eo saxo confedere. Atq; ita templum & civitatem non muri, sed præcipitia; nec manu facta, sed naturalia præsidia, defendunt: prorsus ut incertum sit, utrum munimentum loci, an majestas dei plus hic admirationis habeat. Media saxi rupes in formam theatri recessit. Quamobrem & hominum clamor, & si quando accedit tubarum sonus personantibus & respondentibus inter se rupibus, multiplex audiri, ampliorque quam editur, resonare solet. Quæ res majorem majestatis terrorem ignari rei, & admirationem stupentibus plerumque affert. In hoc rupis anfractu, media ferme montis altitudine, planities exigua est, atque in ea profundum terræ foramen, quod in oracula patet; ex quo frigidus spiritus, vi quadem velut vento in sublimis expulsum, mentes vatum in vecordiam vertit; impletasque deo, responsa consulentibus dare cogit. Multa igitur ibi & opulenta regum populorumque visuntur munera; quæque magnificentia sui reddentium vota gratam voluptatem & decorum responsa manifestant.

CAP. VII. Igitur Brennus, cum in conspectu haberet templum, diu deliberavit, an confestim rem aggrediretur; an vero fessis via militibus noctis spatium ad resumendas vires daret. Emanus & Thessalorus duces, qui se ad prædæ societatem junxerant, amputari moras jubent, dum imparati hostes, & recens adventus sui terrori esset; interjecta nocte & animos hostibus, forsitam & auxilia accessura, & via:

the temple of Apollo at Delphi is situated upon the mountain Parnassus, upon a rock steep on all sides; there the gathering together of great numbers of people made a city; who flocking in, upon the credit of the majesty of the God, from all parts, settled upon that rock. And so not walls, but precipices; and fortifications not made with hands, but natural, defend the temple and the city. So that it is uncertain, whether the strength of the place, or the majesty of the God meets with more admiration. The middle eminence of the rock is hollow in form of a theatre. Wherefore both the shouting of men, and if at any time the sound of trumpets is superadded, the rocks resounding and answering to one another, it uses to be heard several times over, and rebound much stronger than it is raised at first. Which thing commonly occasions a greater awe of the majesty of the God in such as are ignorant of the thing, and admiration in the amazed hearers. In the winding of the rock, at about the middle of the height of the mountain, there is a small plain, and in that a deep hole in the earth, which is open for the giving of oracles; from whence a cold steam being driven upward by a certain force, as it were a wind, pushes on the minds of the prophets to madness, and obliges them, when filled with the God, to give answers to such as consult them. Wherefore many and rich presents of several kings and nations are there to be seen; and which by their magnificence shew the gratitude of those that there paid their vows, and the answers of the Gods.

CHAP. VII. Wherefore Brennus having the temple in view, for a long time deliberated, whether he should immediately attempt the business, or should give the soldiers, weary with their march, a night's time to recover their strength. Their generals Emanus and Thessalorus, who had joined for a share of the plunder, advise the cutting off all delay, whilst the enemy were unprovided, and their sudden arrival struck a terror: by the interposition of a night, courage would grow upon the enemy, and perhaps assistance

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quæ tunc pateant, obstructum iri. Sed Gallorum vulgus ex longa inopia, ubi primum vino cæterisq; com meatibus referta rura invenit, non minus abundantia, quam victoria lætum, per agros se sparserat; desertisq; signis ad occupanda omnia pro victoribus vagabantur. Quæ res dilationem Delphis dedit. Prima namque opinione adventus Gallorum prohibiti agrestes oraculis feruntur, messes, vinaq; villis effere. Cujus ei salutare præceptum non prius intellectum est, quam vini cæterarumq; copiarum abundantia, velut mora, Gallis objecta, auxilia finitimorum convenere. Prius itaq; urbem suam Delphi, aucti viribus sociorum, permunivere, quam Galli vino, velut prædæ, incubantes, ad signa revocarent. Habebat Brennus lecta ex omni exercitu peditum sexaginta quinque millia. Delphorum sociorumque non nisi quatuor millia militum erant; quorum contemptu Brennus ad acuendos suorum animos, prædæ ubertatem omnibus ostendebat, statuasque cum quadrigis, quarum ingens copia procul visebatur, solido auro fusas esse; plusq; in pondere, quam in specie habere prædæ affirmabat.

CAP. VIII. Hac asseveratione incitati Galli, simul & hæsterno mero saucii, sine respectu periculorum in bellum ruebant. Contra Delphi plus in deo, quam in viribus repentes, cum contemptu hostium resistebant, scandentesq; Gallos e summo montis vertice, partim saxo, partim armis obruebant. In hoc partium certamine, repente universorum templorum antistites, simul & ipsæ vates, sparsis crinibus, cum insignibus, atque insulis, pavidivecordesque in primam pugnantium aciem procurent; ad-

come in, and the avenues, which were now open, be obstructed. *But the common soldiers of the Gauls, when after long want, they found a country filled with wine, and other provisions, being no less rejoiced at their plenty than the victory, had dispersed themselves thro' the country; and quitted their standards, wandered about to seize upon all as conquerors. Which thing gave a respite to the Delphians. For upon the first news of the coming of the Gauls, the country people are said to have been prohibited by the oracle to carry off their harvest and wine from their houses. The wholesomeness of which advice was not understood 'till the auxiliary forces of their neighbours drew together, upon this abundance of wine and other provisions being thrown as a rub in the way of the Gauls. Wherefore the Delphians, supported by the strength of their allies, thoroughly fortified their city, because the Gauls, who stuck close to their wine as their plunder, were brought again to their standards. Brennus had chosen out of all the army sixty-five thousand foot. Of the Delphians and their allies there were but four thousand; in contempt of whom Brennus, to whet the courage of his men, shewed them all the vast plenty of spoil, and affirmed that the statues with quadrigæ, of which great plenty was to be seen at a distance, were made of solid gold; and that they were of more value in weight, than in appearance.*

CHAP. VIII. The Gauls fired by this declaration, and at the same time disordered with the wine they had drunk the day before, rushed on to battle without any regard to the danger. On the other hand, the Delphians reposed more confidence in the God, than in their strength, resisted with contempt of the enemy, and bore down, partly with stones, partly with their arms, the Gauls as they climbed up, from the top of the mountain. During this contest betwixt both sides, on a sudden the priests of all the temples, and at the same time the oracle-mongers too, with their hair all scattered abroad, and with their particular ornaments and ribbons, run, as
venisse

venisse deum clamant eumque se vidisse desilientem in templum per culminis aperta fastigia. Dum omnes opem dei suppliciter implorant, juvenem supra humanum modum insignis pulchritudinis, comitesque ei duas armatus virgines, ex propinquis duabus Dianæ Minervæque ædibus occurrisse; nec oculis tantum hæc se perspexisse, audisse etiam stridorem arcus, ac strepitum armorum: proinde ne cunctarentur, diis antesignaris, & hostem cedere, & victoriæ deorum socios se adjungere, summis obsecrationibus monebant. Quibus vocibus incensi, omnes certatim in prælium profiliunt. Præsentiam dei & ipsi statim sensere. Nam & terræ motu portio montis abrupta, Gallorum stravit exercitum, & consertissimi cunei non sine vulneribus hostium dissipati ruebant. Insecuta deinde tempestas est, quæ grandine & frigore faucibus ex vulneribus absumpsit. Dux ipse Brennus, cum dolorem vulnerum ferre non posset, pugione vitam finivit. Alter ex ducibus, punitis belli auctoribus, cum decem millibus fauciorum citato agmine Græcia excedit. Sed nec fugientibus fortuna commodior fuit; siquidem pavidis nulla sub tectis acta nox, nullus sine labore & periculo dies, assidui imbres & gelu, nix concreta, & fames & lassitudo, super hæc maximum per vigilia malum miseras infelicis belli reliquias obterebant. Gentes quoque nationesque, per quas iter habebant, palantes velut prædam festabantur. Quo pacto evenit, ut nemo ex tanto exercitu, qui paulo ante fiducia virium etiam adversus deos contendebat, vel ad memoriam tantæ cladis superesset.

army, which a little before, in confidence of its strength, contended even against the Gods, was left for the remembrance of so great a destruction.

frighted and mad, into the very front of the fighters, and barwl out, that the God was come, and that they saw him leap down into his temple, through the open top. Whilst they all humbly implore the help of the God, a youth of extraordinary comeliness, beyond the rate of humanity, appeared; and that two armed virgins, as his companions, met him from the two neighbouring temples of Diana and Minerva; nor did they only see those things with their eyes, but likewise heard the noise of his bow, and the rattling of his arms. Wherefore they encouraged them by their utmost entreaty, since the Gods were before their standards, without more ado to cut down their enemies, and join themselves associates of the deities in their conquest. With which words being fired, they all run forward pell-mell to the battle. And they too presently perceived the presence of the God. For both a part of the mountain being broke off by an earthquake, laid flat a great part of the army of the Gauls. And several close bodies of the enemies being dissipated not without wounds tumbled headlong. After that followed a storm, which with hail and cold destroyed those that were ill of their wounds. The general Brennus, being not able to bear the pain of his wounds, ended his life by a dagger. The other of the generals having punished the advisers of this war, quits Greece by a speedy march, with ten thousand wounded men. But fortune was not more favourable to the flying Gauls; for not one night was spent by the frightened creatures within a house, no day passed without fatigue and danger, continual showers and snow congealed by the frost, and famine and fatigue; and besides these things, the greatest affliction of all, continual want of sleep consumed the miserable remains of this unfortunate war. The nations and people too, thro' which they made their march, pursued them straggling, as for booty. By which means it came to pass, that not one of so great an

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LIBER XXV.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Gallorum in Antigonum, Macedonæ regem, conspiratio.
2. Dum ad prædam currunt, præda fiunt ipsi, & Antigonus pacem obtinet.
Nomen Gallorum formidabile, & armorum invicta felicitas.
3. Pyrrhus Macedonia potitur, Antigono ejecto.
4. Pyrrhus, dum monarchiam somniat, a Spartanis mulieribus atteritur.
5. Pyrrhus apud Argos occiditur; cujus elogium & rerum summam Justinus subjicit.

CAPUT. I.

INter duos reges, Antigonum & Antiochum, statuta pace, cum in Macedoniam Antigonus reverteretur, novus eidem repente hostis exortus est. Quippe Galli, qui a Brenno duce, cum in Græciam profisceretur, ad terminos gentis tuendos relictii fuerant, ne soli desides viderentur, peditum quindecim millia, equitum tria millia armaverunt; fugatisq; Getarum Triballorumq; copiis Macedoniae imminentes, legatos ad regem miserunt, qui pacem ei venalem offerrent, simul & regis castra specularentur. Quos Antigonus pro regali munificentia ingenti apparatu epularum ad cœnam invitavit. Sed Galli expositum grande auri argentiq; pondus admirantes atq; prædæ ubertate sollicitati, infestiores quam venerant, revertuntur. Quibus & elephantos ad terrorem, velut inusitatas Barbaris formas, rex ostendi jussit, & naves onustas copiis demonstrari; ignarus quod quibus ostentatione virium metum se injicere existimabat, eorum animos ut ad opimam prædam sollicitabat. Itaq; legati ad suos reversi, omnia in majus extollentes, opes pariter & negligentiam

A Peace being resolved on betwixt the two kings, Antigonus and Antiochus, as Antigonus was returning into Macedonia, a new enemy on a sudden started up against him. For the Gauls, who had been left by Brennus their general, when he marched into Greece, to defend the borders of their country, lest they alone should appear idle, armed fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and routing the forces of the Getæ and Triballi, and advancing towards Macedonia, sent ambassadors to the king, to offer him a peace upon sale, and at the same time to observe the king's camp; whom Antigonus with a regal munificence invited to supper, furnished with huge preparations of good cheer. But the Gauls admiring the vast quantity of gold and silver exposed to their view, and tempted by the plenty of plunder, return more bent upon war than they came: to whom the king ordered the elephants too to be shewn by way of terror, as a sort of creatures unknown to those barbarians, and the ships too loaded with stores; little thinking that he tempted their minds to the seizing of this rich booty, upon whom he supposed he should strike a terror by the ostentation of his strength. Wherefore the ambassadors being returned to their countrymen, magnifying all things excessively, they acquaint them at once with the riches and negligence of the king: that his camp was filled with gold and silver,

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am regis ostendunt : *referta auro & argento castra; sed neque vallo, fossaque munita: quasi satis munimenti in divitiis haberent, ita eos omnia officia militaria intermisse: prorsus quasi ferri auxilio non indigerent, quoniam abundarent auro.*

CAP. II. Hac relatione avidæ gentis animi satis ad prædam incitabantur. Accedebat tamen & exemplum Belgii qui non magno ante tempore Macedonum exercitum cum rege trucidaverat. Itaq; consentientibus omnibus, nocte castra regis aggrediuntur; qui præsentiens tantam tempestatem signum pridie dede at, ut omnibus rebus ablatis, in proxima silva taciti se occultarent. Neq; aliter servata castra, quam quod desertæ sunt. Siquidem Galli, ubi omnia vacantia, nec sine defensoribus modo, verum etiam sine custodibus vident, non fugam hostium, sed dolum arbitantes, diu intrare portas timuerunt. Ad postremum integris & intactis munitis, scrutantes potius quam diripientes castra occupaverunt. Tunc ablatis quæ invenerant, ad littus convertuntur. Ibi dum naves incautius diripiunt, a remigibus, & ab exercitus parte, quæ eo cum conjugibus & liberis confugerant, nil tale metuentes trucidantur; tantaq; credes Gallorum fuit, ut Antigonopacem opinio hujus victoriæ, non a Gallis tantum, verum etiam a finitimorum feritate præstiterit. Quamquam Gallorum ea tempestate tantæ fecunditatis juvenus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent. Deniq; neq; reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu ulla bella gesserunt, neque pulsi regno, ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerunt. Tantus terror Gallici nominis

but secured by neither rampart or ditch; and as if they had security enough in their riches, they neglected all military duty: just as if they did not stand in need of the help of the sword, because they abounded with gold.

CHAP. II. By this account of matters, the minds of that greedy nation were sufficiently pushed on for the seizing of this booty. The example of Belgus too was superadded to all, who not long before had cut off an army of the Macedonians with their king. Wherefore all agreeing to the business, they attack the king's army by night; who perceiving beforehand such a storm, had the day before given notice to carry off all their baggage, and without noise hide themselves in the next wood. Nor was the camp saved any otherways, than because it was deserted. For the Gauls, when they perceived all the camp empty, and not only without defenders, but even without centinels; thinking this not a slight, but a snare of the enemies, for a long time they were afraid of entering the gates. At last leaving the fortifications entire and untouched, they seized the camp, searching it rather than plundering. Then taking away what they had found, they turn towards the sea-coast. There whilst they unguardedly plunder the ships, they are cut off, whilst they feared nothing of it, by the rowers, and a part of the army, which had fled thither with their wives and children; and so great was the slaughter of the Gauls, that the fame of this victory procured Antigonus a peace, not only from the Gauls, but likewise from his barbarous neighbours. Tho' the nation of the Gauls at that time was a nation of so much fecundity, that they filled all Asia, as it were with a swarm. Finally, neither the kings of the East carried on any wars without a mercenary army of Gauls: nor when driven out of their kingdoms, did they fly to any others than the Gauls. So great was the terror of the Gallick name, and such the invincible good fortune of their arms, that they thought

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veniendu

& armorum invicta felicitas erat, ut aliter neque majestatem suam tutari neq; amissam recuperare se posse sine Gallica virtute arbitrarentur. Itaque in auxilium a Bithyniæ rege invocati, regnum cum eo parta victoria diviserunt, eamque regionem Gallogræciam cognominaverunt.

C A P. III. Dum hæc in Asia geruntur, interim in Sicilia Pyrrhus a Pœnis navali prælio victus, ab Antigono Macedoniæ rege supplementum militum petit; denuntians, *ni mittat redire se in regnum necesse habere, incrementa rerum, quæ de Romanis voluerit, de ipso quaesitum.* Quod ubi negatum legati retulerunt, dissimulatis causis, repentinam fingit profectionem. Socios interim parare bellum jubet; arcis Tarentinæ custodiam Heleno filio & amico Miloni tradit. Reversus in Epirum statim fines Macedoniæ invadit; cui Antigonus cum exercitu occurrit, victusq; prælio in fugam vertitur. Atq; ita Pyrrhus Macedoniam in ditionem accepit; & veluti damna amissæ Siciliæ Italiæque acquisito Macedoniæ regno pensasset, relictæ Tarenti filium & amicum arcessit. Antigonus autem cum paucis equitibus, fugæ comitibus, repente fortunæ ornamentis destitutus, amissi regni speculaturus eventum, Thesalonica se recepit; ut inde cum conductâ Gallorum mercenaria manu bellum repararet. Rursus a Ptolemæo Pyrrhi filio funditus victus, cum septem comitibus fugiens, non jam recuperandi regni spem, sed salutis latebras, ac fugæ solitudines captat.

CAP. IV. Igitur Pyrrhus in tanto fastigio regni collocatus, jam nec eo, ad quod votis, perveniendum fuerat, contentus,

they could not otherwise secure their majesty, nor recover it when lost, without the Gallick bravery. Wherefore being invited to his assistance by the King of Bithynia, after they got the victory, they shared his kingdom with him, and called that country Gallogræcia.

CHAP. III. *Whilst these things are doing in Asia, in the mean time Pyrrhus being defeated by the Carthaginians in a sea fight, desires a recruit of soldiers from Antigonus king of Macedonia: declaring unless he sent them, he should be obliged to return into his kingdom, in order to seek the improvement of his fortune from him, which he was desirous to procure from the Romans. Which when his ambassadors brought word was denied him, he pretends a sudden departure, concealing the reasons of it. In the mean time he orders his allies to prepare for war. and delivers the custody of the citadel of Tarentum to Helenus his son, and his friend Milo. Returning into Epire, he immediately invades the borders of Macedonia; whom Antigonus meets with an army, and being overthrown in battle, is put to flight. Thus Pyrrhus gets Macedonia upon surrender; and as if he had made up the damages of the loss of Sicily and Italy, by acquiring the kingdom of Macedonia, he sends for his son left at Tarentum, and his friend. But Antigonus with a few horsemen, the companions of his flight, being on a sudden stript of all the ornaments of his fortune, withdrew himself to Thesalonica, in order to observe his lost kingdom, that he might from thence renew the war with a mercenary army of Gauls. Being again entirely defeated by Ptolemy, Pyrrhus's son, flying with seven attendants, he does not now pursue the hopes of recovering his kingdom, but proper hiding places for his security, and lonely places for his flight.*

CHAP. IV. *Wherefore Pyrrhus being placed at the top of so great a kingdom, and being now not content with that which was the utmost he could have come*

Græciæ Asiæq; regna meditatur. Neq; illi major ex imperio, quam ex bello voluptas erat: nec quisquam Pyrrhum, qua tulisset impetum, sustinere valuit. Sed ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur ita devictis acquisitisq; celeriter carebat. Tantomelius studebat acquirere imperia quam retinere. Itaq; cum copias Peloponneso transposuisset, legationibus Atheniensium & Achæorum Messeniorumq; excipitur. Sed & Græcia omnis admiratione nominis ejus, simul et rerum adversus Romanos Pœnosq; gestarum gloria attonita, adventum ejus expectabat. Primum illi bellum adversus Spartanos fuit; ubi majore mulierum, quam virorum virtute exceptus, Ptolemæum filium & exercitus partem robustissimam amisit. Quippe oppugnanti urbem, ad tutelam patriæ tanta multitudo foeminarum concurrat, ut non fortius victus, quam verecundius, recederet. Ptolemæum filium ejus, adeo strenuum & manu fortem fuisse tradunt, ut urbem Corcyram cum sexaginta ceperrit; idem prælio navali quinquerehem ex scapha cum septem insiluerit, captamq; tenuerit; in oppugnatione quoq; Spartano- rum usq; in mediam urbem equo procurrere, ibiq; concursu multitudinis interfectus est. Cujus corpus ut relatum patri est, dixisse Pyrrhum ferunt, *aliquanto tardius eum, quam timuerit ipse, vel temeritæ ejus meruerit, occisum esse.*

CAP. V. Repulsus a Spartanis Pyrrhus Argos petit. Ibi dum Antigonum in urbe clausum expugnare conatur, inter confertissimos violentissime dimicans saxo de muris ictus occiditur. Caput ejus Antigono refertur; qui victoria mitius usus,

at in his wishes, aims at the kingdoms of Greece and Asia. Nor did he receive more pleasure from dominion than war: nor was any one able to withstand Pyrrhus, wheresoever he made an assault. But as he was reckoned invincible for the conquest of kingdoms, so he quickly lost what he conquered and acquired. So much better did he mind the gaining of kingdoms than the keeping of them. Wherefore having marched his army from Peloponnesus, he is received by embassies of the Athenians, Achæans, and Messenians. Nay, all Greece being struck with the admiration of his name, as likewise with the glory of his exploits against the Romans and Carthaginians, waited his coming. His first war was against the Spartans; where being received with greater bravery of the women than the men, he lost his son Ptolemy, and the strongest part of his army. For upon his attacking the city, so vast a number of women flocked together for the defence of their country, that he retired vanquished, not more by bravery, than modesty. Moreover they say, that his son Ptolemy was so vigorous and brave in action, that he took the city Corcyra with sixty men only. The same man, in a naval fight, jumped out of a boat with seven men into a quinquerehem, took it, and kept it. In his attack too upon the Spartans, he advanced up into the middle of the city on horseback, and there was slain in a crowd of the people gathered about him. Whose body when it was carried to his father, they reported Pyrrhus said, 'That he was slain a little later than he feared, or his rashness deserved.'

CHAP. V. Pyrrhus being repulsed by the Spartans, goes to Argos. There whilst he endeavours to take Antigonus shut up in the city, fighting very furiously among the thickest, he is struck with a stone from the walls, and slain. His head is carried to Antigonus; who using his victory with moderation, sent back his son
filium

filium ejus Helenum cum Epirotis sibi deditum, in regnum remisit, ei;q; insculpti patris ossa in patriam referenda tradidit. Satis constans inter omnes auctores fama est, nullum, nec ejus, nec superioris ætatis regem comparandum Pyrrho fuisse; raroq; non inter reges tantum, verum etiam inter illustres viros, aut vitæ sanctioris, aut justitiæ probatoris visum fuisse: Scientiam certe rei militaris in illo viro tantam fuisse, ut cum Lysimachio, Demetrio, Antigono, tantis regibus belli gerens, invictus semper fuerit. Illyriorum quoq; Siculorum, Romanorumque, & Carthaginiensium bellis, nunquam inferior plerumq; etiam victor exiit: qui patriam certe suam angustam ignobilemque, fama rerum gestarum claritatis nominis sui, toto orbe illustrem reddiderit.

Helenus, delivered up to him with the Epirotians, into his kingdom, and delivered to him the bones of his father unburied, to be carried into his country. It is a pretty unanimous opinion among authors, that no king, either of that, nor the former age, was to be compared to Pyrrhus; and that there seldom had been seen, not only among kings, but even among illustrious men, a person either of a more upright life, or more approved justice; however, that there was in that man so much skill in military affairs, that tho' he had wars with such great princes as Lysimachus, Demetrius, and Antigonus, he was always unconquered. In the wars too of the Illyrians, Sicilians, and Romans, and Carthaginians, he was never inferior, for the most part too victorious; who however rendered his country, that was but little and obscure before, illustrious throughout the world, by the fame of his exploits, and the glory of his name.

LIBER XXVI.

BREVARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Peloponnesii per proditionem Antigono traduntur. Aristotimus tyrannus Epirotas affligit. & Hellenici prudentia opprimitur.*
2. *Antigonus Gallis occurrit, qui in furorum versi conjuges & liberos suos trucidant: deinde numinis vindicta omnes internecone delentur. Antigoni varii casus.*
3. *Alexander, Pyrrhi filius, in regnum restituitur. Regni Cyrenarum turbulentus status.*

CAPUT I.

POST mortem Pyrrhi, non in Macedonia tantum verum etiam in Asia Græciaque, magni bellorum motus fuere. Nam & Peloponnesii per proditionem Antigono traditi, & variante hominum partim dolore, partim gaudio, prout singu-

AFTER the death of Pyrrhus, there were mighty commotions of war, not only in Macedonia, but also in Asia and Greece. For the Peloponnesians too were delivered up to Antigonus by treachery; and partly sorrow, and partly joy, variously affecting the minds of men, as every city had either expected assistance, or con-

læ civitates aut auxilium de Pyrrho speraverant, aut metus sustinuerant, ita aut cum Antigono societatem jungebant, aut mutuis inter se odiis in bellum ruebant. Inter hunc turbatarum provinciarum motum, Epirorum quoque urbs ab Aristotimo principe per tyrannidem occupatur; a quo cum multi ex primoribus occisi, plures in exilium acti essent, Ætolis per legatos postulantes, conjuges liberosq; exilium redderet, primo negavit; postea quasi pœniteret, proficiscendi ad suos omnibus matronis potestatem dedit, diemq; profectionis statuit. Illæ, quasi in perpetuum cum viris exulaturæ, pretiosissima quæque auferentes, cum ad portam, quasi uno agmine profecturæ, convenissent, omnibus rebus expoliaturæ, in carcerem recluduntur, occisis prius in gremio matrum parvulis liberis, virginibusq; ad stuprum direptis. Ad tam sævam dominationem stupentibus omnibus princeps eorum Hellenicus, senex & liberis orbus, ut qui nec pignoris respectu timuerit, contractos domum fidissimos amicorum in vindictam patriæ hortatur. Cunctantibus privato periculo publicum finire, & deliberandi spatium postulantibus, accessitis servis jubet, obserari fores, tyrannoq; nuntiari, mitteret qui conjuratos apud se comprehenderet; objectans singulis se, quia liberandæ patriæ auctor esse non possit, desertæ ulterem futurum. Tunc illi ancipiti periculo circumventi, honestiorem viam eligentes, conjurant in tyranni necem. Atque ita Aristotimus, quinto postquam tyrannidem occupaverat mense, opprimitur.

CAP. II. Interea Antigonus cum multiplici bello & Ptole

ceived any apprehensions from him, so did they either make an alliance with Antigonus, or by reason of their mutual animosities among themselves, rush forward to war. During this commotion of the disturbed provinces, the city Epirus is seized by usurpation, by a great man there, Aristotimus. By whom after many of the chiefs had been slain, and more forced into banishment, the Ætolians desiring by their ambassadors, that he would restore the wives and children of the banished men, at first he refused; afterwards, as if he was sorry, he gave all the married women leave to go to their husbands, and appoints a day for their departure. They, as being to live all their lives in banishment with their husbands, taking away all their most valuable effects, after they were come to a gate of the city, as designing to go away in a body, they were stript of all their things, and thrown in gaol; the little children being first slain on the laps of their mothers, and the young women carried off to be lewdly abused. Whilst all people were amazed at this cruel tyranny, Hellenicus, the chief of them, being an old man, and without children, as who had no fear, neither upon account of his age or issue, encourages the most faithful of his friends, which he got to his own house, to the defence of their country, they being backward to put an end to the publick by their private danger, and desiring time to consider of it, sending for his servants, he orders the doors to be locked, and word to be carried to the tyrant, that he should send some to seize upon the conspirators against his life, that were with him; telling each of them in an upbraiding manner, that since he could not be the cause of the delivery of his country, he would be the avenger of its being forsaken. Then they being trepanned by a double danger, chusing the more honourable way, conspire together for the killing of the tyrant. And thus Aristotimus is taken off in the fifth month after he had seized upon the government.

CHAP. II. In the mean time Antigonus being distressed by a double war,

mæi

mæi regis, & Spartanorum, premeretur; novusq; illi hostis Gallogræciæ exercitus affluxisset; in speciem castrorum parva manu adversus cæteros relicta, adversus Gallos totis viribus proficiscitur. Quibus cognitis Galli cum & ipsi se prælio pararent, in auspicia pugnae hostias cædunt; quarum extis cum magna cædes interitusq; omnium prædiceretur, non in timorem, sed in furorem versi, sperantusque deorum minas expiari cæde suorum posse; conjuges & liberos suos trucidant, auspicia belli a parricidio incipientes. Tanta rabies feros animos invaserat, ut non parcerent ætati, cui etiam hostes pepercissent, bellumq; internecivum cum liberis liberorumque matribus gererent, pro quibus bella suscipi solent. Itaq; quasi scelere vitam victoriamque redemissent, sicut erant cruenti ex recenti suorum cæde in prælium non meliore eventu, quam omine proficiscuntur. Siquidem pugnantes, prius parricidiorum furia quam hostes circumvenire: obversantibusq; ante oculos manibus interemptorum, omnes occidione cæsi. Tanta strages fuit, ut pariter cum hominibus dii consensisse in exitum parricidarum viderentur. Post hujus pugnae eventum, Ptolemæus & Spartani, victorem hostium exercitum declinantes in tutiora se recipiunt. Antigonus quoq; ubi eorum discessum videt, recenti adhuc ex prior victoria militum ardore, bellum Atheniensibus infert. In quo cum occupatus esset, interim Alexander rex Epiri ulcisci mortem patris Pyrrhi cupiens, fines Macedonæ depopulatur. Adversus quem cum reversus a Græcia Antigonus esset, transitione militum destitutus, regnum Macedoniæ

both with king Ptolemy, and the Spartans, and a new enemy, the army of Gallogræcia, coming in upon him, a small body being left against the rest to make an appearance of a camp, he marches against the Gauls with all his other strength. Which things being understood, the Gauls likewise preparing for battle, kill sacrifices, to take the omens of the fight; by the entrails of which, as great slaughter and the destruction of them all was signified, being put not in fear, but in a fury, and hoping that the threats of the Gods might be averted by the slaughter of their kindred, they kill their wives and children; beginning the auspices of war with parricide. So great a madness had seized their cruel minds, that they did not spare the age, which enemies would have spared; and carried on a destructive war with their children, and children's mothers, for which wars used to be undertaken. Wherefore, as if they had redeemed life and victory by their wickedness, they march bloody as they were with the fresh slaughter of their relations, to battle, with no better event than omen. For the furies, the avengers, of parricide, surrounded them as they were fighting, before the enemy did. And the ghosts of their slain relations appearing before their eyes, they were all cut off with an entire destruction. So great was the havoc, that the Gods seemed to have agreed together with men for the destruction of the parricides. After the event of this fight, Ptolemy and the Spartans declining, the victorious army of the enemies withdraw themselves into safer places. Antigonus likewise, when he saw their departure, the vigour of his soldiers being fresh from the late victory, made war upon the Athenians. In which whilst he was busy, Alexander king of Epire, in the mean time, desirous to revenge the death of his father Pyrrhus, lays waste the borders of Macedonia. Against whom whilst Antigonus was returning from Greece, being deserted by his men's going over to the enemy, he loses the kingdom of Macedonia, with his army. His son Demetrius, but a meer boy,

cum

cum exercitu amittit. Hujus filius Demetrius puer admodum, absente patre, reparato exercitu, non solum amissam Macedoniam recepit; verum etiam Epiri regno Alexandrum spoliatur. Tanta vel mobilitas militum, vel fortunæ varietas erat, ut vicissim reges, nunc exules, nunc reges viderentur.

CAP. III. Igitur Alexander, cum exul ad Acarnanas confugisset, non minore Epirotarum desiderio quam sociorum auxilio, in regnum restituitur. Per idem tempus rex Cyrenarum Agas decedit; qui ante infirmitatem, Beronice unicam filiam ad finiendam cum Ptolemæo fratre certamina, filio ejus desponderat. Sed post mortem regis, mater virginis Arsinoë, ut invita se contractum matrimonium solveretur, misit qui ad nuptias virginis, regnumque Cyrenarum, Demetrium fratrem regis Antigoni a Macedonia arcefferent; qui & ipse a filia Ptolemæi procreatus erat. Sed nec Demetrius moram fecit. Itaque cum secundante vento celeriter Cyrenas advolasset, fiducia pulchritudinis qua nimis placere socrus cœperat statim a principio superbus, regniæ familiæ, militibusque impotens erat; studiumque placendi a virgine in matrem contulerat. Quæ res suspecta primo virgini; dein popularibus militibusque invisa fuit. Itaque versis omnium animis in Ptolemæi filium, infidiæ Demetrio comparantur; cui cum in lectum socrus concessisset, percussores imittuntur. Sed Arsinoë auditu voce filię ad fores stantis, & præcipientis ut *matrī parceretur*, adulterum paulisper corpore suo protexit. Quo interfecto, Beronice, & stupra matris, salvis pietate, ulta est, & in matrimonio sortiundo iudicium patris secuta.

in the absence of his father, raising a new army, not only recovers Macedonia that had been lost, but likewise strips Alexander of the kingdom of Epirus. Such was the fickleness of the soldiers, or the variety of fortune, that kings by turns appeared one while exiles, and another while kings.

CHAP. III. Wherefore Alexander, flying as an exile to the Acarnanians, is restored to his kingdom, with no less desire of the Epirotians, than the assistance of his allies. About the same time Agas, king of Cyrene, dies; who before his illness had contracted his only daughter Beronice, to end all disputes with his brother Ptolemy, to his son. But after the death of the king, the mother of the virgin Arsinoë, that the match made without her will might be broken, sent some to fetch Demetrius, the brother of king Antigonus, from Macedonia, to marry the virgin, and take possession of the kingdom of Cyrene; who himself too was begot of a daughter of Ptolemy's. But Demetrius made no delay. Wherefore having quickly arrived at Cyrene with a favourable wind, in confidence of his handsomeness, by which he had begun to be too pleasing to his mother-in-law, immediately from his first arrival being very haughty, was insolent to the royal family, and the soldiers: and had transferred his desire of pleasing from the young lady to her mother. Which thing was first suspected by the young lady, and was afterwards odious to the people, and the soldiers. Wherefore the affections of all people being turned upon Ptolemy's son, a plot is laid for Demetrius; upon whom assassins are let in, after he was got into the bed of his mother-in-law. But Arsinoë hearing the voice of her daughter standing by the door, and ordering them to spare her mother, she covered the gallant with her own body for a while. Who being slain, Beronice was both revenged for the gallantry of her mother, with a salvo to her duty, and in choosing a husband, followed the judgment of her father.

LIBER XXVII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Seleucus novercam & fratrem infantem interficit.
2. Classe naufragio amissa, civitates amissa recipit, prælio victus aufugit: auxilium noxium a fratre Antiocho Hierace petit, & impetrat.
3. Asiæ lacerus status. In Antiocho Hieraclem & Seleucum Numinis vindicta.

CAPUT I.

MOrtuo Syriæ rege Antiocho, cum in locum ejus filius Seleucus successisset, hortante matre Laudice, quæ prohibere debuerat, auspicia regni a parricidio cæpit. Quippe Beronice novercam suam, sororem Ptolemæi regis Ægypti, cum parvulo fratre, ex ea suscepto, interficit. Quo facinore perpetrato, & infamiæ maculam subiit, & Ptolemæi bello se implicuit. Porro Beronice, cum ad se interficiendam missos didicisset, Daphnæ se claudit. Ubi cum obsideri eam cum parvulo filio nuntiatum Asiæ civitatibus esset, recordatione paternæ, majorumq; ejus, dignitatis, casum tam indignæ fortunæ miserantes, auxilia ei omnes misere. Frater quoq; Ptolemæus periculo sororis exterritus, relicto regno, cum omnibus viribus advolat. Sed Beronice ante adventum auxiliorum cum vi expugnari non posset, dolo circumventa trucidatur. Indigna res omnibus visa. Itaque cum universæ civitates, quæ defecerant, ingentem classem comparassent repente, exemplo crudelitatis exterritæ, simul & in ultionem ejus, quam defensuri erant, Ptolemæo se tradunt, qui, nisi in Ægyptum domestica seditione revocatus esset, totum reg-

AFTER Antiochus king of Syria was dead, his son Seleucus succeeded in his stead, his mother Laudice encouraging him to it, who ought to have forbid it, he begun his reign with parricide. For he puts to death Beronice his step-mother, the sister of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with a little brother he had by her. Which villainy being committed, he both underwent the stain of infamy, and entangled himself in a war with Ptolemy. Moreover Beronice understanding that men were sent to kill her, shuts herself up at Daphna. Where when it was told to the cities of Asia, that she was besieged with her little son, upon recollection of the dignity of her father and her ancestors, lamenting the hard circumstances of her unworthy fortune, they all sent her assistance. Her brother Ptolemy too being affrighted with the danger of his sister, leaving his kingdom, makes a hasty march with all his forces. But Beronice before the arrival of her succours, not being to be taken by force, is trepanned by treachery, and slain. It appeared to all people an unworthy thing. Wherefore all the cities, which had revolted, having provided a great fleet on a sudden, being terrified by that sample of his cruelty, and at the same time to revenge her, whom they had designed to defend, they deliver themselves up to Ptolemy, who, but that he was recalled into Egypt by a faction at home, would have seized the whole kingdom of Seleucus. So great an odium did his parricidious villainy bring upon him,

num,

num Seleuci occupasset. Tantum vel illi odium, parricidiale scelus, vel huic favorem indigne peremptæ mors fororis, attulerat.

CAP. II. Post discessum Ptolemæi, Seleucus cum adversus civitates, quæ defecerant, ingentem classem comparasset, repente veluti diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus, orta tempestate classem naufragio amittit. Nec quicquam illi ex tanto apparatu, præter nudum corpus & spiritum & paucos naufragii comites residuos fortuna fecit. Misera quidem res, sed optanda Seleuco fuit; siquidem civitates, quæ odio ejus ad Ptolemæum transierant, velut diis arbitris satisfactum sibi esset, repentina animorum mutatione in naufragii misericordiam versæ, imperio se ejus restitunt. Lætus igitur malis suis, & damnis ditior redditus, veluti par viribus, bellum Ptolemæo infert. Sed quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quam ut amitteret, victus prælio, non multo quam post naufragium comitator, trepidius Antiochiam confugit. Inde ad Antiochum fratrem literas facit, quibus auxilium ejus implorat, oblata ei Asia, inter fines Tauri montis, in præmium latæ opis. Antiochus autem cum esset annos XIV natus, supra ætatem regni avidus, occasionem non tam pio animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit; sed latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque sumit audaciam. Unde *Hierax* est cognominatus; qui non hominis, sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripendis vitam sectaretur. Interea Ptolemæus Euergetes, cum Antiochum in auxilium Seleuco ve-

or so much favour did the death of his sister, so basely slain, procure the other.

CHAP. II. After the departure of Ptolemy, Seleucus having provided a large fleet, against the cities that had revolted, on a sudden the Gods themselves as it were revenging the parricide, upon the arising of a storm he loses his fleet by a wreck. Nor did fortune leave him any thing of all his preparations, besides his naked body and life, and a few companions of his shipwreck. It was indeed a miserable case, but to be wished for by Seleucus; for the cities which in hatred to him had gone over to Ptolemy, as if satisfaction had been made them by the Gods as judges betwixt them, by a sudden alteration of their minds being moved to compassion on account of his loss at sea, put themselves again under his government. Wherefore being glad at his misfortunes, and made richer by his losses, he makes war upon Ptolemy, as being equal to him in strength. But as if he was born to be the sport of fortune only, and had received the power of a kingdom for nothing else but to lose it, being defeated in battle, he flies in a great hurry to Antioch, not much better attended than after his loss at sea. From thence he sends a letter to his brother Antiochus, in which he implores his assistance, offering him Asia, within the limits of mount Taurus, as a reward of the assistance he should give him. But Antiochus, tho' he was but fourteen years old, being greedy of a kingdom above his age, snatched at the occasion, not with so affectionate a mind as it was offered; but like a robber, desirous to take the whole kingdom from his brother, though but a boy, he assumes a wicked and a manlike boldness. From whence he was surnamed *Hierax*, because he sustained life not after the manner of a man, but that of a hawk, by violently taking what belonged to another. In the mean time Ptolemy Euergetes, having understood that Antiochus was come to the assistance of Seleucus, that he might not en-

nire

nire cognovisset, ne cum duobus uno tempore dimicaret, in annos decem cum Seleuco pacem facit. Sed pax ab hoste data interpellatur a fratre, qui conducto Gallorum mercenario exercitu, pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem imploratus exhibuit. In eo prælio virtute Gallorum victor quidem Antiochus fuit. Sed Galli arbitantes Seleucum in prælio cecidisse, in ipsum Antiochum arma vertere; liberius depopulaturi Asiam, si omnem stirpem regem extinxissent. Quod ubi sensit Antiochus, velut a prædonibus, auro se redimit, societatemque cum mercenariis suis jungit.

CAP. III. Interea rex Bithyniæ Eumenes, sparsis sumptisq; fratribus bello intestinæ discordiæ, quasi vacantem Asiæ possessionem invasurus, victorem Antiochum Gallosque aggreditur. Nec difficile faucios adduc ex superiore congressione, integer ipse viribus superat. Ea namque tempestate omnia bella in exitium Asiæ gerebantur; uti quisque fortior fuisset, Asiam velut prædam occupabat. Seleucus & Antiochus fratres bellum propter Asiam gerebant. Ptolemæus rex Ægypti sub specie sororiæ ultionis Asiæ inhæbat. Hinc Bithynus Eumenes, inde Galli (humiliorum semper mercenaria manus) Asiam depopulabantur; cum interea nemo defensor Asiæ inter tot predones inveniebatur. Victo Antiocho cum Eumenes majorem partem Asiæ occupasset, ne tunc quidem fratres, perduto præmio, propter quod bellum gerebant, concordare potuerunt; sed omisso externo hoste, in mutuum exitium bellum reparant. In eo Antiochus denuo victus, multorum dierum fuga fatigatus, tan-

gage with two at one time, makes a peace with Seleucus for ten years. But the peace that was given by the enemy is interrupted by the brother, who hiring a mercenary army of Gauls, instead of assistance made war, and instead of a brother shewed himself an enemy. In that battle Antiochus was indeed victorious by the bravery of the Gauls. But the Gauls supposing Seleucus had fallen in battle, turned their arms upon Antiochus himself, being like to ravage Asia with the more freedom, if they should destroy the whole royal family. Which when Antiochus perceived, he redeems himself with gold from them as from robbers, and claps up an alliance with his hirelings.

CHAP. III. In the mean time Eumenes king of Bithynia, whilst the brothers were divided, and in a manner ruined by this civil war, as if he intended to seize the possession of Asia, now vacant, falls upon the conqueror Antiochus, and his Gauls. And being himself unfoiled, he does without difficulty overthrow them, weakened with their former engagement. For at that time all wars were carried on for the ruin of Asia: as any one was stronger than his neighbouring princes, he seized upon Asia as his prey. The brothers Seleucus and Antiochus carried on a war for Asia. Ptolemy king of Egypt, under pretence of revenging his sister, was ready to seize Asia. On the other hand, Eumenes of Bithynia, on the other the Gauls, (a mercenary army always ready for the assistance of the weaker side) laid waste Asia; whilst in the mean time, no one was found to be the protector of Asia, among so many robbers. Antiochus being overthrown, and Eumenes having seized the greater part of Asia, the brothers even then could not agree, tho' the prize was lost, for which they carried on the war; but neglecting the foreign enemy, renew the war of their mutual destruction. In that Antiochus being again defeated, and fatigued with a flight of many days continuance, comes at last to his father-in-

dem

dem ad focerum suum Artamenem, regem Cappadociæ provehitur. A quo cum primum benigne exceptus esset, interjectis diebus, cognito quod insidiæ sibi pararentur, salutem fuga quæsit. Igitur cum profugus nusquam tutus locus esset, ad Ptolemæum hostem, cujus fidem tutiorem quam fratris existimabat, decurrit; memor vel quæ facturus fratri esset, vel quæ meruisset a fratre. Sed Ptolemæus non amicior dedito, quam hosti factus, servari cum arctissima custodia jubet. Hinc quoque Antiochus opera cujusdam meretricis adjutus, quam familiaris noverat, deceptis custodibus elabatur fugiensq; a latronibus interficitur. Seleucus quoq; iisdem ferme diebus, amisso regno, equo præcipitatus, finitur. Sic fratres, quasi & germanis casibus, exules ambo, post regna, scelerum suorum pœnas luerunt.

law, Artamenes the king of Cappadocia. By whom being kindly received, after some days, having understood that a plot was laid for him, he sought his security by flight. Wherefore there being no where else a safe place for this exiled prince, he flies to Ptolemy, whose faith he thought was more to be depended upon than that of his brother, reflecting either upon what he would have done to his brother, or what he had deserved from his brother. But Ptolemy being no more a friend to him now he was delivered up to him, than when he was his enemy's orders him to be kept under a very strict confinement. Antiochus makes his escape from thence too by deceiving his keepers, being assisted by the help of a certain courtesan, whom he had been kind with, and in his flight is slain by robbers. Seleucus too about the same days, losing his kingdom, and being thrown from his horse, dies. Thus the brothers, as if they were brother-germans in misfortunes too, being both exiles after their reign, suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

LIBER XXVIII.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. *Olympias, Alexandri Epirotæ vidua, Demetrio Macedoni Phthiam filiam dat uxorem; unde tragædia & bellorum initia.*
2. *Ætoli superbe respondent Romanis, qui Acarnanibus auxilium præbebant; & arma movent intrepide.*
3. *Filiis duobus morbo sublati, Olympias non diu supervivit, Laodamia filia interfecta. Epirus graviter affligitur. Demetrius Macedo moritur. Hujus filii Philippi Antigonus tutelam suscipit, quam prudenter administrat.*
4. *Bellum Antigoni adversus Spartanos, quorum rex Cleomenes viribus attritis in Ægyptum profugit, ubi interficitur. Antigono mortuo Philippus regnat.*

C A P U T I.

OLYMPIAS Pyrrhi Epirotæ regis filia, amisso marito, eodemqu; germano fratre Alexandro, cum tutelam filiorum ex

Olympias the daughter of king Pyrrhus the Epirotian, having lost her husband, and the same her brother-german Alexander, and having taken upon her the

eo susceptorum Pyrrhi & Ptolemæi, regniq; administrationem in se recepisset, Ætolis partem Acarnaniæ, quam in portionem belli pater pupillorum acceperat, eripere volentibus, ad regem Macedoniae Demetrium decurrit, eique habenti uxorem Antiochi regis Syriæ sororem, filiam suam Phthiam in matrimonium tradit: ut auxilium, quod misericordia non poterat, jure cognationis obtineret. Fiunt igitur nuptiæ, quibus & novi matrimonii gratia acquiritur, & veteris offensa contrahitur. Nam prior uxor, velut matrimonio pulsa, sponte sua ad fratrem Antiochum, discedit, eumque in mariti bellum impellit. Acarnanes quoq; diffusi Epirotis, adversus Ætolos auxilium Romanorum implorantes, obtinuerunt a Romano senatu, ut legati mitterentur, qui denunciarent Ætolis, præsidia ab urbibus Acarnaniæ deducerent; paterenturq; esse liberos, qui soli quondam adversus Trojanos auctores originis suæ, auxilia Græcis non miserint.

CAP. II. Sed Ætoli legationem Romanorum superbe audire, Pœnos illis & Gallos, a quibus tot belli occidione cæsi sunt, exprobrantes, dicentesque prius illis portas adversus Carthaginienses aperiendas, quas clauserit metus Punici belli, quam in Græciam arma transferenda. Meminisse deinde jubent, qui quibus minentur. Adversus Gallos urbem eos suam tueri non potuisse; captamque non ferro defendisse, sed auro redemisse. Quam gentem se aliquanto majore manu Græciam ingressum non solum nullis exterius viribus, sed ne domesticis quidem totis adjutos, universam delesse; sedemque sepulchris eorum præbuisse, quam illi urbibus imperioque suo proposuerant. Contra Italiam,

guardianship of her sons, she had by him, Pyrrhus and Ptolomy, and the administration of the kingdom, the Ætolians being desirous to take from her a part of Acarnania, which the father of the orphans had received as his share for his service in the war, applies to Demetrius king of Macedonia, and gives him her daughter Phthia in marriage, tho' he had to wife a sister to Antiochus king of Syria, that she might by the right of relation obtain the assistance, which she could not from compassion. Wherefore a wedding is celebrated, by which the favour of a new wife is acquired, and the offence of a former is contracted. For the first wife, as if divorced, departs of her own accord to her brother Antiochus, and pushes him on to war against her husband. The Acarnanians likewise distrusting the Epirotans, and imploring the assistance of the Romans against the Ætolians, obtained of the Roman senate, that ambassadors should be sent to order the Ætolians, To withdraw their garrisons from the cities of Acarnania, and suffer them to be free, who alone had not sent assistance to the Greeks formerly against the Trojans, as the authors of their original.

CHAP. II. But the Ætolians heard the embassy of the Romans with disdain, upbraiding them with the Carthaginians and Gauls, by whom they had been mauled with the miserable havoc in so many wars, and saying, That they ought to open their gates which the fear of the Punick war had shut against the Carthaginians, before they carried their arms into Greece. Then they bid them remember, who threatened them. That they could not defend their city against the Gauls, and when taken had not defended it with the sword, but redeemed it with gold. Which nation having entered Greece with somewhat a greater army, they had entirely destroyed, not only assisted with no foreign strength, but not even with the whole strength of their own country; and had made that a place for their graves, which they had proposed

trepidis

trepididis ex recenti urbis suæ incendio Romanis, universam ferme a Gallis occupatam. Prius igitur illis Gallos Italia pellendos, quam minentur Ætolis; priusque sua defendenda quam aliena appetenda. Quos autem homines Romanos esse? nempe pastores; qui latrocinio iustis dominis ademptum solum teneant; qui uxores, cum propter originis debonestimenta non invenirent, vi publica rapuerint; qui denique urbem ipsam parricidio condiderint, murorumque fundamenta fraterno sanguine asperferint. Ætolos autem principes Græciæ semper fuisse; & sicut dignitate, ita & virtute cæteris præstitisse; solos denique esse, qui Macedonas imperio terrarum florentes semper contempserint; qui Philippum regem non timuerint; qui Alexandri Magni, post Persas Indosque devictos, cum omnes nomen ejus horrerent, edicta spreverint. Monere igitur se Romanos, contenti sint fortuna præsentis, nec provocent arma, quibus & Gallos caesos, & Macedonas contemptos videant. Sic dimissa legatione Romanorum, nec fortius locuti, quam fecisse viderentur, fines Epiri regni & Acarnaniæ depopulantur.

Having thus dismissed the embassy of the Romans, that they might not appear to speak more boldly than they acted, they lay waste the borders of the kingdom of Epirë and Acarnania.

CAP. III. Jam Olympias filiis regna tradiderat, & in locum Pyrrhi fratris defuncti Ptolemæus successerat; qui cum hostibus instructu exercitu obviis processisset, infirmitate correptus in itinere decedit. Olympias quoque non magno post tempore, gemino funerum vulnere afflicta, ægrum spiritum trahens, non diu filiis supervixit. Cum ex gente regia solo Nereis virgo, cum Laudamia sorore superesset, Nereis nubit Geloni Siciliæ regis

for their cities, and dominion. On the other hand, that Italy, whilst the Romans were terrified with the late firing of their city, was almost entirely seized by the Gauls. Wherefore they ought to drive the Gauls out of Italy, before they threatened the Ætolians, and defend their own, before they fought after what belonged to other people. And what men were the Romans? shepherds forsooth, who possessed a territory taken from the lawful owners by robbery, who not being able to procure wives by reason of the baseness of their original, seized them by public violence; who finally founded their city in parricide, and sprinkled the foundation of their walls with the blood of their prince's brothers. But the Ætolians had always been the leaders of Greece, and as they excelled the rest in dignity, did so also in conduct: finally, they were the only men, who always despised the Macedonians flourishing in the possession of the empire of the world; who feared not king Philip; who despised the edicts of Alexander the Great, after the Persians and Indians had been conquered by him, when all people dreaded his name. Wherefore they advised the Romans, to be content with their present fortune, and not provoke the arms, by which they knew the Gauls had been cut off, and the Macedonians

CHAP. III. Now Olympias had delivered the kingdom to her sons, and Ptolemy had succeeded in the place of his brother Pyrrhus deceased, who marching against the enemy with a well provided army, and being taken with an illness upon his march, dies. Olympias too no long time after, being afflicted with a double loss, in the death of her sons, spinning out her life with difficulty, did not long survive her sons: When now only the young lady Nereis, with her sister Laudamia was left of the royal family, Nereis marries Gelon the king of Sicily's son: but Lau-
filio;

filio; Laudamia autem cum in aram Dianæ confugisset, concursu populi interficitur. Quod facinus dii immortales assidue cladibus gentis, & prope interitu totis populi vindicaverunt. Nam sterilitatem, famemque passi, & intestina discordia vexati, externis ad postremum bellis pene consumpti sunt: Miloque Laudamiæ percussor in furorem versus nunc ferro, nunc saxo, in summa dentibus laceratis visceribus duodecima die interiit. His in Epiro gestis, interim in Macedonia Demetrius rex, relicto filio Philippo, parvulo admodum, decedit. Cui Antigonus tutor datus, accepta in matrimonium matre pupilli, regem se constitui laborabat. Interjecto deinde tempore, cum seditione minaci Macedonum, clausus in regia teneretur, in publicum sine satellitibus procedit; projectoque in vulgus diademate ac purpura, dare hæc eos alteri jubet; qui aut imperare illis nesciat, aut cui parere ipsi sciant. Sed adhuc invidiosum illud regnum, non voluptatibus, sed laboribus ac periculis sentire. Commemorat deinde beneficia sua; ut defectionem sociorum vindicaverit; ut Dardanos Thessalosque exultantes morte Demetrii regis compefecerit; ut denique dignitatem Macedonum non solum defenderit, verum etiam auxerit. Quorum si illos pæniteat, deponere se imperium, & reddere illis munus suum; ipsi regem quærant, cui imperent. Cum populus pudore motus recipere eum regnum juberet, tamdiu recusavit, quoad seditionis auctores supplicio traderentur.

CAP. IV. Post hæc bellum Spartanis infert; qui soli Philippi Alexandrique bellis, & imperium Macedonum, & omnibus metuenda arma contempserant. In-

damia flying to the altar of Diana, is slain by a mob. Which wicked fact the immortal Gods revenged by continual slaughters of the nation, and almost the ruin of the whole people. For suffering by barrenness and famine, and plagued with civil discord, they were almost consumed at last by foreign wars; and Milo the assassin of Laudamia running mad, tearing his bowels one time with the sword, another with stones, and at last with his teeth, died in twelve days. Whilst these things are doing in Epiro, in the mean time king Demetrius in Macedonia dies, leaving behind him his son Philip, a small child. For whom Antigonus being assigned as guardian, taking the mother of the orphan in marriage, laboured hard to be made king. And some time after being kept shut up in the palace by a threatening sedition of the Macedonians, he goes abroad without his guard, and throwing his diadem and scarlet robe among the mob, he bids them give those to some body else, who either knew not how to govern them, or whom they knew to obey. That he had hitherto found the regal authority exposed to envy, not by the pleasures, but the fatigues and dangers of it. Then he recounts his services, how he had severely punished the revolt of their allies; how he had quelled the Dardanians, and Thessalians rejoicing upon the death of Demetrius; how finally, he had not only defended the dignity of the Macedonians, but likewise had increased it; for which if they were sorry, he laid down his authority, and returned them their present; they might seek out a prince they could govern. When the people moved with shame bid him take the regal authority upon him, he refused it so long, 'till the ring-leaders of the sedition were delivered up to punishment.

CHAP. IV. After these things, he makes war upon the Spartans, who alone, during the wars of Philip and Alexander, had despised the power of the Macedonians, and their arms dreaded by all people. The

ter duas nobilissimas gentes bellum summis utrimque viribus fuit, cum hi pro vetere Macedonum gloria, illi non solum pro illibata libertate, sed etiam pro salute certarent. Victi Lacedæmonii non ipsi tantum, sed etiam conjuges liberique magno animo fortunam tulere. Nemo quippe in acie saluti pepercit; nulla amissum conjugem fleuit; filiorum mortem senes laudabant; patribus in acie cæsis filii gratulabantur; suam vicem omnes dolebant, quod non nisi pro patriæ libertate cecidissent. Parentibus omnes demibus faucios excipiebant, vulnera curabant, lassos reficiebant. Inter hæc nullus in urbe strepitus nulla trepidatio; magisque omnes publicam quam privatam fortunam lugebant. Inter hæc Cleomenes rex post multas hostium cædes, toto corpore, suo pariter & hostium cruore madens, supervenit; ingressusque urbem, non humi cecidit, non cibum aut potum poposcit, non deniq; armorum onus deposuit; sed acclinis parieti, cum quatuor millia sola ex pugna superfuisset conspexisset, hortatur ut se ad meliora reipublicæ tempora reservarent. Tum cum conjuge & liberis Ægyptum ad Ptolemæum proficiscitur; a quo honorifice susceptus, diu in summa dignatione regis vixit. Postremo post Ptolemæi mortem a filio ejus cum omni familia interficitur. Antigonus autem, cæsis occisione Spartanis, fortunam tantæ urbis miseratus, a direptione milites prohibuit; veniamq; his qui superfuerant dedit, præfatus, bellum se Cleomene, non cum Spartanis habuisse, cujus fuga omnis ira ejus finita sit; nec minori sibi gloriæ fore, si ab eo servata Lacedæmon, a quo solo capta sit, proderetur. Parcere

war betwixt these two most noble nations, was carried on with the utmost force on both sides, whilst these stood up for the antient glory of the Macedonians, and the other not only for their untainted liberty, but their very lives. The conquered Lacedæmonians, not only themselves, but their wives and children, bore their fortune with a great mind. For no one spared his life in the field, no woman lamented for her lost husband; the old men extolled the death of their sons, and the sons rejoiced for their fathers that were slain in the battle: all lamented their own hap, because they had not fallen for the liberty of their country. All people received the wounded soldiers with open houses, dressed their wounds, and refreshed the fatigued. In the midst of these things, there was no noise, no hurry in the city; and they all more lamented the public than their private fortune. During these things king Cleomenes, after many slaughters of the enemies, came up, with all his body over with his own blood and the enemies, and entering the city, did not sit upon the ground, nor call for meat or drink, did not finally put off the burden of his arms; but leaning against a wall, when he saw that only four thousand men had survived the battle, he advised them, to reserve themselves for better times. And then goes with his wife and children into Egypt to Ptolemy; by whom being honourably received, he lived a long time in the highest respect with the king. At last, after the death of Ptolemy, he is put to death with all his family by his son. But Antigonus, after the Spartans had been thus sadly mauled, pitying the hard fortune of so great a city, kept his soldiers from plundering it, and granted his pardon to all that were left; declaring, that he had engaged in the war with Cleomenes, not with the Spartans, by whose withdrawing, all his resentment was at an end; nor would it be less glorious to him, if it should be delivered to posterity, that Lacedæmon was saved by him, by whom alone it was taken. Wherefore he spared the soil and the houses of the

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igitur se solo urbis ac testis, quoniam homines quibus parceret, non superfuissent. Nec multo post ipse decedit, regnumq; Philippo pupillo annos XIV nato tradidit.

city, since no men were left for him to spare. Not long after he dies himself, and delivered the kingdom to the orphan Philip, fourteen years old.

LIBER XXIX.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Orbis multa imperia nova regum successione mutantur, nominatim in Africa, Ægypto, Macedonia.
2. Philippus rex Macedoniae, malo consilio impulsus, Romanis bellum inferro constituit.
3. Insanam hanc mentem speciosis verbis occultat.
4. Tandem apertus hostis apparet: unde cruentum bellum, ipsi Philippo perniciosum simul ac ignominiosum.

CAPUT I.

IISDEM ferme temporibus, prope universi Orbis imperia nova regum successione mutata sunt. Nam & in Macedonia Philippus mortuo Antigono tutore, eodemq; vitrico, annorum quatuordecim regnum suscepit. Et in Asia, interfecto Seleuco, impubes adhuc rex Antiochus constitutus est. Cappadociæ quoq; regnum Ariarathi, puero admodum pater ipse tradiderat. Ægyptum, patre ac matre interfectis, occupaverat Ptolemæus, cui ex facinoris crimine, cognomentum Philopator fuit. Sed & Spartani in locum Cleomenis suffecerunt Lycurgum. Et, ne qua temporibus mutatio deesset, apud Carthaginienses quoq; ætate immatura dux Annibal constituitur, non penuria seniorum, sed odio Romanorum, quo imbutum eum a pueritia sciebant. Fatale non tam Romanis, quam ipsi Africæ malum. His regibus pueris, etsi nulli senioris ætatis rectores erant, tamen in suorum

ABOU the same time, almost all the kingdoms of the world underwent a change by a new succession of princes. For in Macedonia Philip, after Antigonus his guardian, and the same his father-in-law, was dead, took the kingdom upon him fourteen years old. And in Asia, after Seleucus was slain, Antiochus, as yet a minor, was made king. The kingdom of Cappadocia too his father had delivered to Ariarathes, a meer boy. Ptolemy taking off both his father and mother, had seized Egypt, who had the surname of Philopator from his crime. But the Spartans too put Lycurgus in the room of Cleomenes. And that no sort of change might be wanting in those times, among the Carthaginians too, Annibal is made general at a very immature age, not for want of elder persons, but because of his hatred to the Romans, with which they knew him tainted from his childhood: a plague not so fatal to the Romans, as to Africa itself. In these kings, but boys, tho' they had no governors of more mature age, yet, as they each of them proceeded in the steps of their ancestors, there appeared a mighty able genius. Only Ptolemy, as

quisq;

quisq; majorum vestigia intentis, magna indoles virtutis enituit. Solus Ptolemæus, sicut scelestus in occupando regno, ita & segnis in administrando fuit. Philippum Dardani, cæterique omnes finitimi populi, quibus velut immortale odium cum Macedonum regibus erat, contemptu ætatis assidue laceiebant. Contra, ille summotis hostibus, non contentus sua defendisse, ultro etiam Ætolis bellum inferre gestiebat.

CAP. II. Quæ agitantem illum Demetrius rex Illyriorum nuper a Paulo Romano consule victus supplicibus precibus aggreditur, injuriam Romanorum querens: *qui non contenti Italiæ terminis, imperium spe improba totius Orbis amplexi, bellum cum omnibus regibus gerant. Sic illos Siciliæ, sic Sardinia, Hispaniaque, sic denique totius Africae imperium affectantes, bellum cum Pœnis & Annibale suscepisse. Sibi quoque, non aliam ob causam quam quod Italiæ finitimus videbatur, bellum illatum; quasi nefas esset, aliquem regem juxta imperii eorum terminos esse. Sed & ipsi cavendum esse exemplum, cujus quanto propius nobilisque sit regnum, tanto sit Romanos acriores hostes habiturus. Super hæc cedere se illi regno, quod Romani occupaverint, prohtetur, grätius habiturus, si in possessione imperii sui, socium potius quam hostes videret. Hujuscemodi oratione impulit Philippum, ut omisis Ætolis, bellum Romanis inferret, minus negotii existimantem, quod jam victos ad Annibalem apud Thrasymenum lacum audierat. Itaque ne eodem tempore multis locis detineretur, pacem cum Ætolis facit; nam quasi alio bellum translaturus, sed ut Græciæ quieti consulturus, quam nunquam in majori periculo fuisse*

he was wicked in seizing his kingdom, so was he unactive in the administration of it. The Dardanians, and all other neighbouring people, who had as it were an immortal animosity with the kings of the Macedonians, were continually attacking Philip, in contempt of his age. On the other hand, he having repulsed his enemies, and being not content to defend his own territories, was mighty eager to make war upon the Ætolians.

CHAP. II. Which whilst he was designing, Demetrius king of the Illyrians, who had lately been conquered by Paul the Roman Consul, accosts him with humble intreaties, complaining of the injustice of the Romans, who not content with the limits of Italy, but grasping with daring hopes at the empire of the whole world, carry on a war with all kings. Thus they affecting the dominion of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, and lastly of all Africa, had undertaken a war with the Carthaginians, and Annibal. War had been made upon him too, for no other reason, but because he seemed a neighbour to Italy; as if it was a crime for any king to be near the borders of their empire. But that he ought to guard against the example, the nearer and more famous whose kingdom was, so much the keener enemies would he find the Romans to be. Besides these things, he declares, that he quitted his kingdom to him, which the Romans had seized, and should think it more agreeable, if he saw his ally, rather than his enemies, in the possession of his kingdom. With such language as this he prevailed with Philip to let alone the Ætolians, and make war upon the Romans, supposing there would be the less difficulty in it, because he heard they had been already defeated at the Thrasymenian lake by Annibal. Therefore that he might not be engaged at the same time in many wars, he makes a peace with the Ætolians; not as if intending to carry the war elsewhere, but as if he did it in regard to Greece, which he affirmed, had affirmabat.

affirmabat. *Siquidem consurgentibus ab Occidente novis Pœnorum & Romanorum imperiis, quibus una hæc a Græcia atque Asia sit mora, dum inter se bello discrimen imperii faciunt; ceterum statim victoribus transitum in Orientem fore.*

CAP. III. *Videre se itaque ait consurgentem in Italia nubem illam trucis & cruenti belli; videre tonantem ac fulminantem ab Occasu procellam, quam in quasunque terrarum partes victoriæ tempestas detulerit, magno cruoris imbre omnia sædaturum. Frequentur Græciam ingentes motus passam, nunc Persarum, nunc Gallorum, nunc Macedonum belli; sed omnia illa ludum fuisse existimatos, si ea quæ nunc in Italia concurrat manus, extra terram illam se effuderit. Cernere se, quam cruenta & sanguinaria inter se bella utrique populi viribus copiarum & ducum artibus gerant; quæ rabies finire solo partis alterius interitu sine ruina finitimorum non possit. Feros igitur animos victorum minus quidem Macedoniæ, quam Græciæ timendos, quia & remotior, & in vindictam sui robustior sit. Scire tamen se eos qui tantis viribus concurrant, non contentos hoc sine victoriæ fore; metuendumque sibi quoque certamen eorum, qui superiores extiterint. Hoc prætextu finito cum Ætolis bello, nihil aliud quam Pœnorum Romanorumque bella respiciens, singulorum vires perpendebat. Sed nec Romani, tametsi Pœni & Annibal in cervicibus erant, soluti metu Macedonico videbantur; quippe terrebat eos & vetus Macedonum virtus, & devicti Orientis gloria, & Philippus studio Alexandri emulationis incensus, quem*

never been in greater danger, now that the two new empires of the Carthaginians and Romans were rising from the West, who were only with-held from Greece and Asia, till they should decide the dispute betwixt them for the empire of the world by a war. But that the conquerors would immediately pass into the East.

CHAP. III. *Wherefore he says, that he saw a cloud of a terrible and bloody war rising in Italy, he saw the storm roaring and thundering from the West, which, into whatever parts of the earth the tempest of victory should drive it, would stain all places with a vast shower of blood. That Greece had frequently suffered great commotions, one while by the wars of the Persians, another of the Gauls, and another of the Macedonians; but that they would think all those to have been but sport, if the force which was now drawing together in Italy should pour itself out of that country. He saw what cruel and bloody wars both those people carried on betwixt themselves, with all their forces, and the arts of their generals; which madness could not end with the ruin of one party only, without the ruin of their neighbours. The savage minds of the conquerors indeed were less to be feared by Macedonia than Greece; because it was both further from, and stronger for its own defence. Yet he knew that they who engaged with so much force, would not be content with that boundary of their victory, and that they must fear a contest with those that were superior in the war. Having ended the war with the Ætolians upon this pretence, thinking now of nothing else but the war of the Carthaginians and the Romans, he weighed the strength of each. But neither did the Romans seem free from the fear of the Macedonians, altho' the Carthaginians and Annibal were upon their necks: for both the ancient bravery of the Macedonians, and the glory of conquering the East, terrified them, as also Philip fired with a keen*
O 2 promptum

promptum in bella industrumque cognoverant.

CAP. IV. Igitur Philippus, cum iterato prælio victos a Pœnis Romanos didicisset, aperte hostem se his professus, naves, quibus in Italiam exercitum trajiceret, fabricare cœpit. Legatum deinde ad Annibalem, jungendæ societatis gratia, cum epistolis mittit: qui comprehensus, & ad senatum perductus, incolumis dimissus est, non in honorem regis, sed ne dubitus adhuc, indubitatus hostis redderetur. Postea vero, cum Romanis nuntiatum esset, in Italiam Philippum copias trajecturam, Lævinum prætorem cum instructis navibus ad prohibendum transitum mittunt. Qui cum in Græciam trajecisset, multis promissis impellit Ætolos bellum adversus Philippum suscipere. Philippus quoque; Achæo in Romanorum bella sollicitat. Interea & Dardani Macedoniae fines vastare cœperunt, abductisque xx millibus captivorum, Philippum a Romano bello ad tuendum regnum revocaverunt. Dum hæc aguntur, Lævinus prætor, juncta cum Attalo rege societate, Græciam populatur. Quibus cladibus percussæ civitates, auxilium petentes, Philippum legationibus fatigant. Necnon & Illyriorum reges, lateri ejus lærentes, assiduis precibus promissa exigebant. Super hæc vastati Macedones ultionem fluctabant. Quibus tot tantisque rebus obsessus, cui rei primum occurreret, ambigebat; omnibus tamen propediem auxilia se missurum pollicetur; non quia facere posset quæ promittebat; sed ut spe impletos in societatis jure retineret. Prima tamen illi expeditio adversus Dardanos fuit,

desire of rivalling Alexander, whom they knew inclinable to war, and very active.

CHAP. II. Wherefore Philip having understood that the Romans had been defeated by the Carthaginians in another battle, declaring himself openly an enemy to them, he began to build ships, wherein to carry over his army into Italy. He then sends a messenger to Annibal, upon the account of concluding an alliance, with a letter: who being seized and carried before the senate was dismissed safe, not out of respect for the king; but lest he, who was as yet but an ambiguous enemy, should be made an undoubted one. But afterwards when it was told the Romans, that Philip was about to slip over an army into Italy, they send Lævinus, the Prætor, with a well provided fleet, to hinder his passage. Who passing over into Greece, by many promises prevails with the Ætolians to undertake a war against Philip. Philip too solicits the Achæans to a war with the Romans. In the mean time too the Dardani began to lay waste the borders of Macedonia, and having carried off twenty thousand prisoners, they fetched back Philip from the Roman war to defend his kingdom. Whilst these things are a doing, Lævinus the Prætor, clapping up an alliance with king Attalus, wastes Greece. With which ravage the cities being shocked, they weary Philip with their embassies, begging his assistance. The kings of the Illyrians too sticking close in his side, demanded the performance of his promises, with continual importunity. Besides these things the plundered Macedonians called upon him for revenge. With which affairs, so many and so considerable, being embarrassed, he was in doubt what business first to go upon; however he promises them all, that he would forthwith send them assistance, not because he could not do what he promised, but that he might keep them filled with hopes under the tie of his alliance. Yet his first expedition was against the Dardani: who watching his absence, were ready to fall upon Macedonia with a heavy load of war. He like-

qui

qui absentiam ejus aucupantes, majore belli mole Macedoniae imminebant. Cum Romanis quoque pacem facit, contentis interim bellum Macedonicum distulisse. Philopœmeni Achæorum duci, quem ad Romanos, sociorum animos sollicitare didicerat, insidias præterdit. Quibus ille cognitis vitatisque discedere ab eo Achæo auctoritate sua cogit.

wife makes peace with the Romans, being content for the present to defer the war against Macedonia. He lays a plot for Philopœmenes the general of the Achæans, who he understood was endeavouring to draw over the affections of his allies to the Romans. Which plot being discovered and avoided, he obliged by his authority the Achæans to fall off from him.

LIBER XXX.

BREVARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Ptolemæi regis Ægypti luxuria, & parricidia.*
2. *Miserrimus Ægypti status sub turpissimo principe: ejus meretrix & lenones crudeli fato pereunt.*
3. *Morto Ptolemæo, Romani tutelam pupilli adversus Antiochum Syrum & Philippum Macedonem suscipiunt: Philippumque prius bello reducunt ad humiliorem mentem.*
4. *Terræ motus ingentes. Romani pacem repudiant. Philippus & Flaminius suos ad pugnam accendunt. Macedonas Romana fortuna vincit, & Philippus spoliatur.*

CAPUT I.

PHILIPPO in Macedonia magnis rebus intento, in Ægypto Ptolemæi diversi mores erant. Quippe regno parricidio parto, & ad necem utriusque parentis, cæde etiam fratris adjuncta, velut rebus feliciter gestis, luxuriæ se tradiderat; regisque mores omnis sequuta regia erat. Itaque non adici tantum præfectique verum etiam omnis exercitus, depositis militiæ studiis, otio ac desidiosa corrupti marcebant. Quibus rebus cognitis, Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino, bello multas urbes ejus oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur. Trepidat

WHilst Philip was intent upon great things in Macedonia, the manners of Ptolemy in Egypt were different. For having got his kingdom by parricide, and having added the murder of his brother to the death of both parents, he gave himself up to luxury, as if he had managed his business very happily; and the whole court followed the manners of the king. Wherefore not only his friends and commanders, but likewise all the army, laying aside all application to war, grew insignificant, being corrupted by idleness and sloth. Which things being known, Antiochus king of Syria, the ancient animosity of the kingdoms betwixt themselves pushing him on, took many of his cities by a sudden invasion, and attacks Egypt itself. Wherefore Ptolemy was in great consternation, and

dare igitur Ptolemæus, legationibus missis, quoad vires pararet, morari Antiochum. Magno deinde in Græcia exercitu conducto, secundum prælium facit, spoliassetq; regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset. Sed contentus recuperatione urbium, quas amiserat, facta pace, avide materiam quietis arripuit; revolutusq; in luxuriam, occisa Eurydice uxore, eademque sorore sua, Agathocliæ meretricis illecebris capitur. Atq; ita omnem magnitudinem nominis ac majestatis oblitus, noctes in stupris, dies in conviviis consumit. Adduntur instrumenta luxuriæ, tympana & crepundia; nec jam spectator rex, sed magister nequitæ, nervorum oblectamenta modulatur. Hæc primo laborantis regis tacitæ pestes & occultæ facere.

CAP. II. Deinde crescente licentia, jam nec parietibus regis domus contineri meretricis audacia potest; quam protervorem, sociata, cum Agathocle fratre ambitiosæ pulchritudinis scorto, quotidiana regis supra faciebant. Accedebat & mater Oenante, quæ geminæ sobolis illecebris devinctum regem tenebat. Itaque non contentæ rege jam etiam regnum possident, jam in publico visuntur, jam salutatur, jam comitantur. Agathocles regis lateri junctus civitatem regebat: tribunatus, præfecturas, & ducatus mulieres ordinabant; nec quisquam in regno suo minus quam ipse rex poterat. Cum interim, relicto quinquenni ex Euridice sorore filio, moritur. Sed mors ejus, dum pecuniam regiam mulieres rapiunt, & imperium, inita cum perditissimis societate, occupare conantur, diu occultata fuit. Re tamen cognita, concursu multi-

endeavoured to retard Antiochus, 'till he could raise a sufficient force, by sending embassies. And then hiring a great army in Greece, he fights a successful battle, and would have stript Antiochus of his kingdom, if he had supported his fortune by his conduct. But being content with the recovery of the cities, which he had lost, by making a peace, he greedily seized upon the opportunity of being quiet, and returning again to his luxurious life, putting to death his wife Eurydice, and the same his sister, he is captivated by the charms of a whore, one Agathoclia. And so forgetting the greatness of his name and majesty, he spends his nights in debauchery, and his days in feasts. The instruments of luxury are superadded, drums and rattles; and the king being now not a spectator, but a master of the disorder, superintends the diversion of stringed instruments. These were at first the private and concealed plagues of a degenerate court.

CHAP. II. Afterwards their licentiousness encreasing, the boldness of the strumpet cannot be confined within the walls of the palace: whom the joint and daily debaucheries of the king, with her brother Agathocles, a prostitute of ambitious beauty, rendered more saucy. To them were added too their mother Oenante, who kept the king engaged to her by the charms of her two children. Wherefore being not content with the king, they now likewise possess the kingdom, now are seen in public, now are saluted, now are attended. Agathocles being closely attached to the king's person, ruled the city. Women dispose of tribunes, commissions, governments, and general's posts. Nor was any one less powerful than the king himself in his kingdom: whilst in the mean time he dies, leaving a son by his sister Euridice, five years old. But his death was concealed a long time, 'till the women carry off the king's money, and by entering into a confederacy with some most desperate villains, endeavour to seize the kingdom. At last the thing being known, both Agathocles is slain, and the women fixed to crosses, in a
tudinis

tudinis & Agathocles occiditur, & mulieres in ultionem Euridices patibulis suffiguntur. Morte regis, supplicio meretricum velut expiata regni infamia, legatos Alexandri ad Romanos mittere, orantes ut tutelam pupilli susciperent; tuerenturque regnum *Ægypti* quod jam Philippum & Antiochum, facta inter se pactione, dimisisse dicebant.

CAP. III. Grata legatio Romanis fuit, causam belli adversus Philippum quærentibus, qui insidiatus eis, temporibus Punici belli fuerat. Huc accedebat, quod Pœnis & Annibale superato, nullius magnis armis metuebant; reputantibus, quantum motum Pyrrhus parva manu Macedonum in Italia fecisset, quantasque res Macedones in Oriente gessissent. Mittuntur itaque legati, cum Antiocho & Philippo denuntiant, regno *Ægypti* abstinere. Mittitur & M. Lepidus in *Ægyptum*, qui tutorio nomine regnum pupilli administret. Dum hæc aguntur, interim legationes Attali regis & Rhodiorum injurias Philippi quærentes, Romam venerunt. Quæ res omnem cunctationem Macedonici belli senatui exemit. Statim igitur, titulo ferendi sociis auxilii bellum adversus Philippum decernitur, legionisque cum consule in Macedoniam mittuntur. Nec multo post tempore, tota Græcia, fiducia Romanorum adversus Philippum, spe pristinae libertatis erecta, bellum ei intulit; atque ita cum rex undique urgeretur, pacem petere compellitur. Deinde cum expositæ conditiones pacis a Romanis essent, repetere sua & Attalus, & Rhodii, & Achæi, & Ætoli cœpere. Contra Philippus adduci se posse ut Romanis pareat, concedebat; cæterum indignum

concourse of the people, to revenge the death of Eurydice. Upon the king's death, the infamy of the kingdom being as it were wiped off by the punishment of the whores, the Alexandrians sent ambassadors to the Romans, begging them, to take upon them the guardianship of the orphan; and defend the kingdom of Egypt, which they said Philip and Antiochus had already divided by an agreement made betwixt them.

CHAP. III. This embassy was agreeable to the Romans, who were seeking an occasion of war against Philip, who had plotted against them in the times of the Carthaginian war. To this was added, that now the Carthaginians and Annibal were conquered, they feared the arms of none more; considering how great a commotion Pyrrhus with a small army of Macedonians had made in Italy, and how great things the Macedonians had performed in the East. Wherefore ambassadors are sent to declare to Antiochus and Philip, to keep clear of the kingdom of Egypt. M. Lepidus likewise is sent into Egypt to manage the kingdom of the orphan, under the name of his guardian. Whilst these things are doing, in the mean time the embassies of king Attalus and the Rhodians came to Rome, complaining of the injuries of Philip; which thing took away all further demurring as to the Macedonian war from the senate. Wherefore immediately, under pretence of carrying assistance to their allies, a war is resolved on against Philip, and legions are sent with a consul into Macedonia. And no long time after, all Greece depending upon the Romans, being raised against Philip by the hopes of their former liberty, made war upon him. And thus, whilst the king was pressed on all hands, he is obliged to sue for peace. And then, when the terms of peace were declared by the Romans, both Attalus, and the Rhodians, and Achæans, and Ætoli-ans began to demand their own again. On the other hand Philip granted, that he might be brought to obey the Romans; but that it was intolerable that the Greeks, who had been conquered by
esse,

esse, Græcos a Philippo & Alexandro majoribus suis victos, & sub jugum Macedonici imperii subactos, veluti victores leges pacis sibi decere, quibus prius sit servitutis ratio reddenda quam libertas vindicanda. Ad postremum tamen, petente eo, induciæ duorum mensium datæ, ut pax, quæ in Macedonia non conveniebat, Romæ a senatu peteretur.

CAP. IV. Eodem anno inter insulas Theram & Therasiam, medio utriusque ripæ & maris spatio, terræ motus fuit; in quo, cum admiratione navigantium, repente ex profundo cum calidis aquis insula emerfit. In Asia quoq; eadem die idem motus terræ Rhodum, multasque alias civitates gravi ruinarum labe concussit, quasnam solidas absorbit. Quo prodigio territis omnibus, vates cecinere, oriens Romanorum imperium vetus Græcorum, ac Macedonum voraturum. Interim a senatu repudiata pace, Philippus in societatem belli Nabin tyrannum sollicitat. Atq; ita, cum in aciem exercitum, instructis e diverso hostibus, produxisset, hortari suos cœpit, referendo Persas, Bactros, Indosque, & omnem Asiam, Orientis sine, a Macedonibus perdomitam; tantoque fortius hoc bellum quam illa sustinendum, quanto sit libertas imperio carior. Sed & Flaminius Romanus consul, relatione rerum recentissime gestarum, suos stimulabat in prælium, ostendendo, hinc Carthaginem cum Sicilia, inde Italiam & Hispaniam Romana virtute perdomitas; nec Annibalem quidem Alexandro Magno postponendum, quo Italia pulso, Africam ipsam tertiam partem mundi superaverint. Sed nec Macedonas veteri fama, sed præsentibus viribus

his ancestors Philip and Alexander, and brought under the yoke of the Macedonian empire, should as conquerors prescribe laws of peace to him, who ought first to give an account of their behaviour in their state of slavery, before they claimed their liberty. At last however, upon his request, a truce for two months was granted, that the peace, which was not yet agreed upon in Macedonia, might be sued for at Rome from the senate.

CHAP. IV. In the same year there was an earthquake betwixt the islands of Thera and Therasia, in the midst between both banks and the sea; where, to the admiration of those who were sailing there, on a sudden an island rose out of the deep, with warm water. In Asia too, the same day, the same earthquake shattered Rhodes, and many other cities, with a terrible ruin, and swallowed up some entirely. With which prodigy all people being terrified, the prophets gave out, that the rising empire of the Romans would swallow up the ancient one of the Greeks and Macedonians. In the mean time the peace being rejected by the senate, Philip solicits the tyrant Nabis to join him in the war. And so, after he had drawn out his army into the field, whilst the enemy were drawn up against him, he began to encourage his men, by telling them, that the Persians, Bactrians, and Indians, and all Asia, to the utmost bounds of the East, had been conquered by the Macedonians; and that this war was so much the more bravely to be maintained, than those wars, by how much their liberty was dearer than empire. But Flaminius too the Roman consul animated his men to battle, by the relation of things very lately done, by shewing them that on one side Carthage with Sicily, on the other Italy with Spain had been conquered by the Roman bravery. Nor was Annibal indeed to be postponed to Alexander the Great, by beating whom out of Italy, they had conquered Africa, the third part of the world. But neither were the Macedonians to

astimandos

æstimandos; quia non cum Alexandro Magno, quem invictum audierant, nec cum exercitu ejus, qui totum Orientem devicerat, bellum gerant; sed cum Phillippo puero immaturæ ætatis, qui regni terminos adversus finitimos ægre defendat, & cum his Macedonibus, qui non ita pridem prædæ Dardanis fuerant. Illos majorum decora, se suorum militum commemorare. Non enim alio exercitu Annibalem & Pænos, & totum ferme Occidentem, sed his ipsis, quos in acie habeat, militibus, subactos. His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes; ferentesque in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam & obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. Sed Macedonas Romana fortuna vicit. Fractus itaque bello Philippus, pace a Flaminio consule petita, nomen quidem regium retinuit; sed omnibus Græciæ urbibus, velut regni membris extra terminos antiquæ possessionis, amissis, solam Macedoniam retinuit. Offensi tamen Ætoli, quod non ex arbitrio eorum Macedonia quoque adempta regi, & data sibi in præmium belli esset, legatos ad Antiochum mittunt, qui eum adulatione magnitudinis, in Romana bella, spe societatis universæ Græciæ, impellerent.

be estimated by their antient fame, but their present strength; because they did not carry on the war with Alexander the Great, who they had heard was invincible; not with his army, which had conquered all the East; but with Philip, a youth in his minority, who hardly could defend the bounds of his kingdom against his neighbours, and with those Macedonians, who not long since were a prey to the Dardanians. They recounted the glorious performances of their forefathers, he those of his own soldiers. For Annibal and the Carthaginians, and almost all the West, had not been conquered by any other army, but those very soldiers which he had in his army. The soldiers being roused on each side with these encouragements, engage in battle; one part glorying in the empire of the East, and the other in that of the West; and carrying to the battle, on one side the antient and obsolete glory of their ancestors, the other the flower of proweßs flourishing in late trials. But the Roman fortune conquered the Macedonians. Wherefore Philip being much reduced by the war, suing for peace from the consul Flaminius, he retained indeed the name of king; but losing all the cities of Greece, as it were members of his kingdom, without the limits of ancient possession, he kept only Macedonia. Yet the Ætolians being offended that Macedonia too had not been taken from the king according to their good pleasure, and given them for the reward of their service in the war, send ambassadors to Antiochus, to encourage him by the flattery of his greatness, to a war against the Romans, in hopes of the alliance of all Greece.

LIBER XXXI.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Romani Antiochum Syram legatione coercent. A Nabide Græciam liberari jubent. Annibalis nomen Romanis formidabile.*
2. *Annibal Romanorum insidias fugiens, ad Antiochum cursum dirigit.*
3. *Nabis duobus præliis fractus, post Romanorum discessum, arma movet. Annibalis ad Antiochum de opprimendis Romanis consilium.*
4. *Carthaginienſis ab Antiocho sollicitati rem Romanis significant, politico stratagemate Annibalem ab Antiocho divellunt.*
5. *Iteratum Annibalis consilium de bello in Italia Romanis inferendo.*
6. *Antiochi adulatores Annibalis sana consilia rident: inde subversio Antiochi qui terrestri & navali prælio a Romanis superatur.*
7. *Scipiones, ducto in Africam exercitu, pacis leges Antiocho præscribunt, quas ipse repudiat.*
8. *Bello reparato, & pugna commissa, cæsis quinquaginta Asiaticorum millibus, Antiochus subactus pacem petit, & obtinet.*

CAPUT I.

MORTUO Ptolemæo Philopatre, rege Ægypti, contemptaque parvuli filii ætate, qui, in spem regni relictus, prædæ etiam domesticis erat; Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit. Itaque Phœnicen, cæterasq; Syriæ quidem, sed juris Ægypti, civitates cum invasisset, legatos ad eum senatus mittit, qui denunciarent ei, abstinere regi pupilli, postremis patris precibus fidei suæ traditi. Quibus spretis, interjecto tempore alia legatio supervenit, quæ, omiſſa pupilli persona, civitates, jure belli factas populi Romani, in integrum restitui jubebat. Abnuenti bellum denuntiatur, quod ille facile susceptum infelicitè gessit. Eodem tempore & Nabis tyrannus multas Græciæ civitates occupaverat. Igitur senatus, ne uno tempore duplici bello Romanæ vires detinerentur, scripsit Fla-

Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, being dead, and the age of his little son despised, who being left for the hopes of enjoying his kingdom, was a prey even to his domestick; Antiochus king of Syria resolves to seize Egypt. Therefore having invaded Phœnice and other cities of Syria indeed, but of right belonging to Egypt, the senate sends Embassadors to him to charge him to forbear to meddle with the kingdom of an orphan, recommended to their protection by the last prayers of his father. Which being despised, some time after another embassy comes, which dropping the person of the orphan, ordered the cities that were by right of war become the Roman people's, to be restored to their former state. War was declared against him upon his refusal, which tho' easily undertaken, he managed unfortunately. At the same time the tyrant Nabis too had seized upon many cities of Greece. Wherefore the senate, lest the Roman force should be engaged at one time in a double war, writ to Flaminius, if it seemed good to him, as he had deliver-

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minio, *si ei videatur, sicuti Macedoniam a Philippo, ita Græciam a Nabide liberaret.* Ob quam causam imperium ei prorogatum est. Terribile quippe Antiochi bellum Annibalis nomen faciebat, quem æmuli ejus occultis mandatis Antiocho inisse societatem apud Romanos criminabantur; negantes, cum æquo animo sub legibus vivere, assuetum imperio & immoderata licentia militari; semperque tædio quietis urbanæ, novæ belli causas circumspicere. Quæ, etsi falsa nuntiata fuissent, apud timentes tamen pro veris habebantur.

CAP. II. Denique senatus metu perculsus, ad speculandos actus Annibalis legatum in Africam Cnæum Servilium mittit; eiq; tacitis mandatis præcipit, *si posset, eum per æmulos ejus interficeret, metusq; invisæ nominis tandem populum Romanum liberaret.* Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaq; pericula peritum; nec minus in secundis adversa, quam in adversis secunda cogitantem. Igitur cum tota die in oculis principum legatque Romani, in foro Carthaginiensium observatus in supremum fuisset, appropinquante vespere, equum conscendit; & rus urbanum, quod prope littus maris habebat, ignavis fervis, jussiq; ad portam revertentem opperiri, contendit. Habebat ibi naves cum remigibus occulto finu littori absconditas. Erat & grandis pecunia in eo agro præparata, ut, cum res exegisset, nec facultas fugam nec inopia moraretur. Lecta igitur servorum juventute, quorum copiam Italicorum captivorum numerus augebat, navem conscendit, cursumq; ad Antiochum dirigit. Postera die civitas principem suum, ac tum

ed Macedonia from Philip, so he would deliver Greece from Nabis. *For which reason his commission was continued to him. For the name of Annibal rendered the war of Antiochus terrible, whom his enemies by private messages accused to the Romans, to have entered into an agreement with Antiochus; denying, that he could live with a contented mind under laws, being used to command, and an extravagant military licentiousness; and that he was always looking about for new occasions of war, from a weariness under the city's quiet. Which things, tho' they were untruly said, yet among the timorous Romans they were taken for true.*

CHAP. II. Finally the Senate being struck with fear, sends Cnæus Servilius into Africa, to enquire into the conduct of Annibal; and orders him by private instructions, to kill him, if he could, by his enemies, and at last deliver the Roman people from the terror of that odious name. *But the thing was not long concealed from Annibal, a man ready to foresee and guard off dangers, and thinking no less of adversity in prosperity, than of prosperity in adversity. Wherefore after he had all day appeared in the sight of the chiefs of the city, and the Roman ambassador, 'till the latter end of it, upon the approach of the evening, he mounts his horse, and makes off to an estate in the suburbs, which he had nigh the shore of the sea, his servants being ignorant of his design, and ordered to wait for him upon his return at the gate of the city. He had there ships with rowers hid in a private bay of the coast. There was likewise a good sum of money prepared in that estate of his, that, when occasion required, neither the want of opportunity, nor want of money might prevent his escape. Wherefore chusing out the flower of his slaves, the store of which a good number of Italian captives encreased, he goes aboard a ship, and steers his course for Antiochus. The following day the city waited for their principal, and at that time consul, in the forum. When news*
temporis

temporis consulum, in foro expectabat. Quem ut profectum nuntiatum est, non aliter quam si urbs capta esset, omnes trepidare, exitiosamque sibi fugam ejus ominati sunt. Legatus vero Romanus, quasi bellum jam illatum Italiæ ab Annibale esset, tacitus Romam regreditur, trepidumque nuntium refert.

CAP. III. Interim in Græcia Flaminius, juncta cum quibusdam civitatibus societate, Nabidem tyrannum duobus continuis præliis subegit; & graviter fractum, velut exanguem, in regno reliquit. Sed libertate Græcis restituta, deductisque ab urbibus præfidiis, cum Romanus exercitus in Italiam reportatus esset, velut vacua rursus possessione sollicitatus, multas civitates repentino bello invasit. Quibus exterriti Achæi, ne vicinum malum etiam ad se serperet, bellum adversus Nabidem decernunt, ducemque prætorem suam Philopœmenem, insignis industriæ virum, constituunt; cujus in eo bello tanta virtus enituit, ut opinione omnium Flaminio Romano imperatori compararetur. Eodem tempore Annibal, cum ad Antiochum pervenisset, velut deorum munus excipitur; tantusque ejus adventu ardor animis regis accessit, ut non tam de bello, quam de præmiis victoriæ cogitaret. Sed Annibal, cui nota Romana virtus erat, negabat opprimi Romanos nisi in Italia posse. Ad hoc sibi centum naves, & decem millia peditum, & mille equites poscebat, promittens hac manu non minus bellum quam gesserit, Italiæ restauraturum; & in Asiam regi sedenti, aut victoriam de Romanis, aut æquas pacis condiciones relaturum; quippe & Hispanis bello fragrantibus, ducem tantum

was brought that he was gone off, they were all in a consternation, no otherwise than if the city had been taken, and foreboded that his flight would be ruinous to them. But the Roman ambassador, as if war was already made upon Italy by Annibal, returns privately to Rome, and brings the terrible news along with him.

CHAP. III. In the mean time Flaminius in Greece, having made an alliance with several cities, subdued Nabis the tyrant in two successive battles, and left him terribly mauled, as it were bloodless, in his kingdom. But their liberty being restored to Greece, and the garrisons withdrawn from the cities, when the Roman army was carried back into Italy, being tempted again by their thus forsaking as it were the possession of Greece, he seized several cities by a sudden invasion. By which things the Achæans being terrified, lest the neighbouring mischief should likewise spread to them, they resolve upon a war against Nabis, and constitute their Prætor, Philopœmenes, a man of notable industry, their general; whose extraordinary conduct appeared so illustrious in that war, that he was compared, in the esteem of all people, to Flaminius the Roman commander. At the same time Annibal, upon his coming to Antiochus, is received as a present of the Gods. And so violent a heat was added to the king's courage by his arrival, that he did not so much think of war, as the rewards of victory. But Annibal, to whom the Roman conduct was known, denied that the Romans could be subdued but in Italy. For this purpose he demanded for himself a hundred ships, and ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, promising with this army he would revive in Italy no less a war than he had carried on there before; and would bring back the king resting quiet in Asia, either a victory over the Romans, or equitable terms of peace: for that a leader was only wanting to the Spaniards, who were inflamed with a desire of war; and that Italy was better known to him

desse

desse; & Italiam notio-rem sibi nunc, quam pridem fuisse; sed nec Carthaginem quieturam, fecimq; se ei sine mora præbituram.

CAP. IV. Cum regi consilia placuissent, mittitur Carthaginem unus ex comitibus Annibalis, qui in bellum cupidos hortatur, Annibalemque cum copiis affuturum nuntiet; nihil, dicat, partibus nisi animos Carthaginensium desse, Asiam & vires belli & sumptum præbituram. Hæc cum relata Carthaginem essent, nuntius ipse ab inimicis Annibalis comprehenditur, & perductus in senatum cum interrogaretur, ad quem missus esset? Punico ingenio respondit, se ad universum senatum missum: nec enim hoc opus singulorum, sed universorum esse. Dum multis diebus deliberant, ad eum Romam ad purgandam publicam conscientiam mittant, tacitus conscensa nave ad Annibalem revertitur; quo cognito, Carthaginenses ultro rem Romam per legatum deferunt. Romani quoq; ad Antiochum legatos misere, qui sub specie legationis, & regis apparatum specularentur, & Annibalem aut Romanis mitigarent, aut assiduo colloquio suspectum invisumq; regi redderent. Itaq; legati, cum Ephesi convenissent ad Antiochum, mandati ei senatus tradunt. Dum responsum expectant, omnibus diebus assidui circa Annibalem fuere, dicentes, timide eum a patria recessisse, cum pacem Romani, non tam cum republica ejus, quam cum eo factam summa fide custodeant; nec bella cum Romanorum magis odio, quam patriæ amore gessisse, qui ab optimo quoque etiam spiritus ipse debeat. Has enim publicas inter populos, non privatas inter duces bellandi causas esse. Inde res gestas ejus laudare.

now, than it had been before. But that Carthage too would not be quiet, and would join itself as an ally to him without delay.

CHAP. IV. His advice pleasing the king, one of Annibal's attendants is sent into Africa, to encourage them, forward enough of themselves, to the war; and to tell them, that Annibal would come with an army; and let them know that nothing was wanting to the party but the good disposition of the Carthaginians; that Asia would furnish a sufficient strength for the war, and the charge of it. When these things were brought to Carthage, the messenger is seized by Annibal's enemies; and when being brought into the senate, he was asked to whom he was sent? he replied with the subtlety of a Carthaginian, that he was sent to all the senate; for that this was not the work of a few single persons, but of them all. Whilst they debate for several days, whether they should send him to Rome to clear themselves of all public guilt, he privately going on board his ship, returns to Annibal. Upon the knowledge of which, the Carthaginians very forwardly dispatch the affair to Rome by an ambassador. The Romans likewise send ambassadors to Antiochus, under the colour of an embassy, to observe the king's preparations, and either soften Annibal in favour of the Romans, or by continual converse with him, render him suspected and odious to the king. Wherefore the ambassadors coming to Antiochus at Ephesus, deliver him the senate's message. Whilst they wait for an answer, they were continually every day with Annibal, saying, that he had withdrawn from his country too timorously, since the Romans would with the greatest honour keep the peace, made not so much with his republick, as with him; and that he had not carried on the war out of hatred to the Romans, more than love to his country, to which life itself was due from every good man. For the reasons of making war were publick betwixt the nations, not private between the generals. Then they commended

Quorum

Quorum sermone latus sæpius cupidiusq; cum legatis colloquebatur, ignarus quod familiaritate Romana odia sibi apud regem crearet. Quippe Antiochus, tam assiduo colloquio reconciliatam ejus cum Romanis gratiam existimans, nihil ad eum sicuti solbat referre; expertemq; totius consilii, veluti hostem proditoremque suum, odisse cepit. Quæ res tantum apparatus belli, cessante imperatoria arte, corripit. Senatus mandata fuerant, ut contentus terminis Asia esset, ne ipsis ingrediendi Asiam necessitatem imponeret. Quibus spreis, non accipiendum bellum statuit, sed inferendum.

C A P. V. Dicitur, quum frequenter de bello consilium habuisset, remoto Annibale, tandem eum vocari iussisse, non ut ex sententia ejus aliquid ageret, sed ne per omnia eum sprevisse videretur; omnibusque perrogatis, postremum interrogasse. Quo ille animadverso, intelligere se professus est, non quia egeat consilio, sed ad supplendum numerum sententiarum se vocatum: tamen & odio Romanorum & amore regis, apud quem solum tutum sibi exilium relictum sit, se viam gerendi belli edifferturum. Veniam deinde libertati præfatus, nihil se aut consiliorum, aut ceptorum præsentium probare ait; neq; sedem belli Græciam sibi placere, cum Italia uberius materia sit. Quippe Romanos vinci non nisi armis suis posse, nec Italiam aliter, quam Italicis viribus subigi, siquidem diversum cæteris mortalibus esse illud hominum & belli genus. Aliis bellis plurimum momenti habere, priorem aliquam cepisse occasionem loci temporisque, agros diripuisse, urbes aliquas expugnasse; cum Romano, seu occupaveris prior aliqua, seu viceris,

his exploits. With whose discourse being pleased, he conversed often and gladly with the ambassadors, little knowing that by his familiarity with the Romans, he procured himself hatred with the king. For Antiochus supposing a good understanding with the Romans had been affected by their frequent converse, proposed nothing to him as he used to do, and begun now to hate him, after he had sequestered him from his council, as an enemy and betrayer of him. Which thing spoiled all their mighty preparations of war, all due conduct now dropping. The senate's message was, that he would be content with the bounds of Asia, lest he should lay upon them a necessity of entering Asia. Which being rejected, he resolves not to wait for the war at home, but to make it upon them.

CHAP. V. It is said, that after he had frequently held a council concerning the war, when Annibal was absent, he at last ordered him to be summoned, not to act any thing by his advice, but that he might not appear to despise him in all respects; and having asked all the rest their sentiments, he at last asked him. Which he observing, he declared, he was sensible that he had been called thither, not that the king wanted his advice, but to fill up the number of opinions: however he would descant upon the proper way of carrying on the war, both out of his hatred to the Romans, and love to the king, with whom alone a secure banishment was left him. Then bespeaking pardon for his freedom, he says, that he approved none of the present councils or undertakings; nor did he like Greece for the seat of war, since Italy would be a more plentiful fund for it. For that the Romans could not be conquered but by their own arms, nor Italy be subdued any otherwise than by the strength of Italy. For that sort of people were different from other mortals, and their way of making war too. In other wars it was of considerable advantage, to have first taken any opportunity of place or time, to have wasted the lands, to have taken some cities.

tum etiam cum victo & jacente
luctandum esse. Quamobrem si
quis eos in Italia laceffat, suis eos
opibus, suis viribus, suis armis
posse vincere, sicut ipse fecerit.
Sin vero quis illis Italia velut
fonte virium cesserit, perinde falli,
ac si quis amnes non ab ipsis fon-
tium primordiis derivare, sed con-
cretis jam aquarum molibus, aver-
tere vel exficcare velit. Hæc &
secreto se censuisse, utroque mini-
sterium consilii sui obtulisse; &
nunc præsentibus amicis ideo repe-
tisse, ut scirent omnes rationem cum
Romanis gerendi belli, eosque foris
invictos, domi fragiles esse. Nam
prius illos urbe quam imperio, pri-
us Italia quam provinciis exui
posse; quippe & a Gallis captos
& a se prope deletos esse; neque
se unquam victum prius, quam ter-
ris eorum cesserit. Reverso Car-
thaginæ statim cum loco fontunam
belli mutatam.

pire, and Italy sooner than the provinces. For they were taken by the
Gauls, and almost destroyed by him; nor was he ever defeated, 'till he
quitted their country. Upon his return to Carthage, the fortune of the
war was immediately changed with the place.

CAP. VI. Huic sententiæ
obtectatores amici regis erant;
non utilitatem rei cogitantes, sed
verentes ne probato consilio e-
jus primum apud regem locum
gratiæ occuparet. Et Antiocho
non tam consilium, quam auctor
displicebat, ne gloria victoriæ
Annibalis, non sua esset. Om-
nia igitur variis assentantium
adulationibus corrumpebantur;
nihil consilio vel ratione ageba-
tur. Rex ipse, per hyemem in
luxuriam lapsus, novis quotidie
nuptiis deditus erat. Contra
Acilius Romanus consul, qui ad
hoc bellum missus erat, copias,
arma cæteraque bello necessaria
summa industria parabat; civi-
tates socios confirmabat, dubias
illiciebat; nec alius exitus belli,
quam apparatus utriusque partis

With the Romans whether you first
seize upon any places, or defeat them,
you must even so have a struggle with
your vanquished and fallen enemy.
Wherefore if any one would attack them
in Italy, he might conquer them by
their own power, their own strength,
their own arms, as he did conquer
them. But if any one quit Italy to
them, the fountain as it were of their
strength, he was as much deceived, as
if one should go about to draw rivers
from their natural courses, not at the very
fountain head, but should attempt to
turn them another way, or dry them up,
when great quantities were now run to-
gether. That he had privately thought
thus, and had frankly offered the fer-
vice of his advice, and did now there-
fore utter it in the presence of his friends
that they might all know the way of
carrying on a war with the Romans,
and that they, tho' invincible abroad,
were weak at home. For they might be
sooner stript of their city than their em-
pire, and Italy sooner than the provinces. For they were taken by the
Gauls, and almost destroyed by him; nor was he ever defeated, 'till he
quitted their country. Upon his return to Carthage, the fortune of the
war was immediately changed with the place.

CHAP. VI. The king's friends were
all against this advice, not regarding the
advantage of the thing, but fearing, lest
if his advice was approved of, he should
have the first place of favour with the
king. And the advice did not so much
displease Antiochus, as the giver of it, lest
the glory of the victory should be Annibal's,
and not his own. Wherefore all proceed-
ings were spoiled by the flatteries of those
that were for soothing the king. Nothing
was managed with any conduct or reason.
The king himself in the winter falling into
a luxurious way of life, was daily taken
up with new weddings. On the other hand
Acilius the Roman consul, who had been
sent to this war, provided forces, arms,
and other things necessary for the war, with
the utmost application; he animated the con-
federate cities, and wheedled the wavering.
Nor was the event of the war any other
than that the preparations of each side had been.
suit.

fuit. Itaq; prima belli congres-
sione, cum cedentes suos rex cer-
neret, non laborantibus auxili-
um tulit; sed fugientibus se du-
cem præbuit, castraque ditia
victoribus reliquit. Deinde cum
in Asiam, præda Romanis occu-
patis, fugiendo pervenisset, pœ-
nitere neglecti consilii cœpit; re-
vocatoq; in amicitiam Anniba-
le, omnia ex sententia ejus age-
re. Interim nuntiatur, Æmili-
um Romanum ducem cum oc-
toginta rostratis navibus in bel-
lum navale a senatu missum, ad-
ventare; quæ res illi spem resti-
tuendæ fortunæ dedit. Itaque
priusquam sociæ civitates ad hos-
tes deficerent, decernere navali
prælio statuit, sperans cladem in
Græcia acceptam nova posse
victoria aboleri. Tradita igitur
Annibali classe, prælium com-
mittitur. Sed nec Asiatici mi-
lites Romanis, neque naves eo-
rum pares rostratis navibus fue-
re; minor tamen clades ducis
solertia fuit. Romam nondum
opinio victoriæ venerat, & id-
circo in consulibus creandis sus-
pensa civitas erat.

C A P. VII. Sed adversus
Annibalem ducem quis melior
quam Africanus frater crearetur?
cum vincere Pœnos opus Scipio-
num esset. Creatur igitur con-
sul Lucius Scipio; eiq; datur le-
gatus frater Africanus, ut intel-
ligeret Antiochus, non majorem
fiduciam se in Annibale victo,
quam Romanos in victore Sci-
pione habere. Trajicientibus in
Asiam Scipionibus exercitum,
jam utrobique profligatum bellum
nuntiatum est; victumq; Antio-
chum terrestri, Annibalem na-
vali bello invenerunt. Primo
igitur adventu eorum, legatos
pacem petentes, ad eos Antio-
chus mittit, peculiare donum
Africano ferentes, ipsius filium,

*Wherefore in the first rencounter of this
war, when the king saw his men give
ground, he did not give any assistance to
his men in distress, but put himself as a
leader before those that fled, and left his
rich camp to the conquerors. Then after
he was, by flight, got into Asia, whilst
the Romans were busy about the plunder,
he begun to be sorry for slighting the ad-
vice that had been given him; and tak-
ing Annibal again into his friendship,
did all things by his advice. In the
mean time news is brought, that Æmilius
the Roman general, sent by the senate with
eighty ships armed with rostra to carry
on the war by sea, was advancing; which
thing gave him the hopes of recovering his
fortune. Wherefore both the cities in his
alliance revolted to the enemy, he resolved
to engage in a battle by sea, hoping that
the loss received in Greece might be made
up by a new victory. Wherefore the fleet
being delivered to Annibal, a battle is
fought. But neither were the Asiatick
soldiers a match for the Romans, nor their
ships with ships armed with rostra: yet
the loss was the less by the dexterous ma-
nagement of the general. The fame of
the victory had not yet got to Rome, and
therefore the city was in suspense about the
consuls to be chosen.*

CHAP. VII. But who could better be
made consul against the general Annibal,
than the brother of Africanus? since it
was the peculiar work of the Scipio's to
conquer the Cathaginians. Wherefore
Lucius Scipio is made consul, and his bro-
ther Africanus is given him as his lieute-
nant, that Antiochus might understand,
that he had not a greater confidence in
conquered Annibal, than the Romans had
in the conqueror Scipio. The Scipio's car-
rying over their army into Asia, news was
brought them, that the war was both by
land and sea almost at an end: and they
found that Antiochus had been defeated in
a battle by land, and Annibal in one by
sea. Wherefore upon their first arrival,
Antiochus sends embassadors to them, de-
siring peace, and carrying Africanus his
son as a particular present, whom the
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quem rex parvo navigatio trajicientem ceperat. Sed Africanus privata beneficia a rebus publicis secreta esse dixit; aliqua esse patris officia, alia patriæ jura, quæ non liberis tantum verum etiam vitæ ipsi præponantur. Proinde gratum se munus accipere, privatoque impendio munificentiae regis responsurum. Quod ad bellum pacemque pertineat, nihil neque gratiæ dari, neque de jure patriæ decideri posse, respondit. Nam neque de redimendo filio unquam tractavit, nec senatum de eo agere permittit; sed ut dignum maiestate ejus erat, armis se recepturum filium dixerat. Post hæc leges pacis dicuntur; ut Asia Romanis cederet, contentus Syriæ regno esset; naves universas, captivos & transfugas traderet; sumptumque omnem belli Romanis restitueret. Quæ cum nuntiata Antiocho essent, nondum ita victum se esse respondit, ut spoliari se regno pateretur; bellique ea irritamenta, non pacis blandimenta esse.

CAP. VIII. Igitur cum ab utrisque bellum pararetur, ingressique Asiam Romani Ilium venissent; mutua gratulatio Iliensium ac Romanorum fuit. Iliensibus Æneam cæterosque cum eo duces a se profectos: Romanis se ab his procreatos referentibus. Tantaque lætitia omnium fuit, quanta esse post longum tempus inter parentes & liberos solet. Juvabat Ilienses, nepotes suos Occidente & Africa domita, Asiam ut avitum regnum vindicare, optabilem Trojæ ruinam fuisse dicentes, ut tam feliciter renasceretur. Contra Romanos avitos lares & incunabula majorum, templaque ac deorum simulacra, inexplabile desiderium videndi tenebat. Profectis ab Ilio Ro-

king had taken passing over in a small ship. But Africanus said, that private kindnesses were separated from public concerns, and that the duties of a father were one thing, and the rights of one's country another, which were to be preferred not only before children, but even life itself. Wherefore he thankfully accepted his present, and would make a return to the king's generosity at his own private expence. As for what concerned war and peace, nothing, he said, could be allowed to favour, nor deducted from the right of his country. For he neither treated at any time about redeeming his son, nor did he suffer the senate to treat about it; but as it was suitable to his grandeur, he said he would recover his son by arms. After these things the terms of peace are declared, that Asia should fall to the Romans, that he should be content with the kingdom of Syria, deliver up his ships, prisoners, and deserters, and repay all the charges of the war to the Romans. Which being told to Antiochus; he answered, that he was not yet so far conquered, as to offer himself to be stripped of his kingdom; and that those terms were provocations to war, and not inducements to peace.

CHAP. VIII. Wherefore when now war was prepared for by both sides, and the Romans having entered Asia, were come to Ilium, there was a mutual congratulation betwixt the Iliensians and the Romans, the Iliensians setting forth that Æneas and the other leaders with him had gone from them; the Romans, that they were descended from them. And the joy of all was as great as uses to be after a long time of abience betwixt parents and children. It pleased the Iliensians that their descendants, after they had conquered the West, and Africa, did now claim Asia as the kingdom of their ancestors, saying, that the ruin of Troy was desirable, that it might so fortunately rise again. On the other hand, an insatiable desire of seeing the home of their forefathers, and the antient seat of their ancestors, seized the Romans. King Eu-

manis, Eumenes rex cum auxiliis occurrit: nec multo post prælium cum Antiocho commissum: cum in dexteriore cornu pulsa legio Romana majore dedecore quam periculo ad castra fugeret. M. Æmilius tribunus militum ad tutelam castrorum relictus armare se milites suos, & extra vallum progredi jubet, strictisq; gladiis fugientibus minari, morituros, dicens, nisi in prælium revertantur, infestioraque sua, quam hostium castra inventuros. Attonita tam ambiguo periculo legio comitantibus commilitionibus, qui fugere eos prohibuerant, in prælium revertitur, magnaq; cæde edita, initium victoriæ fuit. Cæsa hostium quinquaginta millia, capta xi. Antiocho pacem petenti nihil ad superiores conditiones additum; Africano prædicante, neque Romanis, si vincantur, animos minui; neque si vincant, secundis rebus inolescere. Captas civitates inter socios divisere Romani, aptiorem gloriam, quam possessiones voluptarias judicantes: quippe victoriæ gloriam Romano nomini vindicandam; opum luxuriam sociis relinquendam.

menes met the Romans marching from Ilium, with auxiliary forces, and not long after a battle was fought with Antiochus, when a Roman legion being beat in the right wing, fled to the camp with more disgrace than danger. M. Æmilius, a tribune of the soldiers, who had been left for the defence of the camp, orders his soldiers to arm themselves and to advance without the rampart; and to threaten the runaways with drawn swords, telling them, they should die unless they returned to the battle, and that they should find their own camp more hot for them than that of the enemy. The legion being affrighted at their double danger, return to the fight with their fellow-soldiers, accompanying them who had hindered them from flying, and making great havock, they were the first cause of the victory. Fifty thousand of the enemy were slain, and eleven thousand taken. Upon Antiochus's suing for peace, nothing was added to the former articles. Afr. canus declaring that neither was the courage of the Romans abated, if they were defeated, nor did they grow insolent by success. The Romans divided the cities that were taken among their allies, thinking glory more suitable to them than possessions, that might minister to their pleasures. For that the glory of victory was to be claimed for the Roman name, but the luxury of wealth to be left to their allies.

L I B E R XXXII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Ætoli libertate spoliuntur. Bellum inter Messenios & Achæos. Philopæmen captus, & veneno interemptus: unde Messeniorum clades.*
2. *Antiochus Syrus, dum sacrilegio sibi providere patat, interficitur. Senatus Romanus Philippo parcit, ob Demetrii filii virtutem; cui Perseus frater invidet, & Demetrium impiis artibus de medio tollit.*
3. *Philippi obitus: & belli apparatus adversus Romanos, Gallis ad hujus belli societatem pertractis: de quorum migrationibus subjicitur narratio.*
4. *Bellum inter Prusiam & Eumenem, in quo Annibalis opera Prusias, superior evadit. Pace inter reges sancita, Romani Annibalem persequuntur.*

*sequuntur. Is hausto veneno, legationem morte prævenit. Ad-
junctum ejusdem Annibalis elogium.*

CAPUT. I.

ÆTOLI, qui Antiochum in bella Romana impulerant, victo eodem, soli adversus Romanos, & viribus impares, & omni auxilio destituti remanserunt. Nec multo post victi libertatem, quam illibatam adversus dominationem Atheniensium & Spartanorum inter tot Græciæ civitates soli retinuerant, amiserunt. Quæ conditio tanto amarior illis, quanto serior fuit, reputantibus tempora illa, quibus tantis Persarum opibus domesticis viribus resisterant; quibus Gallorum violentiam, Asiæ Italiæque terribilem Delphico bello fregerant. Quæ glorioso recordatio magis desiderium libertatis augebat. Dum hæc aguntur, medio tempore inter Messenios & Achæos de principatu primo dissensio, mox bellum ortum est. In eo nobilis Achæorum imperator Philopœmen capitur, non quia pugnando vitæ peperceret, sed dum suos in prælium revocat, in transitu fossæ equo præcipitatus, a multitudine hostium oppressus est; quem jacentem Messenii, seu metu virtutis, seu verecundia dignitatis, interficere ausi non fuerunt. Itaque velut in illo omne bellum confecerant, captivum per universam civitatem in modum triumphi circumduxerunt, effuso obviam populo, ac si suus non hostium imperator adventaret. Nec victorem Achæi avidius vidissent, quam victum hostes viderunt. Igitur eundem in theatrum duci jusserunt, ut omnes contuerentur, quem potuisse capi incredibile singulis videbatur. Inde in carcerem ducto, verecundia

THE Ætolians, who had put Antiochus upon a war with the Romans, after he was conquered, remained now single against the Romans, both unequal in strength, and destitute of all assistance. And being not long after subdued, they lost their liberty, which they alone, among so many states of Greece, had kept unviolated, against the topping power of the Athenians and Spartans. Which condition was so much the more bitter to them, as it was the later, considering those times, wherein they had withstood the mighty power of the Persians, with their own single strength; wherein they had battled the violence of the Gauls, terrible to Asia and Italy, in the Delphick war. Which glorious reflection did the more encrease their trouble for the loss of their liberty. Whilst these things are doing, in the mean time, at first a difference, and soon after a war, broke out betwixt the Messenians and Achæans, for the superiority. In that the noble general of the Achæans, Philopœmen, is taken, not because in fighting he was sparing of his life, but whilst he was recalling his men to the fight, being thrown off his horse in passing a ditch, he was overpowered by the number of his enemies; whom the Messenians durst not kill as he lay, whether out of fear to his courage, or reverence for his dignity. Wherefore as if they had ended all the war in taking of him, they led their captive through their whole city in manner of a triumph, the people pouring out to meet him, as if their own general, not that of the enemy, was coming. Nor would the Achæans have seen him victorious more gladly, than the enemy saw him now he was conquered. Wherefore they order him to be brought into the theatre, that all might see him, whom it appeared incredible to every one to be taken. After that being led to prison, in regard to his greatness, they gave him poison there; which he received joyfully, as if he had conquered; having first asked,

P 2 mag-

magnitudinis ejus venenum dederunt; quod ille lætus ac si victisset, accepit; quæsito prius, an Lycortas præfectus Achæorum, quem secundum a se esse scientia rei militaris sciebat, incolumis effugisset? Quem ut accepit evalisse, non in totum dicens consultum male Achæis, exspiravit. Nec multo post reparato bello Messenii vincuntur; pœnasque interfecti Philopœmenis pependerunt.

CAP. II. Interea in Syria rex Antiochus cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus esset, seu inopia pecuniæ compulsus, seu avaritia sollicitatus, qua sperabat se, sub specie tributariæ necessitatis, excusatus sacrilegia commissurum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elymæi Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concursu insularium, cum omni militia interficitur. Romæ, cum multæ Græciæ civitates questum de injuriis Philippi regis Macedonum venissent, & disceptatio in senatu inter Demetrium Philippi filium, quem pater ad satisfaciendum senatui miserat, & legatos civitatum esset; turba querelarum confusus adolescens repente obliquit. Tunc senatus verecundia ejus motus, quæ probata etiam antea, cum obses Romæ esset, omnibus fuerat, causam illi donavit. Atque ita modestia sua Demetrius veniam patri, non jure defensionis, sed patrocínio pudoris obtinuit; quod ipsum decreto senatus significatum est, ut apparet, non tam absolutum regem, quam donatum filio patrem. Quæ res Demetrio non gratiam legationis, sed odium obrectationis comparavit. Nam & apud fratrem Perseum æmulatio illi invidiam contraxit; & apud patrem nota absolutionis causa

whether Lycortas, a commander of the Achæans, whom he knew to be second to himself in military affairs, had got off safe? Whom when he heard had escaped he expired, saying, that matters had not gone entirely wrong with the Achæans. Not long after the war being renewed, the Messenians are conquered, and suffered vengeance for killing Philopœmen.

CHAP. II. In the mean time king Antiochus in Syria, being loaded with a heavy tribute of peace, after he was conquered by the Romans, whether compelled by want of money, or induced by avarice; from which he hoped he might the more excusably commit sacrilege under the shew of a necessity for tribute-money, taking his army with him, sets upon the temple of the Elymæan Jove in the night. Which thing being soon known, he was slain with all his soldiery, by a concourse of the people. At Rome, many cities of Greece having come to complain of the injuries of Philip king of Macedonia, and a dispute arising before the senate, betwixt Demetrius, Philip's son, whom his father had sent to satisfy the senate, and the ambassadors of the cities; the young gentleman being confounded with the vast number of complaints, was all on a sudden speechless. Upon that the senate touched with his modesty, which had been before approved by every body, when he was a hostage at Rome, gave him the cause. And thus Demetrius, by his modesty, obtained a pardon for his father, not by the justness of his defence, but by the patronage of his bashfulness; which very thing was set forth in the senate's decree, that it appeared the king was not so much acquitted as the father excused in consideration of the son. Which thing procured Demetrius no favour for his embassy, but the odium of detraction. For emulation brought down upon him envy with his brother Perseus; and with his father, the cause of his acquittal being known, was matter of offence: Philip being angry that the person of the

offensæ

offensæ fuit; indignante Philippo, prius momenti apud senatum personam filii, quam auctoritatem patris, ac dignitatem regiae majestatis habuisse. Igitur Perseus, perspecta patris ægritudine, quotidie absentem Demetrium apud eum criminari, & primo invisum, post etiam suspectum reddere; nunc amicitiam Romanorum, nunc prodicionem ei patris objectare. Ad postremum insidias sibi ab eo paratas confingit; ad cujus rei probationem immittit indices, testes subornat, & facinus quod objicit, admittit. Quibus rebus compulso ad parricidium patre, funestam omnem regiam facit.

CAP. III. Occiso Demetrio, sublatoque æmulo, non negligentior tantum Perseus in patrem, verum etiam contumacior erat; nec hæredem regni sed regem se gerebat. His rebus offensus Philippus impatientius in dies mortem Demetrii dolebat. Tunc & insidiis se circumventum suspicari, testes indicesque torquere. Atque ita cognita fraude, non minus scelere Persei, quam innoxii Demetrii morte cruciabatur; peregrissetque ultionem, nisi morte præventus fuisset. Nam brevi post tempore, morbo ex ægritudine animi contracto, decessit, relicto magno belli apparatu adversus Romanos, quo postea Perseus usus est. Nam & Gallos Scordiscos ad belli societatem perpulerat; fecissetque Romanis grave bellum nisi decessisset. Namque Galli bello adversus Delphos infeliciter gesto, in quo majorem vim numinis, quam hostium senserant, amisso Brenno duce, pars in Asiam, pars in Thraciam extorres fugerant. Inde per eadem vestigia, qua venerant, antiquam patriam repetivere. Ex his manus quædam in confluente Da-

son should have more influence with the senate, than the authority of the father, and the dignity of royal majesty. Wherefore Perseus observing his father's disturbance, accused to him daily Demetrius when absent, and first rendered him odious, and afterwards suspected; one while objecting against him his friendship for the Romans, another while the betraying of his father. At last he pretends a plot had been formed against him by him; for the proof of which thing, he sends in his informers, suborns witnesses, and commits the crime which he lays against his brother. By which means the father being driven on to parricide, he puts the whole palace in a melancholy condition.

CHAP. III. After Demetrius was slain, and his rival taken off, Perseus was not only slighting in his carriage, but even contumacious towards his father; nor did he behave himself as heir of the kingdom, but as king. Philip being offended at these things, lamented more impatiently every day the death of Demetrius. Then he suspected himself trepanned by a treacherous pretence; and put to the rack all the witnesses and informers. And thus having understood the fraud, he was mightily troubled, no less for the villainy of Perseus, than the death of innocent Demetrius; and he would have executed vengeance, had he not been prevented by death. For a short time after he died of a distemper contracted from trouble of mind, leaving mighty preparations for war against the Romans, which afterwards Perseus made use of. For he had drawn in the Galli Scordisci to a confederacy in the war, and would have raised a terrible war against the Romans, but that he died. For the Gauls having managed the war against the Delphians unfortunately, in which they had felt the power of the God greater than that of the enemy; and having lost their general Brennus, part of them fled, like banished men, into Asia, part into Thrace. From thence by the same way they came, they made back again for their old country. But a

nubii & Savi confedit, *Scordiscosq;* se appellari voluit. *Tectosagi* autem, cum in antiquam patriam *Tolosam* venissent, comprehensique pestifera lue essent, non prius sanitatem recuperavere, quam aruspicum responsis moniti, aurum argentumq; bellis sacrilegiisque quæsitum, in *Tolosensem lacum* mergerent. Quod omne magno post tempore *Cæpio Romanus* consul abstulit. Fuere autem argenti pondo centum decem millia, auri pondo quinquies decies centum millia. Quod sacrilegium causa excidii *Cæpioni* exercituique ejus postea fuit. Romanos quoq; *Cimbrici belli* tumultus, velut ultor sacræ pecuniæ, insecutus est. Ex gente *Tectosagorum* non mediocris populus prædæ dulcedine *Illyricum* repetivit, spoliatisq; *Istria*, in *Pannonia* confedit. *Istorum* gentem fama est originem a *Colchis* ducere, missis ab *Ætæ* rege ad *Argonautas* raptoreque filiæ persequendos; qui ut a *Ponto* intraverunt *Istrum*, alveo *Savi fluminis* penitus invecsti, vestigia *Argonautarum* insequentes naves suas humeris per juga montium usque ad littus *Adriatici maris* transtulerat; cognito quod *Argonautæ* idem propter magnitudinem navis priores fecissent; quos ut avictos *Colchi* non reperiunt, sive metu regis, sive tædio longæ navigationis, juxta *Aquilejam* confedere *Istriq;* ex vocabulo amnis, quo a mari concesserant, appellati. *Daci* quoq; soboles *Getarum* sunt; qui cum, *Orole* rege, adversus *Bastarnas* male pugnasent, ad ultionem segnitæ, capturi somnum capita loco pedum ponere jussu regis cogebantur; ministrariq; uxoribus, quæ ab ipsis antea fieri solebant, facere. Neq; hæc ante mutata sunt quam ig-

certain body of them settled about the conflux of the Danube and the Save, and had a mind to be called *Scordisci*. But the *Tectosagi* having got into the country about *Toulouse*, and being seized with a pestilential distemper, they did not recover their health, 'till warned by the answers of the soothsayers, they sunk the gold and silver, got by the wars and sacrilege, in the lake of *Toulouse*. All which, a long time after, *Cæpio* the Roman consul took away. There was an hundred and ten thousand pounds of silver, and of gold fifty hundred thousand pounds. Which sacrilege was the cause of the ruin of *Cæpio* and his army afterwards. The confusion of the *Cimbrian* war too, pursued the Romans, as it were to revenge the seizure of that sacred money. No small number of the *Tectosagi*, tempted by the sweetness of plunder, returned to *Illyricum*, and having rifled the *Istrians*, settled in *Pannonia*. The report is, that the nation of the *Istrians* derive their original from the *Colchians*, who were sent by king *Ætæ* to pursue the *Argonauts* that had carried off his daughter, who after they entered the *Ister* from *Pontus*, proceeding a great way up the channel of the river *Save*, following the steps of the *Argonauts*, carried their ships upon their shoulders over the tops of the mountains, as far as the shore of the *Adriatic* sea, having understood that the *Argonauts* had done the same before, because of the greatness of their ship; whom as being gone off, when the *Colchians* could not find, either for fear of the king, or being weary of so long a voyage, they settled nigh *Aquileja*, and were called *Istri* from the name of the river, up which they came from the sea. The *Daci* likewise are the descendants of the *Getæ*; who having fought unsuccessfully under their king *Oroles* against the *Bastarnians*, to punish their cowardice, when they were to go to sleep, they were obliged by the king's order to lay their heads in the place of their feet, and to perform those offices to their wives which used to be done to themselves before. Nor were these things altered, before they wiped off the

nominiæ

nominiâ bello acceptam virtute
deherent.

*disgrace received in the war by their good
behaviour.*

CAP. IV. Igitur Perseus cum imperio Philippi patris successisset, omnes has gentes adversus Romanos in societatem belli sollicitabat. Interim inter Prusiam regem, ad quem Annibal post pacem Antiocho a Romanis datum profugeret, & Eumenem bellum ortum est, quod Prusias, Annibalis fiducia rupto fœdere, prior intulit. Namque Annibal, cum ab Antiocho Romani inter cæteras condiciones pacis deditionem ejus deposcerent, admonitus a rege, in fugam versus, Cretam defertur. Ibi cum diu quietam vitam egisset, invidiosumq; se propter nimias opes videret, amphoras plumbo repletas, in templo Dianæ, quasi fortunæ suæ præsidia deponit; atq; ideo nihil de illo sollicita civitate, quoniam velut pignus opes ejus tenebat, ad Prusiam contendit, auro suo in statuis, quas secum portabat, infuso, ne conspectæ opes vitæ nocerent. Dein cum Prusias terrestri bello ab Eumene victus esset, & prælium in mare transfulisset, Annibal novo commento auctor victoriæ fuit. Quippe omne serpentium genus in fictiles lagenas conjici jussit, medioq; prælio in naves hostium mitti. Id primum Ponticis ridiculum vsum, fictilibus dimicare, qui ferro nequeant. Sed ubi serpentibus repleti naves cœpere, ancipiti periculo circumventi hosti victoriam cessere. Quæ ubi Romam nuntiata sunt, missi a senatu legati sunt, qui utrumq; regem in pacem cogerent, Annibalemq; deposcerent. Sed Annibal, re cognita, sumpto veneno legationem morte prævenit. Insignis hic annus trium toto

CHAP. IV. Wherefore Perseus, after he had succeeded in the kingdom of Philip his father, solicited all these nations to an alliance in the war against the Romans. In the mean time a war broke out betwixt king Prusias, to whom Annibal, after peace had been given to Antiochus by the Romans, had fled, and Eumenes; which Prusias begun first, breaking the treaty betwixt them in trust to Annibal. For Annibal, when the Romans demanded the surrender of him from Antiochus, among other articles of peace, being warned of it by the king, betaking himself to flight, arrives in Crete. There after he had lived a quiet life a long time, and found himself envied for his extraordinary wealth, he deposits some pots filled with lead in the temple of Diana, as the security of his fortune. And the city being therefore not at all concerned about him, because they had his wealth as a pledge, he went over to Prusias, having infused his gold into some statues, which he carried along with him, lest his riches being visible might prove dangerous to his life. After that Prusias being defeated in a battle by land, and having removed the war to sea, Annibal, by a new stratagem, was the cause of getting the victory. For he ordered all sorts of serpents to be put up in earthen pots, and to be thrown into the middle of the battle into the enemy's ships. That at first appeared ridiculous to the Pontici, for them to fight with pitchers, that could not fight with the sword. But when the ships began to be filled with serpents, being attacked by a double danger, they yielded up the victory to the enemy. Which things being carried to Rome, ambassadors were sent by the senate, to oblige both kings to a peace, and demand Annibal. But Annibal understanding the matter, taking poison, prevented the embassy by his death. This year was remarkable for the deaths of three the greatest generals in the whole world, Annibal, and Philopæmen, and Scipio Africanus. Of which it is cer-

Orbe

Orbe maximorum imperatorum mortibus fuit, Annibalis & Philopœmenis & Scipionis Africani. Ex quibus constat Annibalem, nec tum cum Romano tonantem bello Italia contremuit, nec cum reversus Carthaginem summum imperium tenuit, aut cubantem cœnasse, aut plus quam sextario vini indulgisse; pudicitiamque eum tantam inter tot captivas habuisse, ut in Africa natum quivis negaret. Moderationis certe ejus fuit, ut cum diversarum gentium exercitus rexerit, neque insidiis suorum militum sit petitus unquam, neque fraude proditus, quum utrumq; hostes sæpe tentassent.

tain, that Annibal did neither sup lying, nor indulge himself beyond one pint of wine, either then, when Italy dreaded his thundering in the Roman war, or, when upon his return to Carthage, he had the supreme power; and that he had so much chastity among so many prisoners, that any one would have denied he had been born in Africa. He was, however, a man of that moderation, that tho' he commanded armies of different nations, he was never attacked by the plots of his own soldiers, nor betrayed by treachery, tho' the enemies had often attempted both,

LIBER XXXIII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Macedonicum bellum. Persei & consulum Romanorum animus.*
2. *Pugna in qua Macedones fusi fugatique sunt. Perseus & filii capti in fuga. Macedoniam in provinciam redacta; & Ætoli oppressi.*

C A P U T I.

MINORE quidem rerum Motu Romani Macedonicum quam Punicum bellum gesserunt; sed tanto clarius, quanto nobilitate Macedones Pœnos antecefferunt. Quippe cum gloria Orientis domiti, tum & auxiliis omnium regnum juvantur. Itaq; Romani legiones plures numero conscripserunt; & auxilia a Masinissa rege Numidarum, cæterisque sociis omnibus acciverunt; & Eumeni regi Bithyniæ denuntiatur, ut bellum summis viribus juvaret. Perseo præter Macedonicum invictæ opinionis exercitum, decennis belli sumptus a patre

THE Romans managed the Macedonian war indeed with less disturbance to their state than the Punic; but with so much the more fame, by how much the Macedonians exceeded the Carthaginians in reputation. For they were assisted with the glory of conquering the East, as also with the auxiliary forces of all the kings. Wherefore the Romans both raised more legions in number, and sent for assistance from Masinissa king of the Numidians, and all their other allies; and order was sent to Eumenes king of Bithynia, to assist in the war with all his might. Perseus, besides the Macedonian army of invincible reputation, had provisions for a ten year's war, prepared by his father in his treasures and magazines. By
paratus

patre paratus, in thesauris & horreis erat. Quibus rebus inflatus, oblitus fortunæ paternæ, veterem Alexandri gloriam considerare suos jubebat. Prima equitum congressio fuit, qua victor Perseus suspensam omnium expectationem in favorem sui traxit; misit tamen legatos ad consulem, qui pacem peterent, quam patri suo Romani etiam victo dedissent, impensas belli lege victi suscepturus. Sed consul Sulpitius non minus graves quam victo leges dixit. Dum hæc aguntur, metu tam periculosi belli Romani Æmilium Paulum consulum creant, eiq; extra ordinem Macedonicum bellum decernunt; qui cum ad exercitum venisset, non magnam moram pugnæ fecit. Pridie quàm prælium confereretur; luna nocte defecit; triste id ostentum Perseo omnibus præfagientibus, finemque Macedonici regni portendi vaticinantibus.

CAP. II. In ea pugna M. Cato, Catonis oratoris filius, dum inter confertissimos hostes insigniter dimicat, equo delapsus, pedestre prælium aggreditur. Nam cadentem manipulus hostium cum horrido clamore, veluti jacentem obtruncaturus, circumsteterat; at ille citius corpore collecto magnas strages edidit. Quum ad unum opprimendum undiq; hostes convolarent, dum procerum quendam petit, gladius ei e manu elapsus, in mediam cohortem hostium decidit; ad quem recuperandum umbone se protegens, inspectante utroq; exercitu, inter mucrones se hostium immergit; relictusq; gladio, multis vulneribus exceptis, ad suos cum clamore hostium revertitur. Hujus audaciam cæteri imitati victoriam peperere. Perseus rex fuga cum decem milli-

which things being elevated, forgetting his father's fortune, he bid his men consider the old glory of Alexander. The first engagement was of the horse, in which Perseus being victorious, drew in favour of himself the expectation of all people, till then in suspense; yet he sent deputies to the consul, to beg peace, which the Romans had given to his father, even when conquered, being ready to take upon him the charges of the war, as if conquered. But the consul Sulpitius offered him terms not less harsh than if he had been conquered. Whilst these things are doing, the Romans, for fear of so dangerous a war, made Æmilius Paulus consul, and order for him out of course the Macedonian war; who, when he was come to the army, made no long delay to fight. The day before the battle was fought, the moon was eclipsed, in the night-time; all people looking upon that as a sad omen for Perseus, and prophesying that an end of the kingdom of Macedonia was thereby portended.

CHAP. II. In that battle M. Cato, the son of Cato the orator, whilst he fights gloriously among the thickest of the enemies, falling from his horse, engaged in a battle on foot. For a company of the enemy had gathered about him falling, with a horrid shout, as if they would kill him as he lay; but he having quickly recovered himself, made vast slaughter of them. As the enemy flocked in on all hands to him, who was but one, whilst he strikes at a certain tall fellow, his sword slipped out of his hand, fell into the middle of the enemy's battalion; to recover which, guarding himself with the boss of his shield, both armies looking on, he thrust in among the points of the enemy's weapons, and recovering his sword, and receiving many wounds, he returns to his men with a shout of the enemy. The rest imitating his boldness, got the victory. King Perseus arrives by flight with ten thousand talents in Samothrace, whom Cnæus Octavius, being sent by the consul to pursue him,

bus

bus talentis Samothraciam defertur; quem Cnæus Octavius, ad persequendum missus a consule, cum duobus filiis, Alexandro & Philippo cepit; captumq; ad consulem duxit. Macedonia a Carano, qui primus in ea regnavit, usq; Persem triginta reges habuit. Quorum sub regno fuit quidem noningentis & viginti tribus; sed rerum non nisi centum nonaginta duobus annis posita. Ita cum in ditionem Romanorum cessisset, magistratibus per singulas civitatis constitutis, libera facta est; legesque quibus adhuc utitur, a Paulo accepit. Ætolorum universarum urbium senatus, cum conjugibus & liberis, qui dubia fide fuerant, Romam missus, ibique ne in patria aliquid novarat diu detentus, ægreque per multos annos legationibus civitatum senatu fatigato, in patriam quisque suam remissus est.

to pursue him, took with his two sons, Alexander and Philip; and brought him, when taken, to the consul. Macedonia had thirty kings from Caranus, who first reigned in it, to Perseus, under whose government it was nine hundred and twenty-three years, but bore the sway only a hundred and ninety-two years. Thus after it came into the possession of the Romans, it was made free, magistrates being appointed in every city; and it received laws from Paulus, which it still uses. The senate of all the cities of the Ætolians, with their wives and children, who had been of doubtful faith, was sent to Rome, and there detained a long time, lest they should attempt any revolution in their own country, and with difficulty, after the senate had been wearied for many years with the embassies of the cities, were every one sent into their own country.

LIBER XXXIV.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. *Romani in Achæos causas belli quærunt, & inveniunt. Cruenta Achæorum seditio.*
2. *Bellum quo Achæi oppressi sunt, & Corinthus eversa. Ptolemæus Ægypto pulsus petit a Romanis auxilium.*
3. *Popilii ad Antiochum in gratiam Ptolemæi vere libera legatio. Antiocho mortuo, Demetrius frater Roma profugus regno potitur.*
4. *Prusias rex Bithyniæ, regno & vita a filio spoliatur.*

CAPUT I.

PŒNIS ac Macedonibus subactis, Ætolorumq; viribus principum captivitate debilitatis, soli adhuc ex gratia universa Achæi nimis potentes tunc temporis Romanis videbantur, non propter singularum civitatum nimias opes; sed propter conspirationem universarum. Namq; Achæi, licet per civitates,

THE Carthaginians and Macedonians being subdued, and the strength of the Ætolians weakened by the captivity of their leading men, the Achæans alone of all Greece, seemed at that time too powerful for the Romans; not for the mighty strength of each single city, but by reason of the confederacy of them all. For the Achæans, tho' they were divided into their several cities, as so many members, veluti

veluti per membra, divisi sint, unum tamen corpus & unum imperium habent, singularumque urbium pericula mutuis viribus propulsant. Quærentibus igitur Romanis causas belli, tempestive fortuna querelas Spartanorum obtulit, quorum agros Achæi propter mutuum odium populabantur. Spartanis a senatu responsum est, *legatos se ad inspiciendas res sociorum, & ad injuriam demendam in Græciam missuros.* Sed legis occulta mandata data sunt, ut corpus Achæorum dissolverent singulasque urbes proprii jures facerent, quo facilius ad obsequia cogerentur; & si quæ urbes contumaces essent, frangerentur. Igitur legati, omnium civitatum principibus Corinthum evocatis, decretum senatus recitant; quid consilii habeant, aperiunt. Expedire omnibus, dicunt, *ut singulæ civitates sua jura & suas leges habeant.* Quod ubi omnibus innotuit, velut in furorem versi universum peregrinum populum trucidant; legatos quoque ipsos Romanorum violassent, nisi, audito tumultu, trepidi fugissent.

CAP. II. Hæc ubi Romæ nuntiata sunt, statim senatus Mummio consuli bellum Achæicum decernit; qui extemplo exercitu deportato, & omnibus strenue provisus, pugnandi copiam hostibus fecit. Sed Achæi, velut nihil negotii Romano bello suscepissent, ita apud eos neglecta omnia & saluta fuere. Itaque prædam, non præliam cogitantes, & vehiculo ad spolia hostium reportanda duxerunt; & conjuges liberosque suos, ad spectaculum certaminis, in montibus possuerunt. Sed prælio commisso, ante oculos suorum cæsi, lugubre his spectaculum & gravem luctus memoriam relique-

yet have but one body, and one government, and repel the danger of any single city by their mutual strength. Wherefore fortune very seasonably offered the complaints of the Spartans to the Romans seeking occasion of war, whose lands the Achæans wasted, because of the common hatred betwixt them. Answer was made the Spartans by the Senate, that they would send ambassadors into Greece, to inspect the affairs of the allies, and remedy the injury done them. But private instructions were given the ambassadors to dissolve the body of the Achæans, and make each city its own master, that they might the more easily be brought to a compliance; and that if any cities were contumacious, they should be reduced by force. Wherefore the ambassadors having summoned the chiefs of all the cities to Corinth, they recite the decree of the senate, and discover what design they had. They declare it expedient for all, that each city should have its own rights and laws to itself. Which when it was known to all, being put into a fury as it were, they massacre all the foreigners there, and would have used violence to the Roman deputies themselves, had they not fled in a hurry, upon hearing the disorder.

CHAP. II. When these things were told at Rome, the senate immediately votes the Achæan war for Mummio the consul; who carrying over an army forthwith, and all things being vigorously provided, gave the enemy an opportunity of fighting. But for the Achæans, as if they had undertaken nothing of difficulty by engaging in the Roman war, all things were neglected and out of order among them. Wherefore thinking of plunder, not battle, they both took along with them waggons, to carry off the spoils of the enemy, and placed their wives and children upon the mountains to see the battle. But an engagement ensuing, being slain before the eyes of their relations, they left them a dismal spectacle, and a heavy remembrance of distress. Their wives and children too, being made

run

unt. Conjuges quoq; liberiq; eorum, de spectatoribus captivi facti, præda hostium fuere. Urbs ipsa Corinthus diruitur; populus omnis sub corona venditur; ut hoc exemplo cæteris civitatibus metus novarum rerum imponeretur. Dum hæc aguntur, rex Syriæ Antiochus Ptolemæo, majoris sororis suæ filio, regi Ægypti, bellum infert, segni admodum, & quotidiana luxuria ita marcenti, ut non solum regiæ majestatis officia intermitteret, verum etiam sensu hominis nimia sagina careret. Pulsus igitur regno, ad fratrem minorem Ptolemæum Alexandriam confugit; participatoq; cum eo regno, legatos Romam ad senatum mittunt; auxilia petunt, fidem societatis implorant. Movere senatum preces fratrum.

CAP. III. Mittitur itaq; legatus Popilius ad Antiochum; qui abstinere illum Ægypto, aut si jam incessisset, excedere juberet. Cum in Ægypto eum invenisset, osculumq; ei rex obtulisset (nam coluerat inter cæteros Popilium Antiochus, cum Romæ obles esset) tunc Popilius faceßere interim privatam amicitiam jubet, cum mandata patriæ intercedant; prolatoque senatus decreto, & tradito, cum cunctari eum videret, consultationemq; ad amicos referre; ibi Popilius, virga quam in manu gerebat, amplo circulo inclusum, ut & amicos caperet, consulere jubet; nec prius inde exire, quam responsum senatui daret, aut pacem, aut bellum cum Romanis habiturum. Adeoq; hæc asperitas animum regis fregit, ut parituram se senatui responderet. Reversus in regnum Antiochus cecedit; relicto parvulo admodum filio; cui cum tutores dati a populo essent, patruus ejus Deme-

trion, were a prey to the enemy. The city Corinth itself is pulled down, all the people sold under a crown, that a fear of innovating might be struck into the rest of the cities by this example. Whilst these things are doing, Antiochus, king of Syria, makes war upon Ptolemy, his eldest sister's son, king of Egypt, a very dull prince, and so dispirited by daily luxury, that he not only neglected the duties of royal majesty, but likewise through excessive feeding wanted the sense of a man. Wherefore being driven out of his kingdom, he flies to Alexandria, to his younger brother Ptolemy; and sharing his kingdom with him, they send ambassadors to Rome to the senate, beg assistance, and implore the protection of their alliance. The solicitations of the brothers wrought upon the senate.

CHAP. III. Wherefore Popilius is sent ambassador to Antiochus, to order him to keep out of Egypt, or if he had already marched into it, to be gone. Finding him in Egypt, and the king offering him a kiss, (for Antiochus, among others, had paid a court to Popilius, when he was a hostage at Rome) then Popilius bids private friendship withdraw, where the commands of his country interpose; and producing the senate's decree, and delivering it, when he saw him demur upon it, and refer the consideration of it to his friends; there Popilius bid him, being inclosed in a circle, made with a staff which he carried in his hand, so large, that it took in his friends, consider there and not go out of the circle before he gave the senate an answer, that he would either have peace or war with the Romans. And this bluntness of his so broke the king's courage, that he replied he would obey the senate. Antiochus being returned into his kingdom dies, leaving a son very little, to whom when guardians were assigned by the people, his uncle Demetrius, who was an hostage at Rome, having heard of the death of his brother, went to the senate,

trius,

trius, qui obses Romæ erat, cognita morte Antiochi fratris, senatum adiit, *obsidemque se vivo fratre venisse; quo mortuo, cujus obses sit, se ignorari. Dimitti igitur se ad regnum petendum æquum esse; quod sicuti jure gentium majori fratri cesserit, ita nunc sibi, qui pupillum ætate antecedit, deberi.* Cum se non dimitti animadverteret a senatu, tacito judicio, tutus apud pupillum, quam apud eum, regnum futurum arbitrante; specie venandi ab urbe profectus, Ostiæ tacitus cum fugæ comitibus navem conscendit. Delatus in Syriam secundo favore omnium excipitur; regnumq; ei, occiso pupillo, a tutoribus traditur.

CAP. IV. Eodem fere tempore Prusias, rex Bithyniæ, consilium cepit interficiendi Nicomedis filii, dum consulere studet minoribus filiis, quos ex noverca ejus susceperat, & Romæ habebat. Sed res adolescenti ab his, qui facinus susceperant, proditur; hortatiq; sunt, ut crudelitate patris provocatus occupet insidias, & in auctorem retorquet scelus: nec difficilis persuasio fuit. Igitur cum accitus in patris regnum venisset, statim rex appellabatur. Prusias regno spoliatus a filio, privatusq; redditus, etiam a servis deseritur. Cum in latebris ageret, non minori scelere, quam filium occidi jusserat a filio interficitur.

declaring, that he was a hostage *whilst* his brother was alive; who being dead he knew not whose hostage he was. Wherefore it was reasonable that he should be dismissed to sue for the kingdom, which as by the law of nations he had yielded to his elder brother, so was it now due to him, who was preferable to the orphan in point of age. *When he found he was not dismissed by the senate, from a tacit judgement, supposing that the kingdom would be safer with the orphan than him, going from the city under pretence of hunting, he privately goes on board a ship at Ostia, with some companions of his flight. Arriving in Syria, he is entertained with the extraordinary favour of all people, and the orphan being slain, the kingdom is delivered him by the guardians.*

CHAP. IV. Almost at the same time Prusias, king of Bithynia, took up a resolution to kill his son Nicomedes, *whilst* he endeavours to secure his younger sons, which he had begot of his stepmother, and kept at Rome. But the thing is betrayed to the young man by those who had undertaken the villainy; and they encouraged him, since he was provoked by his father's cruelty, to prevent his plot, and turn the villainy upon the first contriver: nor was persuasion difficult. Wherefore when he was come into his kingdom, upon his being sent for, he is immediately proclaimed king. Prusias being deprived of his kingdom by his son, and made a private man, is forsaken even by his servants. *Whilst* he lived in concealment, he is slain by his son, with no less wickedness than he had ordered his son to be slain.

LIBER XXXV.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Demetrius, bella quærens, ab hostibus opprimitur, & in acie cadit.*
2. *Qui Demetrium everterat, ejusdem filio dat pœnas; prælio victus & interfectus.*

CAPUT I.

Demetrius, occupato Syriæ regno, novitiati suæ otium periculofum ratus, ampliare fines & opes augere finitimorum bellis statuit. Itaque Ariarathi, regi Cappadociæ, propter fastiditas sororis nuptias infestus, fratrem ejus Orofernem, perinjuriâ regno pulsum, supplicem recepit; datumque sibi honestum belli titulum gratulatus, restituere eum in regnum statuit. Sed Orofernes ingrato animo inita cum Antiochenfibus pactione, offensis tunc Demetrio, pellere ipsum regno, a quo restituebatur, consilium cepit. Quo cognito, Demetrius vitæ quidem ejus, ne Ariarathes metu fraterni belli liberaretur, pepercit; ipsum autem comprehensum, vinctum Seleuciæ custodiri jubet. Nec Antiochenfes indicio territi a defectione destiterunt. Itaq; adjuvantibus & Ptolemæo rege Ægypti, & Attalo rege Asiæ, & Ariarathe Cappadociæ, bello a Demetrio laceffiti subornant Balam quendam, sortis extremæ juvenem; qui Syriæ regnum velut paternum armis repeteret; & ne quid contumeliæ deesset, nomen ei *Alexandri* inditur, genitusque ab Antiocho rege dicitur. Tantum odium Demetrii apud omnes erat, ut æmulo ejus non vires regiæ tantum, verum etiam generis nobilitas consensu

Demetrius having seized the kingdom of Syria, looking upon peace as dangerous to his own settlement, resolves to enlarge the border of his kingdom, and increase his power by wars with his neighbours. Wherefore being incensed against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, for despising a match with his sister, he received upon his application to him his brother Orofernes, injuriously driven out of his kingdom, and rejoicing that a handsome pretence for war was thus given him, he resolved to restore him to his kingdom. But Orofernes with an ungrateful mind, entering into a compact with the Antiochians, at that time offended with Demetrius, took up a design to drive him out of his kingdom, by whom he was going to be restored. Which being discovered, Demetrius indeed spared his life, that Ariarathes might not be delivered from the apprehension of a war from his brother; but orders him, being seized, to be kept bound at Seleucia. Nor did the Antiochians, terrified by this discovery, desist from their intended revolt. Wherefore both Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Attalus king of Asia, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, helping them, being attacked by a war by Demetrius, they suborned Balas, a young fellow of very mean condition, to claim the kingdom of Syria as his father's, by force of arms; and that nothing might be wanting to complete the affront, the name of Alexander is given him, and he is said to be the son of king Antiochus. So great was the hatred of Demetrius among all people, that not only the power of a king,

omnium

omnium tribueretur. Igitur Alexander admirabili rerum varietate pristinarum sordium oblitus, totius ferme Orientis viribus succinctus bellum Demetrio infert, victumque vita pariter ac regno spoliatur. Quamquam nec Demetrio animus in propulsando bello defuit. Nam & primo prælio hostem fugavit, & regibus bellum restituentibus, multa millia in acie cecidit. Ad postremum tamen invicto animo inter confertissimos fortissime dimicans cecidit.

CAP. II. Initio belli Demetrius duos filios apud Gnidium hospitem suum cum magno auri pondere commendaverat, ut belli periculis eximerentur, & si ita fors tulisset, paternæ ultioni servarentur. Ex his major Demetrius, annos pubertatis egressus, audita Alexandri luxuria, quem insperatæ opes & alienæ felicitatis ornamenta, velut captum inter scortorum greges desidem in regia tenebant, auxiliantibus Cretensibus, securum ac nihil hostile metuentem aggreditur. Antiochenes quoque veterem patris offensam novis meritis correcturi, se ei tradunt. Sed & milites paterni favore juvenis accensi, prioris sacramenti religionem novi regis superbiam præferentes, signa ad Demetrium transferunt. Atque ita Alexander non minori impetu fortunæ destructus, quam elatus, primo prælio victus interficitur; deditque pœnas, & Demetrio, quem occiderat, & Antiocho, cujus mentitus originem fuerat.

but likewise nobleness of birth is bestowed upon him by the consent of all. Wherefore Alexander in this wonderful change of his fortune, forgetting his former meanness, and supported by the strength of almost all the East, makes war upon Demetrius, and strips him, being defeated, both of his life and kingdom together. Though Demetrius did not want courage in repelling the war; for he both routed the enemy in the first engagement, and the kings renewing the war, he cut off many thousands in fight: yet at last he fell, fighting most valiantly, with invincible courage, among the thickest.

CHAP. II. In the beginning of the war Demetrius had lodged two of his sons with a friend of his of Gnidus, with a great quantity of gold, that they might be exempted from the dangers of the war, and if fortune would have it so, might be saved to revenge their father. Of these the elder Demetrius being past the years of his minority, hearing of Alexander's luxury, whom his unexpected power, and the ornaments of a happiness that did not belong to him, kept captive as it were, and idle in the palace, among companies of whores, with some Cretians assisting him, he falls upon him secure, and fearing nothing of hostility. The Antiochians too to correct their former offence against the father, by new good offices, surrender themselves to him. And likewise his father's soldiers, fired by their love of the young man, and preferring the obligation of their former oath, to the pride of their new king, carry their standards over to Demetrius. And thus Alexander being ruined by no less hurry of fortune than he had been elevated, is defeated in the first battle, and slain; and made satisfaction both to Demetrius, whom he had slain, and to Antiochus, from whom he had falsely derived his original.

LIBER XXXVI.

BREVARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Demetrius junior bella importune movet, & infelicitèr prosequitur. Turbæ in Syria, ubi Trypho ab Antiocho, Demetrii fratre, opprimitur. Antiochus Judæos subigit.*
2. *De Judæorum origine, incrementis & gestis, Justinii falsa sententia.*
3. *Judæorum opes. Mare mortuum. A quibus Judæi domiti sunt.*
4. *Attali Asiæ regis delicta, mors, testamentum. Asia Romanorum sit propria: Divitias autem & vitia sua Romam transmittit.*

CAPUT I.

Recuperato paterno regno Demetrius & ipse rerum successu corruptus, vitiis adolescentiæ in segnitiam labitur, tantumq; contemptum apud omnes inertiae, quantum odium ex superbia pater habuerat, contraxit. Itaque cum ab imperio ejus passim civitates deficerent, ad abolendam segnitiae maculam, bellum Parthis inferre statuit; cuius adventum non inviti Orientis populi videre; & propter Arsacidæ, regis Parthorum, crudelitatem, & quod veteri Macedonum imperium assueti, novi populi superbiam indigne ferebant. Itaque cum & Persarum & Elymæorum, Bactrianorumq; auxiliis juvaretur, multis præliis Parthos fudit. Ad postremum tamen pacis simulatione deceptus capitur; traductusq; per ora civitatum, populis qui desciverant, in ludibrium favoris ostenditur. Missus deinde in Hyrcaniam benigne & juxta cultum pristinae fortunæ habetur. Dum hæc aguntur, interim in Syria Trypho, qui se tutorem Antiocho, Demetrii privigno, substitui a populo laboraverat, occiso pupillo, regnum Syriæ invadit.

Demetrius having recovered his father's kingdom, and being corrupted himself by the success of his affairs, by the vices of his youth, falls under a lazy habit, and contracted as much contempt for his inactivity among all people, as his father had hatred from his pride. Wherefore when the cities revolted every where from his government, to wipe off the scandal of idleness, he resolves to make war upon the Parthians; whose coming the people of the East saw not unwillingly, both because of the cruelty of Arsacidæ king of the Parthians, and because having been used to the old government of the Macedonians, they bore the pride of this upstart people with indignation. Wherefore being assisted with the auxiliaries both of the Persians, and Elymæans, and Bactrians, he routed the Parthians in many battles. However at last, being trepanned by a pretence of making peace, he is taken; and being carried through the cities, is shewn to the people that had revolted, to upbraid them with their favour for him. Then being sent into Hyrcania, he is treated kindly, and according to the splendour of his former fortune. Whilst these things are doing, in the mean time Trypho, who had laboured to be substituted guardian by the people to Antiochus, step-son of Demetrius, killing the orphan, seizes the kingdom of Syria. Which having enjoyed

Quo

Quo diu potius, tandem exolefcente favore recentis imperii, ab Antiocho puero admodum, Demetrii fratre, qui in Asia educabatur, bello vincitur; rursusq; regnum Syriæ ad sobolem Demetrii revertitur. Igitur Antiochus, memor quod & pater propter superbiam invisus, & frater propter segnitiam contemptus fuisset, ne in eadem vitia insideret, recepta in matrimonium Cleopatra, uxore fratris, civitates, quæ vitio fraterni imperii defecerant, summa industria persequitur, domitasque rursus regni terminis adjicit. Judæos quoq; qui in Macedonico imperio sub Demetrio patre armis se in libertatem vindicaverant, subigit. Quorum vires tantæ fuere, ut post hunc nulum Macedonum regem tulerint, domesticisque imperiis usi, Syriam magnis bellis infestaverint.

CAP. II. Namq; Judæis origo Damascena, Syriæ nobilissima civitas; unde & Assyrii regibus genus ex regina Semiramis fuit. Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum; in cujus honorem Syrii sepulchrum Arathis uxoris ejus pro templo coluere; deamque exinde sanctissimæ religionis habent. Post Damascum Azelus, mox, Adores & Abraham & Israhel reges fuere. Sed Israhel felix decem filiorum proventus majoribus suis clariorem fecit. Itaque populum in decem regna divisum filiis tradidit, omnesque ex nomine Judæ, qui post divisionem decesserat, Judæos appellavit; coliq; ejus memoriam ab omnibus jussit, cujus portio omnibus accesserat. Minimæ ætate inter fratres Joseph fuit; cujus excellens ingenium veriti fratres, clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus de-

for some time, at last the favour of this new government wearing off, he is conquered in war by Antiochus the brother of Demetrius, who was educated in Asia; and again the kingdom of Syria returns to the issue of Demetrius. Wherefore Antiochus remembering, both that his father was odious for his pride, and his brother contemptible for his sloth, that he might not fall into the same faults, taking Cleopatra, his brother's wife, in marriage, he prosecuted with the utmost vigour the cities that had revolted through the defect of his brother's government; and having subdued them, adds them again to the borders of his kingdom. He likewise subdues the Jews, who, during the Macedonian government under his father Demetrius, had by force of arms restored themselves to liberty. Whose strength was so considerable, that they would not suffer any king of the Macedonians after him: and using a government of their own, harassed Syria with great wars.

CHAP. II. For the original of the Jews was from Damascus, a most famous city of Syria; from whence likewise the Assyrian kings had their descent from the queen Semiramis. The name was given the city from a king called Damascus; in honour of whom the Syrians held sacred the sepulchre of his wife Arathes, as a temple; and look upon her as a goddess entitled to the most sacred worship. After Damascus Azelus, then Adores, and Abraham, and Israel, were their kings. But a happy breed of ten sons made Israel more famous than his ancestors. And accordingly delivers the people, divided into ten kingdoms, to his sons; and called them all Jews from the name of Judas, who died after the division, and ordered his memory to be had in veneration by them all, whose portion had fallen amongst them all. Joseph was the youngest among his brethren; whose excellent parts his brother being jealous of, sold him, being privately kidnapped, to some foreign merchants. By whom being carried into Egypt, having by his dextrous parts learnt the magick arts, in a short

portatus

portatus in Ægyptum, cum magicas ibi artes solerti ingenio percipisset, brevi ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam & prodigiorum sagacissimus erat, & somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit; nihilq; divini juris humaniq; ei incognitum videbatur, adeo, ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit; perissetq; omnis Ægyptus fame, nisi monitu ejus rex edicto servari per multos annos fruges jussisset; tantaque experimenta ejus fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a Deo responsa dari viderentur. Filius ejus Moses fuit, quem præter paternæ scientiæ hæreditatem, etiam formæ pulchritudo commendabat. Sed Ægyptii, quum scabiem & vitiliginem paterentur, responso moniti, eum cum ægris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt. Dux igitur exulum factus sacra Ægyptiorum serito abstulit; quæ repetentis armis Ægyptii domum redire tempestatibus compulsi sunt. Itaq; Moses Damascena antiqua patria repetita, montem Synæ occupat; quo septem dierum jejunio per desertam Arabiæ cum populo suo fatigatus, cum tandem venisset, septimum diem more gentis *Sabbatum* appellatum in omne ævum jejunio sacrauit, quoniam illa dies famen illis erroremq; finierat. Et quoniam metu contagionis pulsos se ab Ægypto meminerant, ne eadem causa invisi apud incolas forent, caverunt, ne cum peregrinis communicarent: quod ex causa factum paulatim in disciplinam religionemque convertit. Post Mosen etiam filius ejus Aruas sacerdos sacris Ægyptiis, mox rex creatur; semperq; exinde hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eisdem reges & sacerdotes haberent; quorum justitia religione

time was very dear to the king himself. For he was mighty well skilled in prodigies, and first proposed to the world the knowledge of dreams, and nothing of divine or human right seemed unknown to him; so that he foresaw the barrenness of the country several years before it happened. And all Egypt had perished by famine, unless by his advice the king had ordered by an edict the corn to be preserved for several years; and so many were the instances of his skill, that his answers seemed not to be given by a man, but a god. His son was Moses, whom besides the inheritance of his father's skill, the handsomeness of his person likewise recommended. But the Israelites being troubled with the scab and itch, the Egyptians advised by the answer of some oracle, drive him with the other distempered people out of the limits of Egypt, lest the distemper should spread among the Egyptians. Wherefore Moses becoming the commander of the exiles, carried off by stealth the holy things of the Egyptians, which the Egyptians endeavouring to recover by force of arms, were obliged by tempests to return home. Moses therefore having regained his antient country of Damascus, seizes upon mount Sinai, whither when he had at last arrived, harrassed with his people by a fast of seven days thro' the deserts of Arabia, he consecrated the seventh day, after the manner of the nation, by a fast, called for all ages after the sabbath, because that day had ended their hunger, and their wandering both. And because they considered that they had been forced out of Egypt, for fear of the contagion, that they might not be odious upon the same score to the inhabitants of the country, they took care to have no communication with strangers: which being done upon that particular occasion, by degrees was turned into fashion, and a point of religion. After Moses too his son Aruas is made priest of the Egyptian religion, and soon after king; and for ever after it was a custom among the Jews to have the same men their kings and priests; by whose justice, mixt with religion, they grew incredibly strong.

permixta incredibile quantum coaluere.

CAP.

CAP. III. Opes genti ex vestigalibus opobalsami crevere, quod in his tantum regionibus gignitur. Est namq; vallis, quæ continuis montibus velut muro quodam, ad instar castrorum clauditur. Spatium loci ducenta jugera, nomine Hierichus dicitur. In ea valle silva est, & ubertate & amœnitate insignis, siquidem palmeto & opobalsameto distinguitur. Arbores opobalsami formam similem piceis arboribus habent, nisi quod humiles magis, & in vinearum morem excoluntur. Hæ certo anni tempore balsamum sudant. Sed non minor loci apricitatis quam ubertatis admiratio est; quippe cum toto orbe regionis ejus ardentissimos Sol sit, ibi tepidi aeris naturalis quædam ac perpetua apricitas inest. In ea regione lacus est Asphalites, qui propter magnitudinem, & aquæ immobilitatem mortuum mare dicitur. Nam neq; ventis movetur, resistente turbinibus bitumine, quo aqua omnis stagnatur; neq; navigationis patiens est, quoniam omnia vita carentia in profundum merguntur; nec materiam ullam sustinet, nisi quæ alumine illinatur. Primum Xerxes, rex Persarum, Judæos domuit. Postea cum ipsis Persis in ditionem Alexandri Magni venere, diuq; in potestate Macedonici imperii subjecti Syriæ regno fuere. A Demetrio cum descivissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus.

CAP. IV. Per eadem tempora, quibus in Syria regni mutatio inter novos reges alternabatur, in Asia rex Attalus florentissimum ab Eumene patruo acceptum regnum cædibus amicorum & cognatorum suppliciis fœ-

CHAP. III. *The wealth of the nation grew considerable from the duties upon balm which is produced only in those parts. For there is a valley, which is enclosed with a continued ridge of mountains, as it were a wall, in manner of a camp. This space of ground, containing two hundred acres, is called by name Hierichus. In that valley there is a wood, remarkable both for its plenty and pleasantness, for it is divided by plantations of the palm and balm. The balm-trees have an appearance like the pitch-trees, but that they are lower, and dressed after the manner of vines. These at a certain time of the year drop the balm like sweat. But the admiration of this place is no less on account of its being finely exposed to a moderate sun, than its fertility. For tho' the sun in that climate is the hottest in the whole world, yet there particularly is a natural and constant moderate heat of the warm air. In that country is the lake Asphalites, which is called the dead sea, because of its largeness, and the immoveableness of its waters. For neither is it stirred by the winds, the pitch resisting the most violent storms, with which all the water is stagnated; nor does it admit of navigation, because all things wanting life sink to the bottom; nor does it bear up any wood but what is daubed with allom. First Xerxes, king of the Persians, conquered the Jews. Afterwards with the Persians they came under the dominion of Alexander the Great, and were long subject to the king of Syria, under the power of the Macedonian empire. When they revolted from Demetrius, suing for the friendship of the Romans, they first of all the Eastern people recovered their liberty, the Romans then easily bestowing what was none of their own.*

CHAP. IV. *During the same times, in which a change of government was alternately made among new princes in Syria, in Asia king Attalus defiled a most flourishing kingdom, received from his uncle Eumenes, with the murder of his friends, and the punishment of his relations; pre-*

dabat, nunc matrem anum, nunc Beronisen sponsam maleficiis eorum necatas confingens. Post hanc scelestam violentiæ rabiem, squalidam vestem sumit, barbam capillus, que in modum reorum summittit; non in publicum prodire, non populo se ostendere, non domi lætiora convivia inire, aut aliquod signum sani hominis habere, prorsus ut pœnas pendere manibus interfectorum videretur. Omissa deinde regni administratione, hortos fodiebat, gramina seminabat, & noxia innoxiiis permiscebat, eaque omnia veneni succo infecta, velut peculiare munus amicis mittebat. Ab hoc studio, ærariæ artis fabricæ se tradit, cerisq; fingendis, ut ære fundendo procundendoque oblectabatur. Matri deinde sepulchrum facere instituit; cui operi intentus morbum ex Solis fervore contraxit, & septima die recessit. Hujus testamento hæc populus Romanus tunc insitit. Sed erat ex Eumene Aristonicus, non justo matrimonio, sed ex pellice Ephesia charistæ cuiusdam filia genitus, qui post mortem Attali velut paternum regnum Asiam invasit. Cum multa secunda prælia adversus civitates, quæ metu Romanorum tradere ei nolebant, fecisset; justusque rex jam videretur, Asia Licinio Crasso consuli decernitur; qui intentior Attaliæ prædæ, quam bello, quum extremo anni tempore inordinata acie prælium conferuisset, victus pœnos inconsultæ avaritiæ sanguine dedit. In hujus locum missus Perpenna consul, prima congressione Aristonicum superatum in potestatem suam redegit; Attalicasque gazas hæreditarias populi Romani, navibus impo-
 itas Romam deportavit. Quod
 agre ferens successor ejus Ma-

tending one while that the old woman his mother, another that Beronice his spouse, were destroyed by their wicked contrivances. After this wicked mad fit of violence, he takes upon him a filthy habit, lets his beard and the hair of his head grow after the manner of persons under a legal prosecution; never went abroad, nor shewed himself to the people; did never at home engage in any jovial entertainments, or give any sign of a man in his wits; so that he seemed to be making satisfaction to the ghosts of those he had slain. Then laying aside the administration of his kingdom, he digged gardens, sowed herbs, and mixed poisonous with innocent ones, and sent them all mixed with the poisonous juices an extraordinary present to his friends. After this employment, he gives himself up to work in the brazing trade, and diverts himself with forming images in wax, and in the founding and hammering of brass. He then resolves to make a monument for his mother; which work whilst he was busy about, he contracted a distemper from the heat of the sun, and died upon the seventh day. By his will the Roman people is made his heir. But there was one Aristonicus begot by Eumenes, not in lawful marriage, but of a concubine of Ephesus, the daughter of a certain harper; who after the death of Attalus, seized Asia as his father's kingdom. After he had fought several successful battles against the cities, which, for fear of the Romans, would not submit themselves to him, Asia was given by a vote of the senate to the consul Licinius Crassus, who being more intent upon the plunder of Attalus than the war, fighting a battle in the latter end of the year, with his army in disorder, and being defeated, he suffered the punishment due to his rashness by the loss of his life. Perpenna the consul being sent in his room, reduced Aristonicus, defeated in the first engagement, under his power; and carried the treasure of Attalus, that was the Roman people's by inheritance, being put aboard ships, to Rome. Which his successor the consul Manius Aquilius taking ill, goes with the utmost expedition to take

nius

nus Aquilius consul, ad eripendum Aristonicum Perpennæ, veluti sui potius triumphî munus esse deberet, festinata velocitate contendit. Sed contentionem consulum mors Perpennæ diremit. Sic Asia Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.

Aristonicus from Perpenna, as if he ought rather to be the ornament of his own triumph. But the death of Perpenna put an end to the dispute betwixt the consuls. Thus Asia being become the Romans, with its riches, transmitted likewise its vices to Rome.

LIBER XXXVII.

BREVIARUM CAPITULUM.

1. *Massiliensium in Phocenses beneficentia. Tragædiæ in Cappadocia & Ponto.*
2. *Mithridates Ponti regis futura magnitudo prædicta, liberatio, occupationes.*
3. *Ejusdem res gestæ; & domi ab uxore periculum.*
4. *Otio detestatio. Exercitia militari. Cappadociæ & Gallaciæ occupatio, atque superbium Romanis responsio.*

CAPUT. I.

CAPTO Aristonico, Massilienses pro Phocensibus conditoribus suis, quorum urbem senatus, & omne nomen quod & tunc & antea Antiochi bello infesta contra populum Romanum arma tulerant, deleri iusserat, legatos Romam deprecatum misere, veniamque his a senatu obtinere. Post hæc regibus, qui adversus Aristonicum auxilia tulerant, præmia persoluta; Mithridati Pontico Phrygia major; filiis Ariarathis regis Cappadociæ, qui eodem bello occiderat, Lycaonia & Cilicia datæ; fideliorque populus Romanus in socii filios, quam mater in liberos fuit: quippe hinc parvulus auctum regnum, inde vita adempta. Namque Laudice ex numero sex filiorum, quos virilis sexus ex Ariarathe rege suscepit, timens

AFTER Aristonicus was taken, the Massilians sent ambassadors to Rome to intercede for the Phocensians their founders, whose city, and the whole body of them, the senate had ordered to be destroyed, because both then, and before in the war of Antiochus, they had born arms against the Roman people, and obtained a pardon for them from the senate. After these things, rewards were given to the kings, who had given their assistance against Aristonicus. To Mithridates of Pontus was given the greater Phrygia; Lycaonia and Cilicia to the sons of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who had been slain in the same war: and the Roman people were more faithful to the sons of their ally, than the mother was to her children: for on the one hand the kingdom of the little ones was increased, on the other their life taken from them. For Laudice out of a number of six sons, which she had by king Ariarathes, fearing lest

ne non diutinam regni administrationem adultis quibusdam potiretur, quinque parricidiali veneno necavit; unum parvulum sceleri matris cognatorum custodia eripuit, qui post necem Laudices (nam propter crudelitatem eam populus extinxerat) solus regno potius est. Mithridates quoque; repentina morte interceptus filium, qui & ipse Mithridates dictus est, reliquit. Cujus ea postea magnitudo fuit, ut non sui tantum temporis, verum etiam superioris ætatis omnes reges majestate superaverit, bellaque cum Romanis per XLVI annos varia victoria gesserit; cum eum summi imperatores, Sylla, Lucullus, cæterique, in summa Cneus Pompeius, ita vicerint, ut major, clariorque in restaurando bello resurgeret, damnisque suis terribilior redderetur. Denique ad postremum non vi hostili sed voluntaria morte in avito regno, senex, hærede filio, decessit.

C A P. II. Hujus futuram magnitudinem etiam cœlestia ostenta prædixerant. Nam & eo quo genitus est anno, & eo quo regnare primum cœpit, stella cometes per utrumque tempus septuaginta diebus ita luxit, ut cœlum omne flagrare videretur. Nam & magnitudine sua quartam partem cœli occupaverat; & fulgore sui Solis nitorem vicebat; & cum oriretur, occumberetque quatuor spatium horarum consumebat. Puer tutorum insidias passus est; qui cum fero equo impositum, equitare jacularique cogeant; qui conatus cum eos fessellissent, supra ætatem regente equum Mithridate, veneno eum appetivere. Quod metuens antidota sæpius bibit; & ita se adversus insidias exquisitoribus remediis flagnavit, ut ne volens quidem senex veneno

when some of them should be of age, she should not long enjoy the administration of the kingdom, killed five with parricidal poison: one little child, the care of his relations, delivered from his mother's wickedness; who after the killing of Laudice (for the people had put her to death for her cruelty) enjoyed alone the kingdom. Mithridates too being taken off by a sudden death, left a son, who himself too was called Mithridates; whose greatness after was such, that he exceeded all the kings, not only of his own time, but the foregoing ages too in majesty; and carried on wars with the Romans for forty-six years with various success; whilst the great generals Sylla, Lucullus, and others, and in fine Cneus Pompeius, so conquered him, that he always rose again greater and more glorious in renewing the war, and was made more terrible by his losses. And at last died, not by hostile violence, but by a voluntary death in the kingdom of his ancestors, being old, and leaving his son his heir.

CHAP. II. Strange prodigies in the heavens had foretold his future greatness. For the year he was begot, and that wherein he first began to reign, a comet both times shone so for seventy days together, that all the heavens seemed to be on fire. For it took up a fourth part of the heavens by its greatness, and with its splendor dazzled the shining of the sun; and when it rose and set, took up the time of four hours. When a boy, he was attacked by the plots of his guardians, who obliged him, mounted on a wild horse, to ride, and throw the lance. Which attempt having deceived them, the boy having commanded the horse above his age, they attacked him by poison; which he fearing, often drank antidotes; and so fortified himself against their plots by exquisite remedies, that when old, though desirous of it, he could not die by poison. And then fearing lest his enemies should execute that by the sword, which they could not do by poison, he pretended a great fancy for
mori

mori potuerit. Timens deinde, ne inimici, quod veneno non potuerant, ferro perageret, venandi studium finxit, quo per septem annos neque urbis, neque ruris tecto usus est; sed per silvas vagatus, diversis montium regionibus pernoctabat, ignaris omnibus quibus esset locis: assuetus feras cursu aut fugere, aut persequi, cum quibusdam etiam viribus congredi. Quibus & insidias vitavit, & corpus ad omnem virtutis patientiam duravit.

CAP. III. Ad regni deinde administrationem cum accessisset, statim non de regendo, sed de augendo regno cogitavit. Itaque Scythas invictos antea, qui Sopyriona Alexandri Magni ducem, cum triginta millibus armatorum deleverant; qui Cyrum Persarum regem, cum ducentis millibus trucidaverant, qui Philippum Macedonum regem fugaverant, ingenti felicitate perdomuit. Auctus igitur viribus, Pontum quoque ac deinceps Cappadociam occupavit. Cum de Asia tractaret, tacitus cum quibusdam amicis regno profectus, universam nemine sciente pervagatus est, omniumque urbium situm ac regiones cognovit. Inde Bithyniam transcendit, & quasi dominus Asiæ, opportuna quæque victoriæ suæ metatus est. Post hæc in regnum, cum jam periisse crederetur, reversus est, invento parvulo filio, quem per absentiam ejus Laudice soror uxorque enixa fuerat. Sed inter gratulationem adventus sui, & filii geniti veneno periclitatus est. Si quidem Laudice soror, cum periisse eum crederet, in concubitus amicorum projecta, quasi admissum facinus majore scelere tegere posset, venenum adveniienti paravit. Quo cum ex ancilla Mithridates cognovisset, facinus in auctores vindicavit.

hunting; in which humour, he made no use of a house, neither in city nor country, for seven years; but rambling thro' the woods, lodged at nights in different parts of the mountains, all people being ignorant in what place he was: being accustomed by running to avoid the wild beasts, or pursue them, and with some to engage by main strength. By which means he both avoided the plots laid for him, and enured his body for all manner of hardships.

CHAP. III. Afterwards when he was come to the administration of his kingdom, he immediately thought not so much of ruling, but of increasing his kingdom. And accordingly he subdued with extraordinary success the Scythians, who had been invincible before, who had cut off Sopyrion the general of Alexander the Great, with thirty thousand men; who had slain Cyrus king of the Persians, with two hundred thousand; who had routed Philip king of the Macedonians. Wherefore being advanced in strength, he likewise seized Pontus, and after that Cappadocia. Whilst he was thinking of Asia, going privately with some of his friends out of his kingdom, he travelled thro' the whole without any body's knowing it; and so became acquainted with the situation of all the cities, and the country. After that he passed over Bithynia, and as if he was lord of Asia, marked out all the places proper for the promoting his conquest. After that he returned into his kingdom, when he was now believed to have perished, finding a little son, which in his absence Laudice, his sister and wife, had been brought to bed of. But amidst the congratulations on account of his arrival, and his son that was born, he was in danger of poison. For Laudice his sister, believing he had been lost, having prostituted herself to the embraces of his friend, as if she could conceal the crime she had committed by a greater villainy, prepared poison for him upon his coming. Which Mithridates understanding from a maid, revenged the intended crime upon the contrivers.

CAP.

CAP. IV. Hyeme deinde appetente, non in convivio, sed in campo; non in vacationibus, sed in exercitationibus; nec inter sodales, sed inter æquales, aut equo, aut cursu, aut viribus contendebat. Exercitum quoque suum ad parem laboris patientiam quotidiana exercitatione durabat; atque ita invictus ipse inexpugnabilem exercitum fecerat. Inita deinde cum Nicomede societate, Paphlagoniam invadit, victamque cum socio dividit. Quam cum teneri a regibus senatui nuntiatum esset, legatos ad utrumque misit, qui gentem restitui in pristinum statum juberent. Mithridates cum se jam parem magnitudini Romanorum crederet, superbo responso, hæreditarium patri suo regnum obvenisse, respondit; minarique se, quod quæ ei relata controversia non fuerit, sibi referatur. Nec territus minis Galatiam quoque occupat. Nicomedes quoniam se tueri jure non poterat, justo regi redditurum respondit. Atque ita filium suum mutato nomine Pylæmenem Paphlagonum regum nomine appellat, & quasi stirpi regis reddidisset regnum, falso nomine tenet. Sic ludibrio habiti legati Romam revertuntur.

CHAP. IV. *Then upon the approach of winter, he was not engaged in entertainments, but in the field; not in idleness, but in his exercises: nor did he contend with merry fellows in their jollity, but among those of his own age, either in riding or running, or trials of strength. He likewise hardened his army, by daily exercise, to the like endurance of fatigue; and thus being invincible himself, had rendered his army invincible. Then entering into an alliance with Nicomedes, he invades Paphlagonia, and divides it, being conquered, with his ally. Which when word was brought the senate, that it was in the possession of the two kings, they sent ambassadors to both, to order the nation to be restored to their former condition. Mithridates, as he now thought himself a match for the greatness of the Romans, with a haughty answer replied, that the kingdom fell to his father by inheritance; and that he wondered that a controversy, that had never been raised against him, was raised against himself. And not being terrified with threats, he likewise seizes upon Galatia. Nicomedes, because he could not defend himself by any right he had, replied, that he would restore it to the rightful king. And accordingly he calls his son by a change of his name Pylæmenes, a name of the Paphlagonian kings; and as if he had restored the kingdom to the royal issue, possesses it under a false title. Thus the ambassadors being bantered, return to Rome.*

LIBER XXXVIII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Mithridates regni sui auspicia parricidiis polluit; & callidis artibus Ariarathem Cappadocem trucidat.*
2. *Novæ Mithridatis & Nicomedis tragædiæ, quas senatus Romanus utcunque sedat.*
3. *Mithridatis Tigranem in societatem belli adversus Romanos trahit, & Proconsulibus Romanis fufis, ingenti civitatum Asianarum favore excipitur.*
4. *Oratio Mithridatis, in qua rationes suas exponit, cur bellum sit Romanis inferendum.*
5. *Romanos, dum occupati essent, adoriundos esse censet, justum bellum illud ostendens.*
6. *Malas eorundem artes, & originem detegit.*
7. *Stirpis suæ nobilitatem, suorumque libertatem, ac fortitudinem opponit, necnon belli facilitatem; liberalitate ac munificentia milites alliciens.*
8. *Ptolemæus Physcon in Ægypto multiplici scelere omnia turbat, & a suis pellitur.*
9. *Demetrii Syriæ regis, fortunæ ludibrii, casus varii.*
10. *Antiochus Demetrii frater, Parthos bello aggressus, in acie a suis desertus occiditur.*

CAPUT I.

Mithridates parricidia a nece uxoris auspicatus, fororis alterius Laudices filios cuius virum Ariarathem, regem Cappadociæ, per Gordium insidiis occiderat, tollendos, statuit; nihil aucte morte patris existimans, si adolescentes paternum regnum, cuius ille cupiditate flagrabat, occupassent. Igitur dum in his cogitationibus versatur, interim Nicomedes rex Bithyniæ vacuam morte regis Cappadociam invadit. Quod cum nuntiatum Mithridati fuisset, per simulationem pietatis auxilia forori ad expellendum Cappadocia Nicomedem mittit. Sed jam Laudice per pacationem se Nicomedi in matrimonium tradiderat. Quod ægre ferens Mithridates præsidia Nicomedis Cappa-

Mithridates having begun his parricides by the killing of his wife, resolves to take off the sons of his other sister Laudice, whose husband Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he had slain by a plot, by the means of one Gordius; thinking nothing was done by the death of the father, if the young man seized their father's kingdom, with the desire of which he was much inflamed. Therefore whilst he was busy in these thoughts, in the mean time Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, seizes Cappadocia, void by the death of the king. Which being told Mithridates, under a pretence of affection for his relations, he sends assistance for his sister, to drive Nicomedes out of Cappadocia. But now Laudice had by agreement delivered herself in marriage to Nicomedes. Which Mithridates taking ill, drives the garrisons of Nicomedes out of Cappadocia, and returns the kingdom to his sister's son; an excelsior

docia expellit, regnumq; fororis filio restituit; egregium prorsus factum, ni subsequuta fraus esset. Siquidem interjectis mensibus, simulat, se Gordium, quo ministro usus in Ariarathe interficiendo fuerat, restituere in patriam velle, sperans, si obsisteret adolescens, causas belli futuras, aut si permetteret, per eundem filium tolli posse, per quem interfecerat patrem. Quod ubi Ariarathes junior moliri cognovit, graviter ferens interfectorem patris per avunculum potissimum ab exilio revocari, ingentem exercitum contrahit. Igitur cum in aciem eduxisset Mithridates peditum octoginta millia, equitum decem millia, currus falcatos decem; nec Ariarathi auxiliantibus finitimis regibus, minores copiae essent, incertum belli timens consilia ad insidias transfert; sollicitatq; juvene ad colloquium, cum ferrum occultatum inter fascias gereret, scrutatori ab Ariarathe regio more misso curiosius in eum ventrem pertractanti ait, *caveret ne aliud telum inveniret quam quæreretur.* Atque ita risu protectis insidiis, se vocatum ab amicis, velut ad secretum sermonem, inspectante utroq; exercitu, interficit; regnum Cappadociae octo annorum filio, imposito *Ariarathis* nomine, additoq; ei rectore Gordio, tradidit.

C A P. II. Sed Cappadoces crudelitate ac libidine praefectorum vexati a Mithridate deficient; fratremque regis, & ipsum Ariarathem nomine, ab Asia, ubi educabatur, revocans; cum quo Mithridates praelium renovat, victumq; Cappadociae regno expellit. Nec multo post adolescens, ex aegritudine collecta infirmitate, decedit. Post hujus mortem Nicomedes timens, ne

lent action indeed, had no treachery followed. For some months after, he pretends he had a mind to restore Gordius, whom he had used as his tool to take off Ariarathes, to his country, hoping, if the young man opposed it, it would be the occasion of a war; or, if he suffered it, that the son might be taken off by the same person by whom he killed the father. Which when Ariarathes the younger understood he was driving at, taking it heinously that the murderer of his father should be recalled from banishment above all others, by his uncle, he raises a great army. Wherefore when Mithridates had drawn out into the field fourscore thousand foot, ten thousand horse, six hundred scythed chariots; and Ariarathes, the neighbouring kings assisting him, had no less an army, fearing the uncertainty of war, he turns his thoughts to a plot, and having invited the young man to a conference, and carrying a sword hid among the wrappings of his thighs, he says to the searcher, sent after the manner of kings, searching the bottom of his belly very curiously, he should have a care, lest he should find another sort of weapon than he sought for. And thus his treachery being covered by a laugh, after he was separated from his friends, as it were to a private conference, he kills him, both armies looking on; and delivered the kingdom of Cappadocia to his son eight years old, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian.

CHAP. II. But the Cappadocians being miserably harassed by the cruelty and lust of their governors, revolt from Mithridates, and sent for the brother of their king, who was himself too Ariarathes by name, from Asia, where he was educated; with whom Mithridates renewed the fight, and drives him, being defeated, out of the kingdom of Cappadocia. And not long after, the young man, contracting a distemper from grief of mind, dies. After his death, Nicomedes fearing, lest

Mithridates

Mithridates accessione Cappadociæ etiam Bithyniam finitimam invaderet, subornat puerum eximie pulchritudinis, quasi Ariarathes tres, non duos filios genuisset, qui a senatu Romano paternum regnum peteret. Uxorem quoque Laudicen Romam mittit, ad testimonium trium ex Ariarathe susceptorum filiorum. Quod ubi Mithridates cognovit, & ipse pari impudentia Gordium Romam mittit, qui senatui assereret, *puerum, cui Cappadociæ regnum tradiderat, ex eo Ariarathe genitum, qui bello Aristonici auxilia Romanis ferens cecidisset.* Sed senatus, studio regum intellecto, aliena regno falsis nominibus furantium, & Mithridati Capadociam, & Nicomedi, ad solatium ejus, Paphlagoniam ademit. Ac ne contumelia regum foret ademptum illis, quod daretur aliis, uterq; populus libertate donatus est. Sed Cappadoces munus libertatis abnuentes, negant *vivere gentem sine rege posse.* Atque ita rex illis a senatu Ariobarzanes constituitur.

CAP. III. Erat eo tempore Tigranes rex Armeniæ, obses Parthis ante multum temporis datus sed olim ab iisdem in regnum paternum remissus. Hunc Mithridates inire ad societatem Romani belli, quod olim meditabatur, pellicere cupiebat. Nihil igitur de offensa Romanorum sentientem per Gordium impellit, ut Ariobarzani, segni admodum bellum inferat; & ne quis dolus subesse videretur, filiam suam ei Cleopatram in matrimonium tradit. Primo igitur adventu Tigranis Ariobarzanes sublati rebus suis Romam contendit. Atque ita per Tigranem rursus Cappadocia juris esse Mithridatis cœpit. Eodem tempore mortuo Nicomede, etiam filius

Mithridates, upon the addition of Cappadocia, should seize Bythynia that was near it, he sets up a boy of extraordinary handsomeness, as tho' Ariarathes had begot three, not two sons only, to beg the kingdom of the senate of Rome as his father's. He sends likewise his wife Laudice to Rome, to testify that there were three sons begot of Ariarathes. Which when Mithridates understood, he likewise sends, with the same impudence, Gordius to Rome, to assure the senate, That the boy to whom he had delivered the kingdom of Cappadocia, was begot by the same Ariarathes, who had fallen in the war of Aristonicus carrying assistance to the Romans. But the senate perceiving the eagerness of the two kings, stealing kingdoms belonging to others under false names, both took from Mithridates Cappadocia, and for his comfort, from Nicomedes, Paphlagonia. And that it might not be thought an affront upon the kings, that ought should be taken from them to be given to others, both people were presented with their liberty. But the Cappadocians refusing the present of their liberty, deny that the nation could live without a king. And accordingly Ariobarzanes is made their king by the senate.

CHAP. III. Tigranes was king of Armenia at that time, having been given as an hostage to the Parthians a long time before, but sent a good while before this into his father's kingdom. Him Mithridates was wonderfully desirous to draw into an alliance for the war with the Romans, which he had long designed. Wherefore by the means of Gordius, he prevails with him, thinking nothing of giving any offence to the Romans, to make war upon Ariobarzanes, a very unactive prince; and that there might not appear to be any fraudulent design at the bottom, he gives him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. Wherefore upon the first coming of Tigranes, Ariobarzanes carrying off all his substance, goes to Rome. And thus by the means of Tigranes, Cappadocia begun again to belong to Mithridates. At the same time Nicomedes dying, his son too, who
ejus

ejus & ipse Nicomedis regno a Mithridate pellitur; qui cum supplex Romam venisset, decernitur in senatu, ut uterq; in regnum restituantur; in quod tum missi Aquilius & Manlius Maltinus legati. His cognitis Mithridates societatem cum Tigrane, bellum adversus Romanos gesturus, jungit; pactiq; inter se sunt ut urbes agriq; Mithridati, homines vero & quæcunq; auferri possent, Tigrani cederent. Post hæc Mithridates intelligens, quantum bellum suscitaret, legatos ad Cimbros, alios ad Gallogræcos, & Sarmatas Bastarnasq; auxilium petiit. Nam omnes has gentes Romanum meditabundus bellum variis beneficiorum muneribus jam ante illexerat. Ab Scythia quoque exercitum venire jubet, omnemque Orientem adversus Romanos armat. Non magno igitur labore Aquilius & Maltinus Asiatico exercitu instructos vincit; quibus simul cum Nicomede pulsus, ingenti favore civitatum excipitur. Multum ibi auri argentiq; studio veterum regum, magnumq; belli apparatus invenit; quibus instructus debita civitatibus publica privataq; remittit & vacationem quinquennii concedit. Tunc ad concionem milites vocat, eosque variis exhortationibus ad Romana bella five Asiatica incitat. Quam orationem dignam duxi, cujus exemplum brevitati hujus operis infererem, quam obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Livio & in Sallustio reprehendit, quod, conciones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inferendo, historiæ modum excefferint.

CAP. IV. Optandum sibi fuisse ait, ut de eo licere consulere, bellumne sit cum Romanis, an pax habenda: quin vero sit resistendum impugnantibus, nec eos quidem du-

was himself Nicomedes, is driven out of his kingdom by Mithridates, who coming as a suppliant to Rome, it is resolved in the senate, that both of them should be restored to their kingdom; for which purpose Aquilius, and Manlius Maltinus were sent ambassadors. Upon understanding these things, Mithridates made an alliance with Tigranes, in order to carry on the war against the Romans. And they agreed betwixt themselves, that the cities and lands should fall to Mithridates, but the men, and whatsoever might be carried off, to Tigranes. After these things, Mithridates understanding how great a war he had raised, sends ambassadors to the Cimbrians, and others to the Gallogræcians, and the Sarmatians, and Bastarnians, to beg assistance. For designing a war against the Romans, he had already wheedled all these nations by various presents. He orders likewise an army to come from Scythia, and arms all the East against the Romans. Wherefore he defeats, with no great trouble, Aquilius and Maltinus, furnished only with an Asiatick army; whom being beat together with Nicomedes, he is received with huge favour of the cities. He finds there much gold and silver, and plenty of warlike ammunitions, laid up by the care of former kings. With which being provided, he remits the cities their public and private debts, and grants them an exemption from war for five years. Then he calls his soldiers to an assembly, and animates them by divers encouragements to a war with the Romans, or Asia. Which speech I have thought worthy to insert a copy of in the briefness of this work, which Pompeius Trogus has related in the third person, because he finds fault with it in Livy and Sallust, that they have exceeded the bounds of history, by inserting direct speeches for their own harangues in their works.

CHAP. IV. He said, it was a thing to be wished for by him, that he might be allowed to consult about that point, whether he was to have war or peace with the Romans; but that resistance

bitare,

bitare, qui spe victoriæ careant. Quippe adversus latronem, si nequeant pro salute, pro ultione tamen sua omnes ferrum stringere. Cæterum quia non id agitur, an liceat quiescere, non tantum animo hostiliter, sed etiam prælio congressis, consulendum, qua ratione ac spe capta bella sustineant. Esse autem sibi victoriæ fiduciam, si sit illis animus; Romanosque vinci posse, cognitum non sibi magis, quam ipsis militibus, qui in Bithynia Aquilium, & Maltinum in Cappadocia fuderint. At si quem aliena magis exempla quam sua experimenta moveant, audire se, a Pyrro rege Epiri, non amplius quam quinque millibus Macedonum instructo, fuses tribus præliis Romanos. Audire Annibalem sexdecim annis Italiæ victorem immortalatum; & quin ipsam caperet urbem non Romanorum illi vires obstitisse, sed domesticæ æmulationis atq; invidiæ studium. Audire populos Transalpinæ Galliæ Italian ingressos, maximis eam plurimisq; urbibus possidere; & latius aliquanto solum finium quam in Asia, quæ dicatur imbellis, eosdem Gallos occupasse; nec victum solum dici sibi Romam a Gallis, sed etiam captam, ita ut unius illis montis tantum cacumen relinquere-tur, nec bello hostem, sed pretio remotum. Gallorum autem nomen, quod semper Romanos terruit, in partem virium suarum ipse numeret. Nam hos qui Asiam incolunt Gallos, ab illis, qui Italiam occupaverant, sedibus tantum distare; originem quidem ac virtutem, genusque pugnæ idem habere, tantoq; his sagaciora esse quam illis ingenia quanto longiori ac difficiliore spatio, per Illyricum Thraciamque prodierint, pene operosius transitus eorum finibus, quam ubi confedere, possessis. Jam ipsam Italiam audire se nunquam, ut Romæ

was to be made against the first aggressor, even they made no doubt of, who were without hopes of victory. For all people drew the sword against a robber, if they could not do it for their security, however for their revenge. But since that was not the matter, whether they might be quiet or no, who had engaged in a hostile manner, not only in intention, but in battle, they were to consider in what manner, and with what hopes they might maintain the war that was undertaken. And that he had assured hopes of victory, if they had but courage; and that the Romans might be conquered, was known not to him more than the soldiers themselves, who had routed both Aquilius in Bithynia, and Maltinus in Cappadocia. But if the examples of others would work upon them more than their own experience, he had heard that the Romans had been routed in three battles by Pyrrhus, furnished with no more than five thousand Macedonians. He had heard that Hannibal continued in Italy victorious for sixteen years; and that the strength of the Romans had not hindered him from taking the city itself, but the keenness of his own countrymen's emulation and envy. He had heard that the people of Transalpine Gaul had entered Italy, and kept possession of it in very great and very many cities; and that the same Gauls had seized there a much larger country, than in Asia, which was reckoned not at all warlike: and that he was told that Rome was not only conquered by the Gauls, but taken too; so that the top of one mountain only was left them; and that the enemy was removed thence, not by war, but by money. That he reckoned the nation of the Gauls, which had always frightened the Romans, for part of his strength. For the Gauls that inhabit Asia differ only in their habitation from those that had seized Italy; that they had the same original and courage, and the same way of fighting. And that these had so much the more sagacious

condita

condita sit, satis illi pacatam, sed assidue per omnes annos pro libertate alios, quosdam etiam pro jure imperii, bellis continuis perseverasse; & a multis civitatibus Italiae deletos Romanorum exercitus ferro, a quibusdam novo contumeliae more sub jugum missos. Ac ne veteribus immoretur exemplis, hoc ipso tempore universam Italiam bello Marfico consurrexisse, non jam libertatem, sed consortium imperii civitatisque poscentem. Nec gravius vicino Italiae bello, quam domesticis principum factionibus urbem premi, multoque periculosius esse Italico civile bellum; simul & a Germania Cimbros, immensa millia ferorum atque immitium populorum more procellae inundasse Italiam; quorum tametsi singula bella sustinere Romani possent, universis tamen obruantur, ut ne vacaturos quidem bello suo putet.

that the civil war among them was much more dangerous than the Italian. At the same time too the Cimbrians from Germany, numerous thousands of wild and savage people, had like a tempest over-run Italy; which wars, tho' the Romans might be able to withstand them singly, yet by them all they must be overpowered; that he did not think they would be at leisure to prosecute the war against him.

CAP. V. Utendum igitur occasione, & rapienda incrementa virium, ne si illis occupatis quieverint, mox adversus vacuos & quietos majus negotium habeant. Non enim queri, an capienda sint arma, sed utrum sua potius occasione, an illorum. Nam bellum equidem jam tunc secum ab illis geri ceptum, cum sibi pupillo majorem Phrygiam ademerint, quam patri suo praemium dati adversus Aristonicum auxilii concesserant, gentem quam & proavo suo Mithridati Seleucus Callinicus in dotem dedisset. Quid, cum Paphlagonia decedere se jusserunt, non alterum illud genus belli fuisse? quae non vi, non armis, sed adoptione testamenti, & regum domesticorum interitu, haereditaria patri suo

parts than those other, by how much the longer and more difficult way they went through Illyricum and Thrace, having passed those countries almost with more difficulty than they possessed that wherein they settled. Then he had heard that Italy itself, since the time that Rome was built, was never sufficiently reconciled to it; but that continually every year, some for their liberty, others for the power of dominion, did persist in uninterrupted wars; and that the armies of the Romans had been cut off by many states of Italy with the sword, and by some by a new fashion of abuse put under the yoke. And that he might not dwell upon old examples, at that very time all Italy was up in the Marfian war, demanding now not their liberty, but a share in the government, and the freedom of the city. Nor was the city more heavily distressed in the neighbouring war of Italy, than by the home factions of the leading men; and

CHAP. V. Wherefore they ought to make use of the opportunity, and embrace the improvement of their strength now offered, lest if they were quiet, whilst they (the Romans) were busy, they should presently have more difficulty to contend against them, when disengaged and at quiet. For the question was not, whether arms were to be taken up, but whether at their own time or their's? For the war was indeed already begun to be carried on with him by them, when they took from him, whilst a minor, the greater Phrygia, which they had given to his father by way of reward, for the assistance given them against Aristonicus, a nation which Seleucus Callinicus had given his great grandfather, Mithridates, as a fortune with his wife. What, when they ordered him to quit Paphlagonia, was not that

ob-venisset :

*obvenisset : cum inter hanc decre-
torem amaritudinem parendo non
tamen eos mitigaret, quin acerbius
se in dies gerent, non obtinuisse.
Quod enim a se non præbitum illis
obsequiam ? non Phrygiam, Paph-
lagoniamque dimissus ? non Cappa-
docia filium educatum, quam jure
gentium victor occupaverat ? Rap-
tam tamen sibi esse victoriam ejus
ab illis, quorum nihil est nisi bello
quæsitum. Non regem Bithyniæ
Chreston, in quem senatus arma
decreverat, a se in gratiam illorum
occisum ? tamen nihilominus im-
putari sibi, si qua Gordius aut
Tigranes faciat. Libertatem eti-
am in contumeliam sui a senatu
ultra delatam Cappadociæ, quam
reliquis gentibus abstulerunt : de-
inde populos Cappadocum pro liber-
tate oblata Gordium regem oran-
tes, ideo tantum quoniam amicus
suus esset, non obtinuisse. Nico-
medem præcepto illorum bellum fi-
lii intulisse : quia ultum ierit se,
ab ipsis ventum obviam, & nunc
eam secum bellandi illis causam fo-
re, quod non impune se Nicomedi
lacerandum saltatricis filio præ-
buerit.*

upon him ; and because he went about to revenge himself, he was opposed by them ; and now that would be the reason of their making war with him, that he would not offer himself to Nicomedes, a dancing mistress's son, to be torn to pieces by him with impunity.

CAP. VI. *Quippe non delicta
regum illos, sed vires ac majesta-
tem insequi ; neque in se uno, sed
in aliis quoque omnibus hac semper
arte grassatos. Sic & avum su-
um Pharnacem, per cognationum
arbitria, succedaneum regi Perga-
meno Eumeni datum : sic rursus
Eumenem, cujus classibus primum
in Asiam fuere transvecti, cujus
exercitu magis quam suo, & Mag-
num Antiochum, & Gallos in A-
sia, & mox in Macedonia regem
Persem domuerant, & ipsum pro
hoste habitum, eique interdictum
Italia, & quod cum ipso deforme*

another sort of war ? which came to his father, not by violence, nor by arms, but by adoption in will, and the de- cease of its own kings, by right of in- heritance. Whilst during the severity of their orders, he could not soften them by his obedience ; nay could not prevail, but that they behaved themselves more severely towards him every day. For what compliance had not been yielded them by him ? were not Phrygia and Paphlagonia parted with ? was not his son drawn out of Cappadocia, which he had seized as conqueror by the law of nations ? yet his victory was ravaged from him by those who had nothing but what they had got in war. Was not Chrestos, king of Bithynia, against whom the senate had ordered arms to be taken up, slain by him in their favour ? and yet notwithstanding all this, if Gordius or Tigranes did any thing, it was imputed to him. Liberty likewise had been given by the senate to Cappa- docia to affront him, which they took from other nations. That afterwards, when instead of the liberty offered them, they begged to have Gordius for their king, they had therefore only not pre- vailed, because he was his friend. That Nicomedes by their order had made war

upon him ; and because he went about to revenge himself, he was opposed by them ; and now that would be the reason of their making war with him, that he would not offer himself to Nicomedes, a dancing mistress's son, to be torn to pieces by him with impunity.

CHAP. VI. For they pursued not the faults of kings to punish them, but their strength and majesty ; neither had they proceeded against him in this way only, but against all others at all times. Thus too they dealt with his grandfather Pharnaces, by the determination of his relations, made successor to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Thus again Eumenes by whose fleets they were at first brought over into Asia, by whose arm, more than their own, they had subdued both Antiochus the Great, and the Gauls in Asia, and soon after king Perseus in Macedonia, was himself treated as an enemy, and forbid coming in Italy, and

sibi

sibi putaverant, cum filio ejus Aristonico bellum gessisse. Nullius apud eos majora, quam Masinissæ regis Numidarum, haberi merita. Huic imputari victum Annibalem, huic captum Syphacem, huic Carthaginem deletam; hunc inter duos illos Africanos tertium servatorem urbis referri; tamen cum hujus nepote bellum modo in Africa gestum adeo inexpiabile, ut ne victum quidem memoriæ avi donarent, quin carcerem ac triumphis spectaculum experiretur. Hanc illos regibus omnibus legem odiorum dixisse, scilicet quia ipsi tales reges habuerint, quorum etiam nominibus erubescant, aut pastores Aboriginum, aut aruspices Sabinorum, aut exules Corinthiorum, aut servos vernasque Thuscorum, aut, quod honoratissimum nomen fuit inter hæc, Superbos. Atque, ut ipsi ferunt, conditores suos lupæ uberibus alitos, sic omnem illum populum luporum animos, inexplebiles sanguinis atque imperii, divitiarumque avidos ac jejunos habere.

CAP. VII. *Se autem, seu nobilitate illis comparetur, clarior illa colluvie convenarum esse, qui paternos majores suos a Cyro Darioque conditoribus Persici regni, maternos a Magno Alexandro, ac Nicator Seleuco, conditoribus imperii Macedonici, referat; seu populus illorum conferatur suo, earum se gentium esse, quæ non modo Romano imperio sint pares, sed Macedonico quoque obstiterint. Nullam subjectarum sibi gentium expertam peregrina imperia; nullis unquam nisi domesticis regibus paruisse. Cappadociam velint an Paphlagoniam recensere, rursus Pontum an Bithyniam, itemque Ar-*

they carried on the war, which they thought would be scandalous to make with himself, with his son Aristonicus. No man's merits were held greater among them, than those of Masinissa, king of the Numidians. To him it was ascribed, that Annibal had been conquered; to him, that Syphax was taken; to him, that Carthage was destroyed: that he was reckoned, with the two Africans, the third deliverer of the city; yet a war had been carried on with his grandson lately in Africa, so implacably, that they would not save the poor conquered prince, in regard to the memory of his grandfather, but he must undergo the mortification of a jail, and being a spectacle in triumph. This law for the hatred of all kings, they had prescribed to themselves, because they had such kings, at the names of which they might well blush, being either shepherds of the Aborigines, or soothsayers of the Sabines, or exiles of the Corinthians, or servants and slaves of the Thuscans, or, what was the most honourable name among them, Proud. And, as they say, that their founders were fed by the dugs of a wolf, so all that people had the disposition of wolves never to be satiated with blood and power, greedy and hungry after riches.

CHAP. VII. But that he, whether he was compared with them for nobleness of birth, was more illustrious than that filth of a mob, who deduced his ancestors by his father's side, from Cyrus and Darius, the founders of the Persian kingdom; and those by the mother's, from Alexander the Great, and Nicator Seleucus, the founders of the Macedonian empire: or if their people were compared with his own, they were of those nations, which were not only a match for the Roman empire, but had likewise withstood the Macedonian. That none of the nations subject to him, had ever experienced a foreign dominion, obeyed no kings at any time but those of their own country. Whe-

meniam

meniam majorem minoremq; quarum gentium nullam neq; Alexander ille, qui totam pacavit Asiam, ne quispiam successorum ejus, aut posterorum attigisset. Scythiam duos unquam ante se reges non pacare, sed tantum intrare ausos Darium & Philippum; ægre inde fugam sibi expedisse, unde ipse magnam partem adversus Romanos virium haberet. Multoq; se timidius ac diffidentius bella Pontica ingressum, cum ipse rudis ac tiro esset. Scythas præter arma, virtutemq; animi, locorum quoq; solitudinibus vel frigoribus instructos, per quæ denuntiaretur, ingens militiæ labor ac periculum. Inter quas difficultates ne spes quidem præmii foret, ex hoste vago, nec tantum pecuniæ, sed etiam sedis, inope. Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neq; cælo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius, magnamq; temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festum diem acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi; si modo aut proximas regni Attalici opes, aut veteres Lydiæ Ioniæq; audierint, quas non expugnatum eant, sed possessum; tantumq; se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet; adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas Proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium. Sequantur se modo fortiter, & colligant, quid se duce possit efficere tantus exercitus, quem sine cujusquam militum auxilio, suamet unius opera, viderint, Cappadociam cæso rege cepisse; qui solus mortalium Pontum omnem Scythiamq; pacaverit, quam nemo ante transire tuto atq; adire potuerit. Nam justitiæ atq; liberalitatis suæ nec ipsos milites, qui experiantur, testes refugere; & illa indicia habere, quod solus regum omnium non paternam solum, verum etiam ex-

ther they had a mind to run over Cappadocia, or Paphlagonia, again Pontus, or Bithynia, and likewise Armenia the greater and the less; none of which nations, neither that Alexander, who had conquered all Asia, nor any of his successors or posterity, meddled with. That two kings before him had not dared to conquer, but only to enter Scythia, Darius and Philip, and with much ado had secured their retreat from thence; from whence he had a great part of his strength against the Romans. That he had entered upon the Pontick war much more timorously and diffidently, when he himself was but an ignorant and raw soldier. That the Scythians, besides their arms and the courage of their minds, were secured by desarts and cold; by which appeared the great toil and hazard of making war there. Amidst which hardships there was not indeed any hopes of reward, from a wandering enemy, not only unprovided with money, but even of any habitation. Now he was entering upon a different sort of war. For neither was there any other more temperate than the climate of Asia, nor more fruitful in its soil, nor more pleasant for the multitude of its cities, and that they would spend a great part of their time, not as in war, but as a festival; in war, it was hard to say, whether more easy or more plentiful, if they have but heard either of the late riches of Attalus's kingdom, or the ancient opulency of Lydia and Ionia, which they were not going to acquire by conquest, but to take possession of. And Asia did so greedily expect him, that they even in plain terms invited him; so much did the rapacity of the Proconsuls, the sales of the Publicans, and the calumnies of suits possess them with a hatred of the Romans. Let them but follow him bravely, and conclude what so great an army might do under him as their general, who they had seen seize Cappadocia, the king thereof being slain, without the help of any one of his soldiers, by his own

R

terna

terna regna hæreditatibus propter munificentiam acquisita possideat, Colchos, Paphlagoniam, Bosphorum.

the soldiers themselves as witnesses of his justice and generosity, who had tried them. And he had these proofs of both, that he alone of all kings, did not only possess his father's kingdom, but likewise foreign kingdoms, acquired by inheritance, because of his generosity, viz. the Colchi, Paphlagonia, and Bosphorus.

CAP. VII. Sic excitatis militibus, post annos tres & viginti sumpti regni, in Romana bella descendit. At in Ægypto mortuo rege Ptolemæo, ei qui Cyrenis regnabat Ptolemæo per legatos regnum & uxor Cleopatra regina, soror ipsius, desertur. Lætus igitur hoc solo Ptolemæus, quod sine certamine fratrum regnum recepisset, in quod subornari & a matre Cleopatra, & favore principum, fratris filium cognoverat; cæterum infestus omnibus, statim ubi Alexandriam ingressus est, fautores pueri trucidare iussit. Ipsum quoque die nuptiarum, quibus matrem ejus in matrimonium recipiebat, inter apparatus epularum & tolerantia religionum in complexu matris interficit; atque ita torum sororis cæde filii ejus cruentus ascendit. Post quod non mitior in populares, qui eum in regnum vocaverant, fuit. Siquidem peregrinis militibus licentia cædis data, omnia sanguine quotidie manabant; ipsam quoque sororem, filia ejus virgine per vim stuprata, & in matrimonium adscita, repudiat. Quibus rebus territus populus in diversa labitur, patriamque metu mortis, exul relinquit. Solus igitur in tanta urbe cum suis relictus Ptolemæus, cum regem se non hominum, sed vacuarum ædium videret, edicto peregrinos sollicitat. Quibus confluentibus obviis legatis Romanorum, Scipioni Africano, & Spurio Mummio, &

endeavours, who alone of all mortals had conquered Pontus and Scythia, which no body before him could pass or come at safely. For he did not decline

CHAP. VII. The soldiers being thus encouraged, he proceeds to the war against the Romans, three and twenty years after his coming to the kingdom. But in Egypt king Ptolemy being dead, the kingdom, and the queen Cleopatra, his sister, as a wife is offered to that Ptolemy, who reigned at Cyrene, by ambassadors. Wherefore Ptolemy being glad at this, that he had received his brother's kingdom without any dispute, for which he knew his brother's son was designed, both by this mother Cleopatra, and the favour of the grandees; but being incensed against them all, as soon as he entered Alexandria, he ordered the favourers of the boy to be slain. He killed him too on the day of his wedding, wherein he received his mother in marriage, amidst the preparations of feasts, and the solemn ceremonies of religion, in the embraces of his mother; and thus he mounts the bed of his sister, bloody with the murder of her son. After that he was no milder to his subjects, who had invited him into the kingdom: for a licence for murder was given to the foreign soldiers. All places run down daily with blood. He divorces his sister too, her daughter, a virgin, being abused by violence, and then taken in marriage. By which things the people being terrified, slip away into different parts; and as exiles, quit their country, for fear of death. Wherefore Ptolemy being left alone with his soldiers in so great a city, seeing himself a king not of men, but empty houses, he invites foreigners thither by proclamation. Who flocking in, he goes to meet the ambassadors of the Romans, Scipio Africanus, and Spurius Mummius, and L. Metellus, who came to inspect the kingdoms of the allies. But he

L.

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memb
positur
inter e
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etiam
luctuos
rem fel
ut regi
incende
princip
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memora
Demetri
cum bel

L. Metello, qui ad inspicienda sociorum regna veniebant, procedit. Sed quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim & vultu deformis, & statura brevis, & sagina ventris non homini, sed belluæ, similis. Quam sceditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant. Post discessum deinde legatorum (quorum Africanus dum inspiciat urbem, spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit) jam etiam populo peregrino invisus, cum filio, quem ex sorore susceperat, & cum uxore, matris pellice, metu insidiarum tacitus in exilium proficiscitur; contractoque mercenario exercitu bellum sorori pariter ac patriæ infert. Arcessitum maximum deinde a Cyrenis filium, ne eum Alexandrini contra se regem crearent, interficit. Tunc populus statuas & imagines ejus detrahit. Quod factum studio sororis existimans, filium, quem ex ea susceperat, interficit, corpusque in membra divisum, & in cista compositum, matri die natali ejus inter epulas offerri curat. Quæ res non reginæ tantum, verum etiam universæ civitati acerbæ & luctuosa fuit; tantamque mœrorem festivissimo convivio intulit, ut regia omnis repentino luctu incenderetur. Verso igitur studio principum ab epulis in exsequias, membra lacera populo ostendunt & quid sperare de rege suo debeant, filii cæde demonstrant.

CAP. IX. Finito luctu orbitatis, Cleopatra, cum urgeri se fraterno bello videret, auxilium a Demetrio rege Syriæ per legatos petit; cujus ipsius varii & memorabiles casus fuere. Namque Demetrius, ut supra dictum est, cum bellum Parthis intulisset, &

was as ridiculous to the Romans as he was bloody to his own subjects. For he was in countenance deformed, and short in stature, and by the fatness of his belly not like a man but a beast. Which filthy appearance the exceeding fineness of a transparent garment encreased, just as if those things were cunningly offered to be inspected, which by a man of modesty were to be concealed with the utmost care. Then after the departure of the ambassadors (of which Africanus, whilst he views the town, was a spectacle to the Alexandrians) being now odious to the foreign people, that were come in, for fear of plots against his life, he privately goes into banishment, with a son whom he had by his sister, and his wife, rival to her mother; and getting together an army of mercenaries, he makes war upon his sister and country together. Then he puts to death his eldest son, being sent for from Cyrene, lest the Alexandrians should make him king against him. Then the people pull down his statues and images. Which he supposing to be done out of affection for his sister, he slays the son which he had by her, and takes care to have the body, being divided into the several members, and put up in a chest, offered to the mother upon his birth-day, in the midst of the feast. Which thing was very dismal and afflicting not only to the queen, but also to the whole city: and occasioned such mighty sorrow in that merry feast, that the whole court was fired with a sudden mourning. Wherefore the application of the great men being now turned from a feast to a funeral, they shew the mangled members to the people, and let them see by the murder of his son, what they ought to expect from their king.

CHAP. IX. The mourning for the loss of her son being over, Cleopatra finding herself distressed by a war from her brother, desires assistance from Demetrius, king of Syria, by ambassadors: the turns of whose fortune too were various and remarkable. For Demetrius, as has been said above, after he had made war upon

multis congressionibus victor fuisset, repente insidiis circumventus, amisso exercitu capitur. Cui Arsaces, Parthorum rex, magno & regio animo, misso in Hyrcaniam, non cultum tantum regium præstitit; sed & filiam in matrimonium dedit, regnumq; Syriæ, quod per absentiam ejus Trypho occupaverat, restitutum promittit. Post hujus mortem desperato reditu, non ferens captivitatem Demetrius, privatam etsi opulentam vitam pertæsus, tacitus in regnum fugam meditatur. Hortator illi & comes Callimander amicus erat; qui post captivitatem ejus a Syria per Arabiæ deserta, ducibus pecunia comparatis, Parthico habitu Babylonem pervenerat. Sed fugientem Phrahates, qui Arsaci successerat, equitum celeritate, per compendiosos tramites occupatum retrahit. Ut est deductus ad regem, Callimandro quidem non tantum venia, verum etiam præmium fidei datum; Demetrium autem & graviter castigatum ad conjugem in Hyrcaniam remittit, arctioribusq; custodiis observari jubet. Interjecto deinde tempore cum fidem illi etiam suscepti liberi facerent, eodem comite amico repetita fuga est; sed pari infelicitate prope fines regni sui reprehenditur; ac denuo perductus ad regem, ut invisus, a conspectu summovetur. Tunc quoq; uxori & liberis donatus, in Hyrcaniam, pœnalem sibi civitatem, remittitur, talisq; auris ad exprobrationem puerilis levitatis donatur. Sed hanc Parthorum tam mitem in Demetrium clementiam non misericordia gentis faciebat nec respectus cognationis; sed quod Syriæ regnum affectabant, usuri Demetrio adversus Antiochum fratrem, prout res, vel tempus, vel fortuna belli exegisset.

the Parthians, and had been victorious in several engagements, on a sudden, being trepanned by an ambush, and losing his army, is taken. To whom being sent into Hyrcania, Arsaces king of the Parthians, with a great and royal mind not only afforded a royal equipage; but gave him his daughter in marriage, and promises to restore him the kingdom of Syria, which Trypho had seized in his absence. After his death, Demetrius despairing of his return, and not able to bear his captivity, being weary of a private, tho' a plentiful way of living, privately contrives to fly into his kingdom. His friend Callimander was his adviser and companion; who after his being taken, procuring guides by his money, came in a Parthian dress from Syria through the deserts of Arabia to Babylon. But Phrabates, who had succeeded Arsaces, fetches him back again from his flight, being overtaken by the swiftness of his horses through some shorter ways. When he was brought to the king, not only a pardon, but a reward for his fidelity was given to Callimander: but he both sends back Demetrius, severely reprimanded, into Hyrcania to his wife, and orders him to be kept under a stricter confinement. Then some time after, as the children born to him had procured him more credit, flight was again attempted, with the same friend to attend him: but by the like misfortune he is seized nigh the borders of his kingdom; and being again brought to the king, he is removed out of his sight, as odious to him. Then too being spared for the sake of his wife and children, he is sent back into Hyrcania, the country of his punishment; and is presented with golden dice, to upbraid him with his childish levity. But the compassionate humour of the nation was not the occasion of this clemency of the Parthians towards Demetrius, nor their regard for his relation to them; but because they coveted the kingdom of Syria, designing to use Demetrius against his brother Antiochus, as the circumstance of their affairs, or the times, or the fortune of war should require.

CAP.

CAP. X. His auditis, Antiochus occupandum bellum ratus, exercitum, quem multis finitimorum bellis induraverat, adversus Parthos ducit. Sed luxuriæ non minor apparatus, quam militiæ fuit: quippe LXXX millia armatorum secuta sunt CCC millia lixarum, ex quibus coquorum, pistorum scenicorumq; major numerus fuit. Argenti certe auriq; tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere, prorsus quasi ad epulas, non ad bella pergerent. Advenienti Antiocho multi Orientales reges occurrere, tradentes se, regnaque sua, cum execratione superbiz Parthicæ. Nec mora congressione fuit. Antiochus tribus præliis victor, cum Babyloniam occupasset, magnus haberi cœpit. Itaq; omnibus ad eum populis deficientibus, nihil Parthis reliqui præter patrios fines fuit. Tunc Phrahates Demetrium in Syriam ad occupandum regnum cum Parthico præsidio mittit, ut eo pacto Antiochus ad sua tuenda a Parthia revocaretur. Interim, quoniam viribus non poterat, insidiis Antiochum ubiq; tentabat. Propter multitudinem hominum exercitum suum Antiochus per civitates in hiberna diviserat; quæ res exitii causa fuit. Nam cum gravari se copiarum præbitione, & injuriis militum civitates viderent, ad Parthos deficiunt: & die statuta omnes apud se divisum exercitum per insidias, ne invicem ferre auxilia possent, aggrediuntur. Quæ cum nuntiata Antiocho essent, auxilium proximis laturus, cum ea manu, quæ secum hyemabat, progreditur. In itinere obvium regem

CHAP. X. Antiochus hearing these things, thinking it proper to be the foremost in the war, leads his army, hardened by many wars with his neighbours, against the Partians. But the provision for luxury was no less than for the war; for three hundred thousand servants, of which the greater number was cooks, bakers, and stage-players, attended fourscore thousand armed men. There was such plenty, it's certain, of silver and gold, that even the common soldiers stuck their shoes with gold and trod upon the matter, for the love of which, nations engage one another with the sword. The furniture of their kitchens too was all of silver, just as if they were going to a feast, not to a war. Many kings of the East met Antiochus upon his coming, with the utmost detestation of the Parthian pride, delivering themselves and their kingdoms. Nor was there any delay to engage. Antiochus being victorious in three battles, and having seized Babylon, began to be reckoned a great man. Wherefore all those nations going over to him, the Parthians had nothing left but their own proper country. Upon that Phrahates sends Demetrius with a guard of Parthians into Syria, to seize his kingdom, that by that means Antiochus might be called from Parthia to defend his own dominions. In the mean time he every where attacked Antiochus by ambuscades, because he could not deal with him by open force. Antiochus had disposed of his army, by reason of the vast number of his men, in several cities in winter quarter, which thing was the cause of his ruin. For when the cities found themselves aggrieved by the furnishing of troops, and the injuries of the soldiers, they fall off to the Parthians, and upon a day appointed attack the army disposed of among them by a wile, that they might not be able to carry assistance to one another. Which things being told to Antiochus, he goes with that body of troops that wintered with him, in order to carry assistance to the nearest. In his way he had to meet him the king of the Parthians, against whom he engaged more bravely than his army. Yet at last, as the enemy

Parthorum habuit, adversus quem fortius quam exercitus ejus, dimicavit. Ad postremum tamen, cum virtute hostes vincerent, metu suorum desertus, occiditur; cui Phrahates exsequias regio more fecit, filiamque Demetrii, quam secum Antiochus adduxerat, captus amore virginis, uxorem duxit. Pœnitere deinde dimissi Demetrii cœpit; ad quem retrahendum cum turmas equitum festinato misisset, Demetrium hoc ipsum metuentem jam in regno missi invenerunt, frustra que omnia conati ad regem suum reversi sunt.

prevailed by their valour, being deserted by the fear of his men, he is slain: for whom Phrahates made a funeral in a royal manner, and married the daughter of Demetrius; whom Antiochus had brought along with him, being captivated with the love of the young lady. Then he began to be sorry for his having dismissed Demetrius: to fetch back whom, having dispatched some troops of horse in all haste, those that were sent, found Demetrius, apprehensive of that very thing, already in his kingdom; and having tried all things in vain, returned to their king.

LIBER XXXIX.

BREVIARUM CAPITULUM.

1. *Demetrius, interfecto fratre Antiocho, dum Egyptum tentat, Syriam amittit, & tandem cruento fato tollitur.*
2. *Alexander ex ignobili rex factus, dum fortunam suam non reverenter habet, fœde perit interfectus a Grypo, qui matrem & fratrem extinguit.*
3. *Cleopatra, reginæ mater, in Ægypto gravissimas turbas concitat, unde horrendæ laniæ ex mulierum ira, quarum interitus describitur.*
4. *Peculiare tragædiæ, quas Cleopatra inter suos excitat. Tandem illa a filio Alexandro occupata interficitur.*
5. *Alexander in exilium agitur, revocato Ptolemæo Notho. Romanis ad Orientalia regna excurrentibus, Syria & Ægyptus vexantur.*

C A P U T. I.

ANtiocho in Parthia cum exercitu deleta, frater ejus Demetrius, obsidione Parthorum liberatus, ac restitutus in regnum, cum omnis Syria in luctu propter amissum exercitum esset quasi Parthica ipsius ac fratris bella, quibus alter captus, alter occisus erat, prospere cessissent, ita Ægypto bellum ferre statuit; regnum Ægypti Cleopatra focu, petatum auxilii adversus fratrem suum, pollicente.

ANtiochus being cut off in Parthia with his army, his brother Demetrius being delivered from the invasion of the Parthians, and restored to his kingdom, whilst all Syria was in mourning for the loss of the army, as if his and his brother's wars with the Parthians, in which one had been taken, and the other slain, had succeeded happily, he resolves to make war upon Egypt, Cleopatra his mother-in-law promising him the kingdom of Egypt, as the reward of his assistance against his brother. But whilst he aspired to what

Sed

Sed dum aliena affectat, ut assollet fieri, propria per defectionem Syriæ amittit. Siquidem Antiochenfes primi, duce Tryphone, execrantes superbiam regis, quæ, conversatione Parthicæ crudelitatis, intolerabilis facta erat, mox Apamenii, cæteræq; civitates exemplum sequuntæ, per absentiam regis a Demetrio defecere. Ptolemæus quoq; rex Ægypti, bello ab eodem petitus, cum cognovisset Cleopatram sororem suam, opibus Ægypti navibus impositis, ad filiam & Demetrium generum in Syriam profugisse, immittit juvenem quendam Ægyptium, Protarchi negotiatoris filium, qui regnum Syriæ armis peteret, composita fabula, quasi per adoptionem Antiochi regis receptus in familiam regiam esset, nec Syriis quemlibet regem aspernantibus, ne Demetrii paterentur superbiam; nomen juveni Alexandri imponitur, auxiliaque ab Ægypto ingentia mittuntur. Interea corpus Antiochi interfecti a rege Parthorum, in loculo argenteo ad sepulturam in Syriam remissum supervenit: quod cum ingenti studio civitatum & regis Alexandri, ad firmandam fabulæ fidem, excipitur. Quæ res illi magnum favorem popularium conciliavit, omnibus non fictas in eo, sed veras lacrymas existimantibus. Demetrius autem victus ab Alexandro, cum undique circumstantibus malis premeretur, ad postremum etiam ab uxore filisque deseritur. Relictus igitur cum paucis servulis, cum Tyrum religionem templi se defensurus petisset, navi egrediens præfecti jussu interficitur. Alter ex filiis Seleucus, quoniam sine matris auctoritate diadema sumpsisset, ab eadem interficitur; alter, cui propter nasci magnitudinem cognomen Grypo fuit, rex a matre hætenus constituitur, ut nomen regis penes filium, vis autem omnis imperii penes matrem esset.

belonged to others, as it uses to happen, he lost his own by the revolt of Syria. For the Antiochians first abominating the king's pride, which by his acquaintance with the Parthian cruelty was become intolerable, with Trypho for their leader, and soon after the Apamenians, and other cities following the example, revolted from Demetrius in his absence. Ptolemy too the king of Egypt being attacked in war by the same, when he found that his sister Cleopatra, having put the riches of Egypt into some ships, was fled into Syria to her daughter, and Demetrius her son-in-law, sends a certain Egyptian youth, the son of one Protarchus a merchant, to seize the kingdom of Syria by force of arms, forging a story as if he had been taken into the royal family by the adoption of king Antiochus, the Syrians not despising any king, that they might not suffer the pride of Demetrius. The name of Alexander is given the young man; and great assistance is sent from Egypt. In the mean time comes the body of Antiochus, who had been slain by the king of the Parthians, sent back in a silver coffin into Syria for burial: which is received with great concern of the cities and king Alexander, to establish the credit of the fiction. Which thing procured him the extraordinary favour of the people, all people thinging his tears not counterfeit but real. But Demetrius being defeated by Alexander, and distressed by misfortunes surrounding him on all hands, is forsaken at last by his wife and sons. Wherefore being left with a few slaves, on his going to Tyre, in order to secure himself by the religious regard paid to the temple of Hercules, as he was going out of his ship, he is slain by order of the governor. One of his sons, Seleucus, because he had assumed the diadem without his mother's authority, is slain by the same; the other, who for the largeness of his nose had the surname of Grypus, is made king by his mother, so far that the name of king should be in her son, but the power of the whole administration in the mother.

CAP. II. Sed Alexander, occupato Syriae regno, tumens successu rerum, spernere jam etiam ipsum Ptolemæum, a quo fuerat subornatus in regnum, superba insolentia cœpit. Itaq; Ptolemæus, reconciliata sororis gratia, destruere Alexandri regnum, quod odio Demetrii viribus suis acquisierat, summis opibus instituit. Mittit igitur ingentia Grypo auxilia, & filiam Tryphænam Grypo nupturam, ut populos in auxilium nepotis, non societate tantum belli, verum & affinitate sua sollicitaret. Nec res frustra fuit: nam cum omnes Grypum instructum Ægypti viribus viderent paulatim ab Alexandro deficere cœpere. Fit deinceps inter reges prælium, quo victus Alexander Antiochiam profugit. Ibi inops pecuniæ, cum stipendia militibus deessent, in templo Jovis solidum ex auro Victoriæ signum tolli jubet, facietis jocis sacrilegium circumscribens; nam *victoriam commodatam sibi ab Jove esse* dicebat. Interjectis deinde diebus, cum ipsius Jovis aureum simulachrum infiniti ponderis tacite evelli jussisset, deprehensusq; in sacrilegio, concursu multitudinis esset in fugam versus; magna vi tempestatis oppressus, ac desertus a suis, a latronibus capitur, perductusq; ad Grypum interficitur. Grypus porro, recuperato patrio regno, externisq; periculis liberatus, insidiis matris appetitur. Quæ, cum cupiditate dominationis, prodito marito Demetrio, & altero filio interfecto, hujus quoq; victoria inferiorem dignitatem suam factam doleret, venienti ab exercitatione populum veneni obtulit. Sed Grypus, prædictis jam ante insidiis, veluti pietate cum matre certaret, bi-

CHAP. II. But Alexander having seized the kingdom of Syria, and puffed up with the success of his affairs, with haughty insolence begun now to despise even Ptolemy himself, by whom he had been set up for the kingdom. Wherefore Ptolemy having brought about a good understanding with his sister, resolves with all his might to destroy the sovereignty, which out of hatred to Demetrius, he had procured him by his strength. Wherefore he sends great assistance to Grypus, and his daughter Tryphæna to marry Grypus: that he might draw over the people to the assistance of his nephew, not only by his alliance in the war, but his affinity with him. Nor was this thing in vain: for when all people saw Grypus furnished with the power of Egypt, they begun by little and little to fall off from Alexander. After that, a battle is fought betwixt the kings, in which Alexander being defeated, flies to Antioch. There being in want of money, and the soldiers wanting their pay, he orders a statue of Victory of solid gold to be taken out of Jupiter's temple, covering his sacrilege with facetious jests; for he said victory was lent him by Jupiter. Then some days after, having ordered a gold statue of Jupiter himself, of immense weight, to be privately taken away, and being discovered in committing the sacrilege, and by a concourse of the people put to flight, being overtaken by a prodigious violence of a storm, and deserted by his men, he is taken by robbers, and being brought to Grypus, is put to death. Grypus too, having recovered his father's kingdom, and being delivered from foreign dangers, is attacked by a plot of his mother. Who, from a desire of dominion, had betrayed her husband Demetrius, and slain one of her sons; and being grieved that her dignity, by the victory of the other son, was become inferior to his, offered him, upon his coming from his exercise, a cup of poison. But Grypus, the plot being discovered to him beforehand, as if he contested in point of affection with his mother, bid her drink it, and upon her refusing, urges
bere

bere ipsam jubet; abnuenti instat. Postremum prolato indice eam arguit, *solam defensionem sceleris superesse* affirmans, *si bibat, quod filio obtulit*. Sic victa regina, scelere in se verso, veneno, quod alii paraverat, extinguitur. Parta igitur regni securitate, Grypus octo annis quietem & se habuit, & regno præstitit. Natus deinde illi est æmulus regni, frater ipsius Cyzicenus, eadem matre genitus, sed ex Antiocho patruo susceptus; quem cum veneno tollere voluisset, ut maturius armis cum eo de regno contenderet, excitavit.

CAP. III. Inter has regni Syriæ parricidiales discordias, moritur rex Ægypti Ptolemæus, regno Ægypti uxori ad alteri ex filiis, quem illa legisset, relicto, videlicet quasi quietior Ægypti status, quam Syriæ regnum esset, quum mater, altero ex filiis electo, alterum hostem esset habitura. Igitur cum pronior in minorem filium esset, a populo compellitur majorem eligere, cui prius quam regnum daret uxorem ademit; compulsusq; repudiare carissimam sibi sororem Cleopatram, minorem sororem Selenen ducere jubet, non materno inter filias iudicio, cum alteri maritum eriperet, alteri daret. Sed Cleopatra non tam a viro repudiata, quam a matre divortio viri dimissa, Cyziceno in Syria nubit; eique ne nudum uxoris nomen offerret, exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem ad maritum deducit. Par igitur viribus fratris Cyzicenus prælium committit, ac victus in fugam vertitur, Antiochiamq; venit. Tunc Antiochiam Grypus, in qua erat Cyziceni uxor Cleopatra, obsidere cœpit; qua capta, Tryphæna uxor Gry-

ber. At last producing the informer, he charges her with the fact, declaring, that the only way left her of clearing herself of the villainy was, if he would drink what she offered her son. The queen being thus baffled, and her wickedness turned upon herself, is killed with the poison which she had prepared for another. Wherefore Grypus having thus procured a secure establishment in his kingdom, had peace himself, and procured it to his kingdom for eight years. After that his brother Cyzicenus, born of the same mother, but begot by Antiochus his uncle, started up against him, as a rival to the kingdom; whom designing to take off by poison, he provoked him the sooner to contend with him for the kingdom, by force of arms.

CHAP. III. During these parricidal differences of the kingdom of Syria, Ptolemy king of Egypt dies, leaving the kingdom of Egypt to his wife, and one of the sons whom she should chuse; as if the state of Egypt would be more quiet than the kingdom of Syria, when the mother, by chusing one of her sons, was like to have the other her enemy. Wherefore, tho' she was more inclinable to the younger of her sons, she is obliged by the people to chuse the elder; from whom she took away his wife, before she gave him the kingdom; and orders him, being forced, to divorce his sister Cleopatra, that was very dear to him, to marry his younger sister Selene: a determination betwixt her daughters, nothing like a mother, since she took a husband from the one, and gave him to the other. But Cleopatra, not so much divorced by her husband, as dismissed by her mother by a divorce of her husband from her, marries Cyzicenus in Syria; and that she might not bring him the bare name of a wife, she brings the army of Grypus, wheedled over to her, as it were by way of fortune, to her husband. Wherefore Cyzicenus, being now a match for the strength of his brother, fights a battle, and being defeated, is put to flight, and comes to Antioch. Then Grypus begun to besiege Antioch, in which was Cleopatra, the wife of Cyzicenus; which being taken,

pi nihil antiquius quam sororem Cleopatram requiri jussit: non ut captivæ opem ferret, sed ne effugere captivitatis mala posset; quæ sui æmulatione in hoc potissimum regnum evaserit, hostique sororis nubendo hostem se ejus effecerit. Tum peregrinos exercitus in certamina fratrum adductos, tum repudiatam a fratre, contra matris voluntatem extra Ægyptum nuptam accusat. Contra Grypus orare, ne tam sædum facinus facere cogatur. A nullo unquam majorum suorum inter tot domestica, tot externa bella, post victoriam in fœminas sævitum, quas sexus ipse, & periculis bellorum, & sævitia victorem eximat. In hac vero, præter commune bellantium fas, accedere necessitudinis sanguinis; quippe ipsius, quæ tam cruenta sæviat, sororem equidem germanam esse, suam vero consobrinam; liberorum deinde communem materteram. His tot necessitudinibus sanguinis adjicit superstitionem templi, quo abdita profugerit, tantoque religiosius colendos sibi deos, quo magis his propitiis ac faventibus vicisset; tum neque occisa illa, se virum quicquam Cyziceno dempturum, nec servaturum reddita. Sed quanto Grypus abnuit, tanto soror muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Itaq; vocatis ipsa militibus, mittit qui sororem confoderent. Qui ut in templum intraverunt, cum evelere eam non possent, manus amplexantis deæ simulachrum præciderunt. Tunc Cleopatra execratione parricidarum, mandata violatis numinibus ultione sui, decedit. Nec multo post repetita prælii congressione, victor Cyzicenus uxorem Grypi Tryphænam, quæ paulo ante foro-

Tryphæna the wife of Grypus, ordered nothing to be sought after before his sister Cleopatra, not in order to give assistance to the captive, but that she might not escape the miseries of captivity; who out of envy to her, had chiefly invaded the kingdom, and, by marrying the enemy of her sister, had made herself an enemy. Then she charged her with bringing foreign armies to decide the disputes of her brothers; and also, that being divorced by her brother, she had married out of Egypt, contrary to the will of her mother. On the other hand Grypus begged of her, That he might not be obliged to commit so vile a fact. That cruelty had been practised by none of his ancestors, ever among so many civil, so many foreign wars, after victory, upon women, whom their sex itself exempted both from the dangers of wars, and the cruelty of the conquerors. But in her, besides the common rule of warriors, was super-added the tie of blood: for she was own sister to her who was thus bloodily outrageous against her, and his cousin, and moreover the aunt of their common children. To these several obligations of blood, he adds the superstitious regard to the temple, whither he had fled, and says, That the Gods ought to be the more religiously worshipped by him, the more he had conquered with these, propitious and favourable to him; and that by killing her, he should neither take any thing of strength of Cyzicenus, nor preserve any for him, by returning her. But the more Grypus refuses, the more is her sister inflamed with a womanish obstinacy, supposing these to be the words, not of pity, but love. Wherefore calling the soldiers, she sends some to stab her sister. Who when they came into the temple, being not able to pull her away, they cut off the hands of her, embracing the goddess. Then Cleopatra dies with a curse upon the parricides, recommending the revenge of her death to the offended deities. And not long after the engagement being renewed, Cyzicenus proving

rem

rem interfecerat, capit; ejusq; supplicio uxoris manibus parentavit.

CAP. IV. At in Ægypto Cleopatra cum gravaretur socio regni, filio Ptolemæo, populum in eum incitat; abductaq; ei Selenæ uxore, eo indignius, quod ex Selenæ jam duos filios habebat, exulare cogit, arcessito minore filio Alexandro, & rege in locum fratris constituto; nec filium regno expulisse contenta, bello Cypri exulantem persequitur. Unde pulso interficit ducem exercitus sui, quod vivum eum e manibus dimisisset; quamquam Ptolemæus, verecundia materni belli, non viribus minor, ab insula recessisset. Igitur Alexander territis hac matris crudelitate, & ipse eam reliquit, periculoso regno securam ac tutam vitam anteponens. Cleopatra vero timens, ne major filius Ptolemæus ab Cyziceno ad recuperandam Ægyptum auxiliis juvaretur, ingentia Grypo auxilia, & Selenen uxorem nupturam hosti prioris mariti mittit, Alexandrumq; filium per legatos in regnum revocat, cui cum occultis insidiis exitium machinaretur, occupata ab eodem interficitur, spiritumque non fatis, sed parricidio dedit; digna prorsus hac mortis infamia, quæ etiam matrem toro expulit; & duas filias viduas alterno fratrum matrimonio fecit; & filio alteri in exilium acto bellum intulit, alteri erepto regno exitium per insidias machinata est.

CAP. V. Sed nec Alexander cædes tam nefanda inulta fuit. Nam ubi primum compertum est, scelere filii matrem interfectam, concursu populi in exilium agitur, revocatoq; Pto-

lemy, victorious, takes Tryphæna, Grypus's wife who a little before had slain her sister, and by her punishment made an atonement to the ghost of his wife.

CHAP. IV. But in Egypt Cleopatra, being much disturbed to have her son Ptolemy a partner in the kingdom, provokes the people against him, and taking from him his wife Selene, and the more odiously because he had now two sons by Selene, obliges him to live in exile, sending for her younger son Alexander, and making him king in his brother's room; and not being content to drive her son out of his kingdom, she persecutes him in his exile at Cyprus. by a war. From whence, after she had driven him, she puts to death the general of her army, because he had let him go alive out of his hands; tho' Ptolemy, out of shame to be concerned in a war with his mother, had retired out of the island, tho' not inferior in strength. Wherefore Alexander being terrified with this cruelty of his mother, left her himself too, preferring a secure and safe life before a hazardous kingdom. But Cleopatra fearing, lest her elder son, Ptolemy, should be supported with assistance by Cyzicenus, for the recovery of Egypt, sends great assistance to Grypus, and Selene to marry the enemy of her former husband; and sends by messengers for her son Alexander into the kingdom, whose destruction whilst she was contriving by a dark plot, being prevented by the same, she is put to death, and yielded up the ghost, not by a natural death, but parricide; well worthy this infamous death, who likewise drove her mother from her bed, and made two daughters widows, by the alternate marriage of their brothers; and made war upon one son after he had been forced into banishment; and contrived by a plot the destruction of the other, after his kingdom had been taken from him.

CHAP. V. But neither did this horrid murder of Alexander's go unpunished. For as soon as it was discovered that the mother had been slain by the villainy of her son, he is forced into banishment by the rising of the people, and the kingdom is re-

lemæo

lemæo regnum redditur; qui neque cum matre bellum gerere voluisset, nec a fratre armis repetere, quod prior possedisset. Dum hæc aguntur, frater ejus ex pellice susceptus, cui pater Cyrenarum regnum testamento reliquerat, hærede populo Romano restituto, decessit. Jam enim fortuna Romana porrigere se ad Orientalia regna, non contenta Italiæ terminis, cœperat. Itaq; & ea pars Lybiæ provincia facta est; postea Creta Ciliciæq; piratico bello perdomitæ, in formam provinciæ rediguntur. Quo facto & Syriæ & Ægypti regna, Romana vicinitate arctata, quæ incrementa de finitimis bellis quærere solebant, adempto vagandi arbitrio, vires suas in perniciem mutuam convertunt: adeo ut assiduis præliis consumpti, in contemptum finitimorum venerint, prædæq; Arabum genti, imbelli antea, fuerint. Quorum ex Erotimus fiducia septingentorum filiorum, quos ex pellicibus susceperat, divisit exercitibus, nunc Ægyptum, nunc Syriam infestabat; magnumq; nomen Arabum, viribus finitimorum exsanguibus, fecerat.

stored to Ptolemy being recalled; who neither would make war with his mother, nor take it from his brother by force of arms, which he had first possessed. Whilst these things are doing, his brother, who had been begot of a concubine, to whom his father had left the kingdom of Cyrene by will, dies, leaving the Roman people his heir. For now the Roman fortune began to extend itself to the kingdoms of the East, not content with the limits of Italy. Wherefore that part of Lybia too was made a province: afterwards Crete and Cilicia being subdued in the war with the pirates, are reduced into the form of a province. Upon which the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt being confined by the neighbourhood of the Romans, who used to seek their growth by wars with their neighbours, the privilege of wandering being now taken from them, turned their strength to one another's destruction; so that being much impaired by continual battles, they came into contempt with their neighbours, and were a prey to the nation of the Arabians, which before had been not at all warlike. Whose kingdom Erotimus in trust to his seven hundred sons, which he had by his concubines, dividing his troops, one while invested Egypt, and another while Syria, and rendered the name of the Arabians great, whilst the strength of his neighbours was so feeble.

LIBER XL.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Syri Tigranem Armenium regem sibi deligunt.
2. Victo Tigrane, Antiochus Cyziceni filius, creatur rex Syriæ, quæ postea in provinciæ formam redigitur.

CAPUT I.

MUTUIS fratrum odiis, & mox filiis inimiciis parentum succedentibus, cum inexpiabili bello & reges & regnum Syriæ consumptum esset, ad externa populus auxilia concurrat, peregrinosque sibi reges circumspicere cœpit. Itaque cum pars Mithridatem Ponticum, pars Ptolemæum ab Ægypto arcessendum censeret; occurreretque quod Mithridates implicitus bello Romano esset, Ptolemæus quoque semper hostis fuisset Syriæ, omnes in Tigranem regem Armeniæ consensere, instructum præter domesticas vires & Parthica societate & Mithridatis affinitate. Igitur accitus in regnum Syriæ, per XVIII annos tranquillissimo regno potitus est; neque bello alium laceßere, neque laceßitus inferre alii bellum necesse habuit.

CAP. II. Sed sicut ab hostibus tuta Syria fuit, ita terræ motu vastata est, quo centum septuaginta millia hominum & multæ urbes perierunt. Quod prodigium mutationem rerum portendere aruspices responderunt. Igitur Tigrane a Lucullo victo, rex Syriæ Antiochus Cyziceni filius ab eodem Lucullo appellatur. Sed quod Lucullus dederat, postea ademit Pompeius: qui poscenti regnum re-

THE kings and kingdom of Syria having been much wasted by endless war, occasioned by the mutual animosities of brothers, and after that by the sons succeeding in the quarrels of their fathers, the people fly to foreign assistance, and begun to look about for princes of other nations. Wherefore whilst part advised to call in Mithridates of Pontus, part Ptolemy from Egypt, and it was considered that Mithridates was engaged in the Roman war, and Ptolemy had always been an enemy to Syria, they all agreed upon Tigranes, king of Armenia, supported both by the Parthian alliance, and the affinity of Mithridates, besides his own proper strength. Wherefore being sent for into the kingdom of Syria, he enjoyed the kingdom for eighteen years very quietly; nor had he a necessity to attack any one in war, nor being attacked himself to make war upon any one.

CHAP. II. But tho' Syria was safe from enemies, yet it was wasted by an earthquake, in which one hundred and seventy thousand men, and many cities perished. Which prodigy the soothsayers said portended a revolution in the state. Wherefore, after Tigranes is conquered by Lucullus, Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was proclaimed king of Syria by the same Lucullus. But what Lucullus had given, Pompey took away afterwards: who answered him, demanding his kingdom, That he would not give a king to Syria, tho' spondit,

spondit, ne volenti quidem Syriae, nedum recusanti, daturum se regem, qui XVIII annos, quibus Tigranes Syriam tenuit, in angulo Ciliciae latuerit; victo autem eodem Tigrane a Romanis, alieni operis praemia postulet. Igitur ut habenti regnum non ademerit; ita quo cessarit Tigrani non daturum, quod tueri nesciat; ne rursus Syriam Judaeorum & Arabum latrocinii infestam reddat. Atque ita Syriae in provinciae formam redegit; paulatimque Oriens Romanorum discordia consanguineorum regum factus est.

willing to accept him, much less when refusing him, who for eighteen years, which Tigranes held Syria, lay lurking in a corner of Cilicia; and when the same Tigranes was conquered by the Romans, demanded the rewards of other people's labour. Wherefore as if he had not taken the kingdom from one that had it, so would he not give him what he had quitted to Tigranes, because he knew not how to defend it, lest he should again render Syria miserable by the robberies of the Jews and Arabians. And accordingly he reduced Syria into the form of a province; and by degrees the East became the Romans, by the disagreement of kings of the same blood.

LIBER XLI.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. Parthorum origo, nominis obscuritas, successus, imperium.
2. Regni Parthici administratio. Parthorum sermo, vestes, arma, exercitus, praeliandi mos.
3. Meres domestici, sepultura, religio, ingenium, virtutes & vitia.
4. Parthorum regum res gestae paucis describuntur.
5. Arsasis sapientissimi Parthorum regis vita & mors placida.
6. Bactriani regni status sub Eucratide, qui a filio opprimitur. Parthorum bellici successus.

C A P U T I.

PARTHI, penes quos, velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta, nunc Orientis imperium est, Scytharum exules fuere. Hoc etiam ipsorum vocabulo manifestatur. Nam Scythico sermone Parthi exules dicuntur. Hi & Assyriorum & Medorum temporibus inter Orientis populos obscurissime fuere. Postea quoque cum imperium Orientis a Medis ad Persas translatum est, veluti vulgus sine nomine, praeda victorum fuere. Postremo Macedonibus triumphato Oriente

THE Parthians, in whose hands the empire of the East now is, as it were by a division of the world made with the Romans, were exiles of the Scythians. This too is manifest from their names. For in the Scythian language, exiles are called Parthi. Those, in the times both of the Assyrians and Medes, were the most obscure among the people of the East. Afterwards too, when the empire of the East was transferred from the Medes to the Persians, they were a prey to the conquerors, as it were a sorry people without a name. At last they were subject to the Macedonians, when they triumphed over the East, fervierunt;

fervierunt; ut cuivis mirum videatur, ad tantam eos felicitatem provectos, ut imperent gentibus, sub quarum imperio, veluti servile vulgus fuere. A Romanis quoque trinis bellis per maximos duces, florentissimis temporibus laceffiti, soli ex omnibus gentibus non pares solum, verum etiam victores fuere: quanquam plus gloriæ sit, inter Assyria & Media Persicaque memorata olim regna, & opulentissimum mille urbium Bactrianum imperium, emergere potuisse, quam longinqua bella vicisse; præterea cum gravibus Scythicis & vicinalibus bellis assidue vexati, variis periculorum certaminibus urgerentur. Hi domesticis seditionibus Scythia pulsi, solitudines inter Hyrcaniam, & Dahas, & Arios, & Spartanos, & Margianos furtim occupavere. Fines deinde, non intercedentibus primo finitimis, postea etiam prohibentibus, in tantum potulere, ut non immensa tantum ac profunda camporum, verum etiam prærupta collium, montiumque ardua occupaverint. Ex quo fit, ut Parthiæ pleraque finium aut æstus, aut frigoris magnitudo, possideat; quippe cum montes nix, & campos æstus, infestet.

CAP. II. Administratio gentis post defectionem Macedonici imperii sub regibus fuit. Proximus majestati regum populorum ordo est; ex hoc duces in bello, ex hoc rectores in pace habent. Sermo his inter Scythicum Mediumque; medius & ex utrisque mixtus. Vestis olim sui moris, posteaquam accessere opes, ut Medis perlucida ac fluida. Armorum patrius ac Scythicus mos. Exercitum non ut aliæ gentes liberorum, sed majorem partem servorum habent; quorum vul-

that it may seem wonderful to any one, that they should have arrived to such happy circumstances as to rule over those nations; under whose dominion they were as a pack of slaves. Being attacked by the Romans in three several wars, by the greatest generals, in the most flourishing times, they were alone of all nations, not only a match for them, but likewise victorious; altho' there is more of glory in this, that they were able to rise amidst the Assyrian, Median, and Persian kingdoms, so famous of old, and the most opulent empire of Bactria, consisting of a thousand cities, than that they were victorious in their wars with a people so remote. Especially when being continually harrowed by terrible wars with the Scythians, and their neighbours, they were distressed with numerous perilous contests. They being forced from Scythia by seditions at home, did by stealth possess themselves of the desarts betwixt Hyrcania and the Dahæ, and the Arians, and Spartans, and Margians. After that they so far advanced their borders, their neighbours at first not opposing, tho' afterwards they did make a stand against them, that they not only seized vast and prodigious plains, but also the craggy hills, and steep mountains; from whence it is, that an excess of either heat or cold prevails in most parts of the Parthian territories; since the snow is troublesome in the mountains, and the heat in the plains.

CHAP. II. The government of the nation was under kings, after their revolt from the Macedonian empire. The class of the populace is next in power to the majesty of their kings: out of this they have their generals in war, and their governors in peace. Their language is a mean betwixt the Scythian and Median, and made up of both. Their cloaths formerly were of a fashion of their own. After their power was advanced, it was like that of the Medes, transparent and full. Their fashion as to their arms, is that of their own country, and Scythia. They have their army, not as other nations, all of

gus,

gus, nulli manumittendi, potestate permissa, ac per hoc omnibus servis nascentibus, in dies crescit. Hos pari ac liberos suos cura habent; & equitare & sagittare magna industria docent. Locupletissimus ut quisque est, ita plures in bello equites regi suo præbet. Denique Antonio bellum Parthis inferenti cum quinquaginta millia equitum occurrerent, soli cccc liberi fuere. Cominus in acie præliari, aut obsessas expugnare urbes nesciunt. Pugnant autem procurentibus equis, aut terga dantibus; sæpe etiam fugam simulant, ut incautiores adversum vulnera insequentes habeant. Signum his in prælio non tuba, sed tympano datur. Nec pugnare diu possunt; cæterum intolerandi forent, si quantus his impetus est, vis tanta & perseverantia esset. Plerumque in ipso ardore certaminis prælia deferunt, ac paulo post pugnam ex fuga repetunt, ut, cum maxime vicisse te putes, tunc tibi discrimen subennndem sit. Munimentum ipsis equisq; toto corpore tegunt. Auri argentique nullus nisi in armis usus.

CAP. III. Uxores dulcedine varii libidinis singuli plures habent: nec ulla delicta adulterio gravius vindicant. Quamobrem scæminis non convivia tantum virorum, verum etiam conspectum interdicunt. Carne non nisi venatibus quæsitæ vescuntur. Equis omni tempore vectantur; illis bella, illis convivia, illis publica ac privata officia obeunt; super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui. Hoc deniq; discrimen inter servos liberosq; est, quod servi pedibus, liberi non nisi equis incedunt. Sepultura

freemen, but the greater part slaves; the rabble of which, the power of manumising being allowed to none, and by this means being all born slaves, grows every day. They treat these with the same care as their own children, and teach them, with great industry, both riding and shooting. As any one is wealthy above others, so does he furnish his prince with the more horsemen in war. To conclude, when fifty thousand horsemen met Anthony, upon his making war upon the Parthians, four hundred only were freemen. They know not how to engage in battle hand to hand, or to take cities by siege. But they fight upon their horses, either advancing or turning their backs. They oftentimes too pretend to fly, that they may have their pursuers less upon their guard against wounds. The signal is given in battle, not by a trumpet, but a drum. Nor can they fight long. But they would be intolerable, if their force and perseverance was as great as their attack is furious. For the most part they quit the battle in the very heat of an engagement, and a little time after their flight, renew the battle; that when you most of all think that you have conquered, then must you undergo the greatest danger. A sort of strong coats, made of little plates in the form of feathers, are the defence of themselves and horses, which cover both all over. They make no use of gold and silver, but in their arms.

CHAP. II. They have each of them several wives, from a pleasure they take in gratifying their lust with several women: nor do they punish any crimes more heavily than adultery. Wherefore they not only forbid their women appearing at feasts with men, but the very sight of men. They eat no flesh but what is got in hunting. They ride on horseback at all times; upon them they go to feasts; upon them they perform offices of civility, publick and private; upon them they go, stand, traffick, talk together. This, finally, is the difference betwixt slaves and freemen, that the slaves go on foot, and the freemen only on horseback. Their burial is

vulgo,

vulgo
lania
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genia
fraud
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in e
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pibus
In lib
parci
nulla
C
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cessor
vider
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Stafa
Hi p
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nem
Antig
a Nic
Antic
obfesi
co pr
nico
M. A
Huju
illis d
leuci
dit;
pere
defect
tempo
urbu
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tius C
bus d
Arsac
ginis
solitu
re, ac

vulgo, aut ayium, aut canum laniatus est. Nuda demum ossa terra obruunt. In superstitionibus atque cura deorum, præcipua omnibus veneratio est. Ingenia genti tumida, seditiosa, fraudulenta, procacia; quippe violentiam viris, mansuetudinem mulieribus assignant. Semper aut in externos aut in domesticos motus inquieti; natura taciti; ad faciendum, quam ad dicendum, promptiores; proinde secunda adversa; silentio tegunt. Principibus metu, non pudore parent. In libidinem projecti, in cibum parci. Fides dictis promissis; nulla, nisi quatenus expedit.

CAP. IV. Post mortem Alexandri Magni, cum inter successores ejus Orientis regna dividerentur, nullo Macedonum dignante Parthorum imperium, Stasanori externo socio traditur. Hi postea diductis Macedonibus in bellum civile, cum cæteris superioris Asiæ populis Eumenum sequuti sunt; quo victo, ad Antigonom transiere. Post hunc a Nicatore Seleuco, ac mox ab Antiocho & successoribus ejus obsessi; a cujus pronepote Seleuco primum defecere, primo Punico bello, L. Manlio Vulso, M. Attilio Regulo, consulibus. Hujus defectionis impunitatem illis duorum fratrum regum, Seleuci & Antiochi, discordia dedit; qui dum sibi invicem eripere regnum volunt, persequi defectores omiserunt. Eodem tempore etiam Theodotus mille urbium Bactrianarum præfectus defecit, regemque se appellari iussit: quod exemplum lequuti totius Orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere. Erat eo tempore Arsaces, vir, sicut incertæ originis, ita virtutis expertæ. Hic solitus latrocinii & rapto vivere, accepta opinione Seleucum a

commonly torn to pieces by birds or dogs. At last they bury the bare bones in the ground. In their superstitious rites, and regard to the gods, the principal veneration is paid to rivers. The humour of the nation is proud, seditious treacherous, and sawcy. For violence they assign as proper for men, and meekness for women. They are always restless to be engaged in foreign or home disturbances; naturally silent; more ready to act than speak. Wherefore they cover their good or bad success with silence. They are subject to their princes out of fear, not modesty: much addicted to lust, but sparing in their diet. No faith is kept in what they say or promise, but so far as it is expedient.

CHAP. IV. After the death of Alexander the Great, when the kingdoms of the East were divided among his successors, none of the Macedonians vouchsafing to accept the government of the Parthians, it is delivered to Stasanor, a foreign ally. These afterwards, upon the Macedonians being divided in a civil war, followed Eumenes, with the rest of the nations of upper Asia; who being conquered, they went over to Antigonus. After him they were possessed by Nicator Seleucus, and soon after by Antiochus, and his successor; from whose great grandson Seleucus, they first revolted, in the first Carthaginian war, when L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Attilius Regulus were consuls. The difference betwixt the two brothers and kings, Seleucus and Antiochus procured them an impunity for this revolt; who whilst they endeavour to take the kingdom from one another, neglected to pursue the revolters. At the same time Theodotus too, the governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and ordered himself to be called king. Which example the people of all the East following, revolted from the Macedonians. There was at that time one Arsaces, a man, who, as he was of uncertain original, so was he a person of tried ability. He being used to live by robbing and plundering, having heard the news that Seleucus had been overthrown by the Gauls in Asia, be-

Gallis

Gallis in Asia victum, solutus regis metu, cum prædonum manu Parthos ingressus, præfectum eorum Androgorum oppressit, sublatoque eo, imperium gentis invasit. Non magno deinde post tempore Hyrcanorum quoque regnum occupavit; atq; ita duarum civitatum imperio præditus grandem exercitum parat, metu Seleuci & Theodoti Bactrianorum regis. Sed cito, morte Theodoti, metu liberatus, cum filio ejus & ipso Theodoto fœdus ac pacem fecit: nec multo post, cum Seleuco rege ad defectores persequendos veniente, congressus, victor fuit: quem diem Parthi exinde solennem, velut initium libertatis, observant.

CAP. V. Revocato deinde Seleuco novis motibus in Asiam, dato laxamento, regnum Parthicum format, milites legit, castella munit, civitates firmat; urbem quoq; nomine Darum, in monte Zapaortenon condit: cujus loci ea conditio est, ut neq; munitius quicquam esse, neque amœnitas possit. Ita enim & præruptis rupibus undiq; cingitur, ut tutela loci nullis defensoribus egeat; & soli circumjacentis tanta ubertas est, ut propriis opibus expleatur. Jam fontium ac silvarum ea copia est, ut & aquarum abundantia irrigetur, & venationum voluptatibus exornetur. Sic Arsaces, quæsito simul constitutoq; regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis, quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus, maturatione senectute decedit. Cujus memoriæ hunc honorem Parthi tribuerunt, ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsaces nomine nuncupent. Hujus filius & successor regni Arsaces & ipse nomine, adversus Antiochum Seleuci filium, centum milibus peditum

ing delivered from the fear of the king, entering the country of the Parthians with a gang of robbers, he overthrew their governor Andragoras, and having taken him off, seizes the government of the nation. Then no long time after, he likewise seizes the kingdom of the Hyrcanians; and thus being invested in the government of two nations, he raises a great army, for fear of Seleucus, and Theodotus king of the Bactrians. But being quickly delivered from his fears by the death of Theodotus, he makes a treaty and peace with his son, who was Theodotus himself too; and not long after engaging with king Seleucus, coming to fall upon the revolters, he was victorious. Which day the Parthians observe ever since solemnly, as the beginning of their liberty.

CHAP. V. After that, Seleucus being recalled into Asia by new disturbances, and respite by that means given him, he establishes the Parthian kingdom, levies soldiers, fortifies castles, strengthens the cities; builds a city too, by name Dara, upon the mountain Zapaortenon: of which place the condition is such, that neither can any thing be more strong, nor more pleasant; for it is so surrounded with craggy rocks on all sides, that the security of the place needs no defenders; and such is the fruitfulness of the adjacent soil, that it is filled with its own riches. Then such is the plenty of fountains and woods, that it is both watered with abundance of water, and furnished with all the entertainments of hunting. Thus Arsaces having acquired and established his kingdom all at once, and being no less memorable among the Parthians, than Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander with the Macedonians, and Romulus with the Romans, dies in a good old age. To whose memory the Parthians paid this honour, that from that time they called all their kings by the name of Arsaces. His son and successor in the kingdom, who was himself Arsaces by name, fought with wonderful bravery against Antiochus the son of Seleucus, furnished with a hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse,

& xx millibus equitum instructum, mira virtute pugnavit; ad postremum in societatem ejus assumptus est. Tertius Parthis rex Priapatus fuit, sed & ipse Arsaces dictus. Nam sicut supra dictum est, omnes reges suos hoc nomine, sicuti Romani Cæsares, Augustosq; cognominavere. His actis in regno quindecim annis decessit, relictis duobus filiis, Mithridate & Phrahate; quorum major Phrahates, more gentis, hæres regni, Mardos validam gentem, bello domuit, nec multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus; potiusque patriæ, quam liberis consulendum.

CAP. VI. Eodem ferme tempore, sicuti in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt. Sed Parthorum fortuna felicior ad summum hoc duce imperii fastigium eos perduxit. Bactriani autem per varia bella jactati, non regnum tantum, verum etiam libertatem amiserunt; siquidem Sogdianorum & Drangianorum Indorumque bellis fatigati, ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, velut exsangues, oppressi sunt. Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit; quibus attritus, cum obsidionem Demetrii regis pateretur, cum ccc militibus lx millia hostium assiduis eruptionibus vicit. Quinto itaq; mense liberatus Indiam in potestatem redegit. Unde cum se reciperet, a filio, quem socium regni fecerat, in itinere interficitur; qui non dissimulato parricidio, velut hostem, non patrem interfecisset, & per sanguinem ejus currum egit, &

and at last was taken into his alliance. The third King of the Parthians was Priapatus, but he too was named Arsaces. For, as has been said above, they called all their kings by that name, as the Romans do their's Cæsars and Augusti. He died after he had spent fifteen years in his reign, leaving two sons, Mithridates and Phrahates; the elder of which, Phrahates, according to the fashion of the nation, being heir of the kingdom, subdued in war the Mardians, a strong nation, and died not long after, leaving many sons behind him; which being past by, he left his kingdom to his brother Mithridates, a man of extraordinary abilities; thinking more was owing to the name of king than father, and that he ought to provide for his country before his children.

CHAP. VI. Almost at the same time, as Mithridates among the Parthians, so Eucratides among the Bactrians, both great men, begin their reigns. But the extraordinary good fortune of the Parthians brought them to the highest pinnacle of dominion under this prince. But the Bactrians being harrassed by several wars, not only lost their sovereignty, but their liberty; for being tired out by the wars of the Sogdians and Drangians, and Indians, at last, like men left bloodless, they were mastered by the weaker Parthians. Yet Eucratides carried on many wars with great valour; by which being weakened, and being after besieged by Demetrius king of the Indians, with only three hundred soldiers he, by continual sallies, prevailed against sixty thousand of the enemy. Wherefore being delivered in the fifth month, he reduced India under his power. From whence as he was withdrawing himself, he is slain in his march by his son, whom he had made his partner in the kingdom; who without concealing the parricide, as if he had slain an enemy, and not his father, he both drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be thrown

corpus abjici insepultum jussit. Dum hæc apud Bactros geruntur interim inter Parthos & Medos bellum oritur. Cum varius utriusq; populi casus fuisset, ad postremum victoria penes Parthos fuit. His viribus auctus Mithridates Mediæ Bacasin præponit,, ipse in Hyrcaniam proficiscitur. Unde reversus bellum cum Elymæorum rege gessit; quo victo, hanc quoque gentem regno adjecit, imperiumq; Parthorum a monte Caucaſo, multis populis in ditionem redactis, usque ad flumen Euphraten protulit. Atq; ita adversa valetudine correptus, non minor Arface proavo, gloriosa senectute decedit.

out unburied. *Whilst these things are doing among the Bactrians, in the mean time a war breaks out between the Parthians and the Medes. When the fortune of each people had been various in the war, at last victory fell to the Parthians. Mithridates being reinforced with this addition of strength, sets Bacasis over Media, and himself goes into Hyrcania; from whence returning, he waged war with the king of the Elymæans; after the conquest of whom, he added this nation too to his kingdom; and extended the empire of the Parthians from mount Caucasus as far as the river Euphrates, by reducing many nations under his authority. And then being taken with an illness, he dies in a glorious old age, no less than his great grandfather Arfaces.*

LIBER XLII.

BREVIARUM CAPITUM.

1. *Mithridatis, Parthorum regis, filius & successor Phrabates a militibus interficitur.*
2. *Post Artabanum Mithridates, cognomine Magnus, regnat, qui bellum infert Armeniæ; de cujus origine & primis regibus disserit Justinus.*
3. *Jasonis & Armenii Armeniæ conditoris elogia. Tigris fluvii origo.*
4. *Mithridati ejecto Orodes successit, qui parricidiis & cladibus domi & foris exagitur.*
5. *Phrabatis, filii Orodis, horrenda parricidia & varia fortuna. Augustus ab eo captivos Romanos & signa militaria repetit.*

C A P U T. I.

POST necem Mithridatis Parthorum regis, Phrabates filius ejus constituitur; qui cum inferre bellum, in ultionem tentati ab Antiocho Parthici regni, Syriæ statuisset, Scythorum motibus ad sua defendenda revocatur. Namq; Scythæ in auxilium Parthorum adversus Antiochum Syriæ regem mercede sollicitati, cum confecto jam bello

AFTER the death of Mithridates king of the Parthians, Phrabates his son is made king; who having resolved to make war in revenge of the kingdom of Parthia's being attacked by Antiochus, is recalled by disturbances from the Scythians to defend his own country. For the Scythians being invited upon a consideration to the assistance of the Parthians, against Antiochus king of Syria, having come after the war was ended, and for that being de-

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Supervenissent, & calumnia tardius lati auxilii mercede fraudarentur; dolentes tantum iis itineris frustra emensum, quum vel stipendium pro vexatione, vel alium hostem dari sibi poscerent, superbo responso offensi, fines Parthorum vastare cœperunt. Igitur Phrahates, cum adversus eos proficisceretur, ad tutelam regni reliquit Himerum quendam pueritiæ sibi flore conciliatum; qui tyrannica crudelitate, oblitus & vitæ præteritæ, & vicarii officii, Babylonios, multasque alias civitates importune vexavit. Ipse autem Phrahates exercitum Græcorum, quem bello Antiochi captum superbe crudeliterque tractaverat, in bellum secum ducit; immemor prorsus, quod hostiles eorum animos nec captivitas minuerat, & insuper injuriarum indignitas exacerbaverat. Itaque cum inclinatam Parthorum aciem viderent, arma ad hostes transulere; & diu cupitam captivitatis ultionem, exercitus Parthici, & ipsius Phrahates regis cruenta cæde, exsequuti sunt.

CAP. II. In hujus locum Artabanus, patruus ejus, rex substituitur. Scythæ autem contenti victoria, depopulata Parthia, in patriam revertuntur. Sed Artabanus bello Thogariis illato, in brachio vulneratus statim decedit. Huic Mithridates filius succedit; cui res gestæ Magni cognomen dedere; quippe claritatem parentum æmulatione virtutis accensus, animi magnitudine supergreditur. Multa igitur bella cum finitimis magna virtute gessit, multosque populos Parthico regno addidit. Sed & cum Scythis prospere aliquoties dimicavit, ultorque injuriæ parentum fuit. Ad postremum Ortoadisti Armeniorum regi bel-

frauded of the consideration, under the idle pretence of bringing their assistance too late, being mad they should have made so long a march in vain, and demanding either pay for their trouble, or some other enemy to be assigned them, and being offended by a haughty reply, they begun to lay waste the country of the Parthians. Wherefore Phrahates, marching against them, left one Himerus, recommended to him by the flower of his youth, for the protection of his kingdom, who forgetting both his life past, and the business of a deputy. miserably harrassed the Babylonians, and many other cities by a tyrannick cruelty. But Phrahates himself carries along with him to the war an army of Greeks, which being taken in the war of Antiochus, he had treated proudly and cruelly, being utterly unmindful, that neither their captivity had lessened the hostile grudge they bore him, and that the indignity of their injuries put upon them, had still the more exasperated them. Wherefore when they saw the army of the Parthians give ground, they carried over their arms to the enemies, and executed the long desired revenge of their captivity by a bloody slaughter of the Parthian army, and king Phrahates himself.

CHAP. II. Artabanus his uncle is made king in his room; but the Scythians being content with victory, having laid waste Parthia, return into their country. But Artabanus, in a war made upon the Thogarians, being wounded in his arm, dies immediately. His son Mithridates succeeds him, to whom his exploits gave the surname of Great; for being inflamed with an emulation of the brave conduct of his forefathers, he outstripped their fame by the greatness of his soul. Accordingly he carried on many wars with his neighbours with great gallantry, and added many nations to the Parthian kingdom. Nay he fought too several times successfully with the Scythians, and was the avenger of the injury done his fathers. At last he made war upon Ortoadistes king of the Armenians. But because we are now

lum intulit. Sed quoniam in Armeniam transitum facimus, origo ejus paulo altius repetenda est. Neq; enim silentio præteriri tantum regnum fas est, cum fines post Parthiam omnium regnorum magnitudinem superent. Siquidem Armenia a Cappadocia usque mare Caspium undecies centum millia patet, sed in latitudinem millia passuum septingenta porrigitur. Condita est autem ab Armenio, Jasonis Thessali comite; quem cum perditum propter insignem periculosamq; regno suo virtutem Pelias rex cuperet, denuntiata militia, in Colchos cum abire jubet, pellemq; arietis memorabilem gentibus reportare; sperans interitum viri, aut ex periculis tam longæ navigationis, aux ex bello tam profundæ barbariæ. Igitur Jason divulgata opinione tam gloriosæ expeditionis, cum ad eum certatim principes juventutis totius ferme orbis concurrerent, exercitum fortissimorum virorum, qui *Argonautæ* cognominati sunt, comparavit: quem cum magnis rebus gestis incolumem reduxisset, rursus a Peliae filiis Thessalia pulsus, magna vi cum ingenti multitudine, quæ ad famam virtutis ejus ex omnibus gentibus quotidie confluebat; comite Medea uxore, quam repudiatam miseratione exilii rursus receperat, & Medio privigno, ab Ægeo, rege Atheniensium, genito, Colchos repetivit, socerumq; etiam regno pulsum restituit.

CAP. III. Magna deinde bella cum finitimis gessit; captasq; civitates partim regno soceri, ad abolendam superioris militiæ injuriam, qua & filiam ejus Medeam abduxerat, & filiam Ægialiam interfecerat, adjunxit; partim populis, quos secum adduxerat, assignavit. Primusque humanorum post Herculem & Liberum, qui reges Orientis su-

making a trip into Armenia, the original of it must be run a little higher up. For it is not allowable that so great a kingdom should be passed over in silence, since the extent of it exceeds the largeness of all the kingdoms next Parthia. For Armenia is extended from Cappadocia, as far as the Caspian sea, eleven hundred miles, but in breadth is stretched but seven hundred miles. It was planted by Armenius, a companion of Jason of Thessaly, whom when king Pelias wished destroyed because of his ability that was extraordinary and dangerous to his kingdom, enjoining him an expedition, orders him to go to Colchos, and bring thence the ram's fleece, so famous throughout the world; expecting the man's destruction, either from the hazards of so great a voyage, or a war with the Barbarians so remote. Wherefore Jason spreading the news of so glorious an expedition, as the principal of the youth almost of the whole world came flocking in very fast to him, he raised an army of very gallant men, who were named Argonauts; which having brought safe back again, being again forced from Thessaly by the sons of Pelias, with great mettle, and with a vast number of men, which upon the fame of his gallantry flocked daily to him from all nations, with his wife Medea attending him, whom having been before divorced, he had now taken again, and his step-son Medius, begot by Ægeus king of the Athenians, he went again to Colchos, and restored his father-in-law driven from his kingdom.

CHAP. III. *After that he carried on a great war with the neighbouring nations; and partly added the cities he took to his father-in-law's kingdom, to make amends for the injuries of his former expedition, wherein he had carried off his daughter Medea, and had slain his son Ægialius, and partly assigned to the people which he had brought along with him. And he is said to have been the first of all mankind after Hercules and*
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isse traduntur, eam cœli plagam domuisse dicitur. Populis quibusdam Recam & Amphistratum, aurigas Castoris & Pollucis duces assignavit. Cum Albanis fœdus percussit; qui Herculem ex Italia ab Albano monte, cum, Geyrone extincto, armenta ejus per Italiam duceret, secuti dicuntur; quiq; memores Italicæ originis exercitum Cn. Pompeii bello Mithridatico fratres salutavere. Itaq; Jasoni totus ferme Oriens, ut conditori, divinos honores, templaq; constituit; quæ Parmenion dux Alexandri Magni post multos annos dirui jussit, ne cujusquam nomen in Oriente venerabilius, quam Alexandri esset. Post mortem Jasonis, Medius, æmulus virtutis ejus, in honorem matris Medæ urbem condidit; regnumq; ex nomine suo Medorum constituit, sub cujus majestate Orientis postea imperium fuit. Albanis vicinæ Amazones sunt; quarum reginam Thalestrem concubitum Alexandri petiisse, multi auctores prodidere. Armenius quoq; & Thessalus unus de numero ducum Jasonis, collecta multitudine, quæ, amisso Jafone rege, passim vagabatur, Armeniam condidit; a cujus montibus Tigris fluvius modicis primo incrementis nascitur, interjecto deinde aliquanto spatio, sub terras mergitur; itaq; ita post quinque & viginta millia passuum grande jam flumen in regione Sophene emergit, ac sic in paludes Euphratis recipitur.

CAP. IV. Igitur Mithridates rex Parthorum, post bellum Armeniæ, propter crudelitatem, a senatu Parthico regno pellitur. Frater ejus Orodes cum regnum vacans occupasset, Babyloniam, quo Mithridates confugerat, diu obsidet; & fame coactos in de-

Bacchus, who are said to have been kings of the East, that subdued that quarter of the world. He assigned to some people Recas and Amphistratus, the charioteers of Castor and Pollux, for their leaders. He struck up a treaty with the Albanians, who are said to have followed Hercules out of Italy from the Alban mount, when, after the killing of Geryon, he drove his herds through Italy, who being mindful of their Italian descent, saluted the army of Cn. Pompeius, in the Mithridatick war, as their brethren. Wherefore almost all the East, appointed divine honours and temples for Jason as their founder; which Parmenion, the general of Alexander the Great, after many years, ordered to be pulled down, that no one's name might be more venerable in the East than Alexander's. After the death of Jason, Medius, a rival of his virtue, built the city Medea, in honour of his mother, and established the kingdom of the Medes, so called from his name; under the majesty of which, the empire of the East afterwards was. The Amazons are neighbours to the Albans, whose queen Thalestris, many authors write, desired to lie with Alexander. Armenius likewise, being himself a Thessalian too, one of the number of Jason's captains, having drawn the people again together, who after the loss of their king Jason, strolled up and down, planted Armenia, from the mountains of which, the river Tigris arises at first of a moderate bigness, and then after some space sinks under ground, and after five and twenty miles course, rises up again in the country of Sophene a great river, and so is received into the marshes of the Euphrates.

C H A P. IV. Wherefore Mithridates king of the Parthians, after the war of Armenia, is banished his kingdom for his cruelty, by the Parthian senate. His brother Orodes having seized the vacant kingdom, a long time besieges Babylon, whither Mithridates had fled: and obliges the town's people, necessitated by a famine, ditionem

ditionem oppidanos compellit. Mithridates autem fiducia cognitionis ultro se in potestatem Orodis tradit. Sed Orodes plus hostem quam fratrem cogitans, in conspectu suo trucidari eum iussit; & post hæc bellum cum Romanis gessit, Crassumq; imperatorem cum filio & omni exercitu Romano delevit. Hujus filius Pacorus missus ad persequendas Romani belli reliquias, magnis rebus in Syria gestis, in Parthiam patri suspectus revocatur; quo absente, exercitus Parthorum relictus in Syria a Cassio Quæstore Crassi cum omnibus ducibus trucidatur. His ita gestis non magno post tempore Romanis inter Cæsarem, Pompeiumq; civile bellum oritur; in quo Parthi Pompejanarum partium fuere, & propter amicitiam cum Pompejo bello Mithridatico junctam, & propter Crassi necem, cujus filium in partibus Cæsaris esse audierant; quem ultorem patris victore Cæsare futurum non dubitabant. Itaq; victis partibus Pompejanis, & Cassio & Bruto auxilia adversus Augustum & Antonium misere; & post belli finem rursus Pacoro duce, inita cum Labieno societate, Syriam & Asiam vastare; castraq; Ventidii, qui post Cassium absente Pacoro exercitum Parthicum fuderat, magna mole aggrediuntur. Sed ille, simulato timore, diu continuit se, & insultare Parthos aliquantisper passus est. Ad postremum in securos lætosq; partem legionum emisit; quarum impetu fusi Parthi in diversa abiire. Pacorus cum fugientes suos abduxisset secum legiones Romanas putaret, castra Ventidii, veluti sine defensoribus, aggreditur. Tum Ventidius, reliqua parte legionum emissa, universam Partho-

to a surrender. But Mithridates, in confidence of their relation, voluntarily puts himself into the power of Orodes. But Orodes considering him more as an enemy, than a brother, ordered him to be slain in his fight; and after these things carried on a war with the Romans, and cut off the general Crassus, with his son, and all his army. His son Pacorus being sent to prosecute the relicks of the Roman war, after he had performed great things in Syria, being suspected by his father, is recalled into Parthia; in the absence of whom, the army of the Parthians left in Syria, is cut off, with all its commanders, by Cassius Crassus's quæstor. These things being thus managed, no long time after a civil war breaks out amongst the Romans, betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, in which the Parthians were on Pompey's side, because of the friendship contracted with Pompey in the Mithridatick war, and because of Crassus's death, whose son they had heard was in Cæsar's party, who, they did not doubt, would be the revenger of his father, if Cæsar was conqueror. Wherefore Pompey's party being conquered, they both sent assistance to Cassius and Brutus, against Augustus and Anthony, and after the end of the war, under Pacorus their leader, having entered into an agreement with Labienus, they again laid waste Syria and Asia; and with a mighty force attack the camp of Ventidius, who after Cassius, in the absence of Pacorus, had routed the Parthian army. But he counterfeiting fear, kept himself in the camp a long while, and suffered the Parthians to insult for some time. At last he sent out part of the legions upon them when unguarded, and rejoicing; by the attack of which, the Parthians being overthrown, went off several ways. Pacorus supposing that his men by flying had carried off all the Roman legions along with them, falls upon Ventidius's camp, as without defenders. Then Ventidius letting out the other part of the legions, cut off all that body of the Parthians, with king Pacorus himself. Nor did the Parthians ever re-

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tum manum cum rege ipso Pacoro interfecit. Nec ullo bello Parthi unquam majus vulnus acceperunt. Hæc cum in Parthia nuntiata essent, Orodes pater Pacori, qui paulo ante vastatam Syriam, occupatam Asiam a Parthis, audierat, victoremq; Pacorum Romanorum gloriabatur, repente filii morte, & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat; Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur, cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere; interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat. Post longum deinde luctum, alia sollicitudo miserandum senem invadit, quem ex numero xxx filiorum in locum Pacori regem destinet. Multæ pellices, ex quibus generata tanta juvenus erat, pro suis quæq; sollicitæ, animum senis obfidebant. Sed fatum Parthiæ fecit, in qua jam quasi solenne est reges parricidas habere, ut sceleratissimus omnium, & ipse Phrahates nomine, rex statueretur.

CAP. V. Itaq; statim, quasi nollet mori, patrem interfecit; fratres quoq; xxx trucidat; sed nec in filiis cessant parricidia. Nam cum infestos sibi optimates propter assidua scelera videret, ne esset qui nominari rex posset, adultum filium interfici jubet. Huic Antonius, propter auxilium adversus se & Cæsarem latum, bellum cum sexdecim validissimis legionibus intulit. Sed graviter multis præliis vexatus, a Parthia refugit. Qua victoria insolentior Phrahates redditus, cum multa crudeliter consuleret, in exilium a populo suo pellitur. Itaque

ceive a greater loss in any war. When these things were told in Parthia, Orodes the father of Pacorus, who a little before had heard that Syria had been laid waste, and Asia gained by his Parthians, and boasted of his Pacorus as conqueror of the Romans; on a sudden hearing of his son's death, and the cutting off the army, runs distracted with grief. For many days he would speak to nobody, take no meat, nor speak a word, so that he seemed to have become dumb. Then after many days, when grief had loosened his voice, he did nothing else but call upon Pacorus; Pacorus seemed to appear to him; Pacorus seemed to be heard by him, to talk with him, to stand with him. Sometimes he mournfully bewailed himself as lost. Then after long mourning, another concern seizes upon the miserable old man, which of a number of thirty sons he should appoint king in the room of Pacorus. Many concubines, of whom so great number of sons had been begot, every one being concerned for her own, closely besieged the mind of the old gentleman. But the fate of Parthia would have it (in which it is now become a solemn custom, to have parricides for their princes) that the wickedest of them all, Phrahates too by name was made king.

CHAP. V. Wherefore he immediately killed his father, as if he would not die. He likewise kills his thirty brothers: but neither do parricides cease in the sons. For when he found the nobility incensed against him for his continual villainies, that there might be nobody to be called king, he orders his son, grown up to be a man, to be slain, Anthony made war upon him with sixteen very able legions, for the assistance given against him and Cæsar. But being heavily mauled in several battles, he fled from Parthia. With which victory Phrahates being made more insolent, and guilty of many cruel things, he is forced into banishment by his people. Wherefore after he had a long time tired the neighbouring

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cum magno tempore finitimas civitates, ad postremum Scythas precibus, fatigasset, Scytharum maximo auxilio in regnum restituitur. Hoc absente, regem Parthi Tiridatem quendam constituerant; qui audito adventu Scytharum, cum magna amicorum manu ad Cæsarem, in Hispaniam bellum tunc temporis gerentem, profugit, obsidem Cæsari minimum filium Phrahatis ferens, quem negligentius custoditum rapuerat. Quo cognito, Phrahates legatos statim ad Cæsarem mittit, *servum suum Tiridatem, & filium, remitti sibi postulat.* Cæsar & legatione Phrahatis audita, & Tiridatis postulatis cognitis (nam & ipse restitui in regnum desiderabat, *juris Romanorum futuram Parthiam affirmans, si ejus regnum muneris eorum fuisset*) neque Tiridatem dediturum se Parthis dixit, neque adversus Parthos Tiridati auxilia daturum. Ne tamen per omnia nihil a Cæsare obtentum videretur, Phrahati filium sine pretio remisit; & Tiridati, quoad manere apud Romanos vellet, opulentum sumptum præberi iussit. Post hæc finito Hispaniensi bello, cum in Syriam ad componendum Orientis statum venisset, metum Phrahati incussit, ne bellum Parthiæ vellet inferre. Itaque tota Parthia captivi ex Crassiano sive Antonii exercitu recollecti, signaque cum his militaria Augusto remissa. Sed & filii nepotesque Phrahatis obsides Augusto dati; plusque Cæsar magnitudine nominis sui fecit, quam armis alius imperator facere potuisset.

states, and at last the Scythians too with his importunity, he is restored to the kingdom by very powerful assistance of the Scythians. In his absence, the Parthians had made one Tiridates their king; who hearing of the approach of the Scythians, fled with a great body of his friends to Cæsar at that time carrying on a war against Spain; bringing the youngest son of Phrahates as a hostage to Cæsar, whom being negligently guarded, he had carried off. Upon the understanding of which, Phrahates immediately sends ambassadors to Cæsar, and demands that his slave Tiridates, and his son should be sent him again. Cæsar having both heard the embassy of Phrahates, and understood the demands of Tiridates (for he too desired to be restored to his kingdom, declaring that Parthia would be the Romans, if this kingdom was their gift) he said he would neither surrender Tiridates to the Parthians, nor give assistance to Tiridates against the Parthians. However that it might not appear that nothing at all had been obtained from Cæsar, he sent Phrahates his son without ransom; and ordered a handsome maintenance to be allowed Tiridates, so long as he had a mind to continue among the Romans. After this the Spanish war being ended, when he came into Syria to settle the state of the East, he struck a fear into Phrahates, lest he should have a fancy to make war upon Parthia. Wherefore the prisoners of Crassus, or Anthony's army, were gathered up throughout all Parthia, and the military standards were sent back together with them to Augustus. But the sons and grandsons of Phrahates were given as hostages to Augustus; and Cæsar effected more by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could have done by his arms.

LIBER XLIII.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Romani imperii initia. Urbis origo. Primi Italiae cultores & reges.*
2. *Rhea Numitoris filia Remum & Romulum parit, qui mira quadam ratione educati emergunt.*
3. *Roma condita, senatus constitutus, raptæ Sabinæ, vicini subacti. Phœceses Tarquinii temporibus Massiliam condunt, Liguribus invidentibus.*
4. *Varia Massiliensium fortuna, & felices successus.*
5. *Massiliensium bella, & fœdera. Eorundem benevolentia & munificentia in Romanos.*

CAPUT I.

PArthicis, Orientalibusq; ac totius propemodum Orbis, rebus expeditis, ad initia Romanæ urbis Trogus, velut post longam peregrinationem, domum revertitur; ingrati civis officium existimans, si cum omnium gentium res gestas illustraverit, de sola patria taceat. Brevis igitur initia Romani imperii perstringit; ut nec modum propositi operis excedat, nec utique originem urbis, quæ est caput totius orbis, silentio prætermittat. Italiae cultores primi Aborigines fuere, quorum rex Saturnus tantæ justitiæ fuisse traditur, ut neq; servierit sub illo quisquam, neq; quicquam privatæ rei habuerit; sed omnia communia & divisa omnibus fuerint, veluti unum cunctis patrimonium esset. Ob cujus exempli memoriam cautum est, ut Saturnalibus exæquato omnium jure, passim in conviviis servicum dominis recumbant. Itaq; Italia, regis nomine, Saturnia appellata est; & mons in quo habitavit, Saturnius; in quo nunc, veluti a Jove pulso sedibus suis Saturno, Capitolium est. Post hunc tertio loco regnasse

Having dispatched the affairs of the Parthians and other Eastern countries, and of almost the whole world, Trogus returns home, as it were after a long ramble abroad, to relate the rise of the city of Rome, thinking it would be the part of an ungrateful citizen, if after he had illustrated the exploits of all nations, he should say nothing of his native country only. Wherefore he briefly recounts the original of the Roman empire; so as not to exceed the bounds of the work he proposed, or wholly pass by in silence the original of the city, which is the head of the whole world. The first inhabitants of Italy were the Aborigines, whose king Saturn is said to have been a man of so much justice, that neither was any one a slave under him, nor had any thing of private property, but all things were common to all, and undivided, as one estate for the use of all. In memory of which way of life, it has been provided, that in the Saturnalia the right of all people being reduced to a level, slaves should every where sit down with their masters in the entertainments of the festival. Wherefore Italy was from that king's name called Saturnia, and the mountain in which he dwelt, Saturnius; in which now, Saturn being driven from his habitation by Jupiter, is the Capitol. They say Faunus reigned in the third place after him; under whom Evander came
Faunum

Faunum ferunt, sub quo Evander, ab Arcadiæ urbe Pallanteo, in Italiam cum mediocri turba popularium, venit; cui Faunus & agros, & montem, quem ille postea *Palatium* appellavit, benigne assignavit. In hujus radicibus templum Lyceo, quem Græci *Pana*, Romani *Lupercum* appellant, constituit; ipsum dei simulachrum nudum caprina pelle amictum est, quo habitu nunc Romæ Lupercalibus decurritur. Fauno fuit uxor nomine *Fatua*, quæ assidue divino spiritu impleta, velut per furorem, futura præmonebat. Unde adhuc, qui inspirari solent *Fatuarii* dicuntur. Ex filia Fauni & Hercule, qui eodem tempore, extincto Geryone, armenta victoriæ præmia per Italiam ducebat, stupro conceptus *Latinus* procreatur. Quo tenente regnum, *Aeneas* ab Illo, Troja Græcis expugnata, in Italiam venit; statimque bello exceptus, cum in aciem exercitum eduxisset, ad colloquium vocatus, tantam admirationem sui Latino præbuit, ut & in societatem regni reciperetur, & *Lavinia* in matrimonium ei data, gener adscisceretur. Post hæc commune utrique bellum adversus *Turnum* Rutulorum regem, propter fraudatas *Lavinia* nuptias, fuit; in quo & *Turnus* & *Latinus* interierunt. Igitur cum *Aeneas* jure victoriæ utroque populo potiretur, urbem ex nomine uxoris *Lavinium* condidit. Bellum deinde adversus *Mezentium* regem Etruscorum gessit, in quo cum ipse occidisset, in locum ejus *Ascanius* filius successit, qui, *Lavinio* relicto, *Longam Albam* condidit, quæ trecentis annis caput regni fuit.

CAP. II. Post multos deinde urbis hujus reges, & postremum *Numitor* & *Amulius* reg-

from *Pallantium*, a city of *Arcadia*, into Italy, with a small number of his countrymen: to whom *Faunus* kindly assigned both lands. and the mountain which he afterwards called *Palatium*. At the bottom of this he built a temple to *Lyceus*, whom the Greeks call *Pan*, and the Romans *Lupercus*. The naked statue of the god was cloathed with a goat's skin: in which habits the priests now run in the *Lupercalia* at Rome. *Faunus* had a wife by name *Fatua*, who being constantly filled with a divine spirit, did in a kind of frantick manner foretel things to come. From whence, to this day, those who used to be inspired, are called *Fatuarii*. *Latinus* was conceived and born by a rape of the daughter of *Faunus* and *Hercules*, who at the same time having slain *Geryon*, was carrying his herds, the rewards of his victory, through Italy. In whose reign *Aeneas* came from *Ilium*, after *Troy* was taken by the Greeks; and being immediately received with a war, when he had drawn out his army into the field, being invited to a conference, he struck such an admiration of himself into *Latinus*, that he was received into a partnership in the kingdom, and was taken for his son-in-law, by *Lavinia's* being given him in marriage. After these things they had one common war against *Turnus* king of *Rutuli*, upon account of his being defrauded of the marriage of *Lavinia*, in which both *Turnus* and *Latinus* perished. Wherefore when *Aeneas* was now by right of victory master of both nations, he built a city, called from the name of his wife *Lavinium*. After that he carried on a war against *Mezentius* king of the *Etruscans*, in which being slain, *Ascanius* his son succeeded in his room; who leaving *Lavinium*, built *Long Alba*, which was the metropolis of the kingdom for three hundred years.

CHAP. II. After many kings of this city, at last *Numitor* and *Amulius* enjoyed the kingdom. But *Amulius* having pre-

no potiti sunt. Sed Amulius cum ætate priorem Numitorem oppressisset, filiam ejus Rheam in perpetuam virginitatem, ne quis vindex regni sexus virilis ex gente Numitoris oriretur, demersit; addita injuriæ specie honoris, ut non damnata, sed sacerdos electa videretur. Igitur clausa in luco Marti sacro, duos pueros, incertum stupro, an ex Marte conceptos, enixa est. Quo cognito, Amulius, multiplicato metu proventu duorum, pueros exponi jubet, & puellam vinculis onerari ex quorum injuria decessit. Sed fortuna origini Romanæ prospiciens pueros lupæ alendos obtulit; quæ, amissis catulis, distenta ubera exinanire cupiens, nutricem se infantibus præbuit. Quum sæpius ad parvulos, veluti ad catulos, reverteretur, rem Faustulus pastor animadvertit, subtractosque feræ inter greges agresti vita nutrit. Martios pueros fuisse, five quod in luco Martis enixi sunt, five quod a lupa, quæ in tutela Martis est, nutriti, velut manifestis argumentis creditum. Nomina pueris, alteri Remo, alteri Romulo fuere. Adultis inter pastores, de virtute quotidiana certamina, & vires & pernicitatem auxere. Igitur cum latrones a rapina pecorum industrie frequenterque summovent, Remus ab iisdem latronibus captus, veluti ipse esset, quod in aliis prohibebat, regi offertur; crimini datur, quasi greges Numitoris infestare solitus esset. Tunc a rege Numitori in ultionem traditur. Sed Numitor adolescentia juvenis permotus, & in suspicionem expositi nepotis adductus, cum eum nunc lineamentorum filiæ similitudo, nunc ætas expositionis temporibus congruens, anxium tenerent, repente Faustulus cum

prevailed against Numitor, who was before him in age, obliged his daughter Rhea to perpetual virginity, that there might be none of the male sex of the family of Numitor to claim the kingdom, a show of honour being added to the injury, that she might not appear condemned to it, but only chosen a priestess. Wherefore being shut up in a grove sacred to Mars, she had two sons, but whether conceived by fornication with any one else, or by Mars, is uncertain. Which being known, Amulius, his fears being multiplied by the production of two, orders the boys to be exposed, and loads the young woman with chains, by the prejudice received from which she died. But fortune provided for the original of Rome, offered the children to a she wolf to nurse; who having lost her cubs, and desirous to empty her stretched dugs, carried herself as a nurse to the children. Whilst she frequently returned to the children as her whelps, one Faustulus a shepherd took notice of the thing, and saving them from the wild beast, brought them up in a rustick way of life, among his flocks of cattle. It was supposed the boys were the sons of Mars, upon these plain proofs, either because they had been born in the grove of Mars, or because they had been nursed by a wolf, which is under the protection of Mars. The boys names were, of the one Remus, and the other Romulus. Their daily contests in activity, when they were grown up among the shepherds, increased their strength and swiftness. Wherefore as they were frequently and industriously beating off robbers from plundering the cattle, Remus being taken by the same robbers, as if he was that which he hindered in others, he is brought before the king, and charged as one who used to infest the flocks of Numitor. Upon that he is delivered by the king to Numitor for his revenge. But Numitor moved with the youth of the stripling, and being brought to a suspicion of his being his exposed grandson, whilst one while a likeness of his daughter's features, one while his age agreeing with the time of the exposing the infants, kept him in suspense; on a sud-
Romulo

Romulo supervenit; a quo cognita origine puerorum, facta conspiratione, & adolescentes in ultionem maternæ necis, & Numitor in vindictam erepti regni, armantur.

CAP. III. Occiso Amulio, regnum Numitori restituitur, & urbs Romana ab adolescentibus conditur. Tunc & senatus centum seniorum, qui Patres dicti sunt, constituitur: tunc & vicinis connubia pastorum dedignantibus, virgines Sabinæ rapiuntur; finitimisq; populis armis subiectis, primum Italiæ & mox orbis imperium quæsitum. Per ea adhuc tempora reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Græci sceptrâ dixere. Nam & ab origine rerum, pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas colere; ob cuius religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulachris hastæ adduntur. Temporibus Tarquinii regis, ex Asia Phocensium juvenus, ostio Tiberis investa, amicitiam cum Romanis junxit; inde in ultimos Galliæ sinus navibus profecta, Massiliam inter Ligures & feras gentes Gallorum condidit; magnæque res, sive dum armis se adversus Gallicam feritatem tuentur, sive dum ultro laceffunt, a quibus fuerant ante laceffiti, gesserunt. Namq; Phocenses exiguitate ac macie terræ coacti studiosius mare quam terras exercuere; piscando, mercando, plerumq; etiam latrocinio maris, quod illis temporibus gloriæ habebatur, vitam tolerabant. Itaq; in ultimam Oceani oram procedere ausi, in sinum Gallicum ostio Rhodani amnis devenere. Cujus loci amœnitate capti, reversi domum, referentes quæ viderunt, plures sollicitavere. Duces classis Simos & Protis fuere.

den Faustus came up with Romulus, from whom having learnt the boys original, a conspiracy being formed, both the young men are armed for the revenge of their mother's death, and Numitor for the recovery of his kingdom, which had been taken from him.

CHAP. III. *After Amulius was slain, the kingdom was restored to Numitor, and the city Rome built by the young men. After that a senate is erected, consisting of a hundred elders who were called fathers. Then their neighbours disdain to marry with shepherds, the Sabine virgins are seized by violence, and the neighbouring nations being subdued by their arms, first the empire of Italy, and soon after the whole world was acquired. As yet in those days kings had spears instead of a diadem, which the Greeks called scepters. For from the original of the world, the ancients worshipped spears as immortal gods; in memory of which superstition, to this day spears are given to the statues of the gods. In the times of king Tarquin, a number of the Phocensians from Asia, coming up the mouth of the Tiber, made an alliance with the Romans, and after that proceeding with their ships into the inner part of the Gallick bay, built Massilia betwixt the Ligurians and savage nations of the Gauls, and performed great exploits, either whilst they defend themselves against the Gallick brutality, or whilst of their own proper motion they attack those by whom they had been attacked before. For the Phocensians, forced by the scantiness and leanness of their lands, applying themselves more diligently to the sea, than the tillage of their land, got their living by fishing, merchandizing, and for the most part piracy too, which in those times were reckoned matter of glory. Wherefore venturing to advance up to the remotest part of the ocean, they came into the Gallick bay, and up the mouth of the river Rhone: charmed with the pleasantness of which place, and returning home, by relating what they had seen, they tempted several others. Simos and Protis were the conductors of the*

Itaque

Itaque regem Segobrigiorum, Nannum nomine, in cujus finibus urbem condere gestiebant, amicitiam petentes conveniunt. Forte eo die rex occupatus in apparatu nuptiarum Gypsis filiae erat; quam more gentis, electo inter epulas genero, nuptum tradere illic parabat. Itaque cum ad nuptias invitati omnes proci essent, rogantur etiam Graeci hospites ad convivium. Introducta deinde virgo, cum juberetur a patre aquam porrigere ei quem virum eligeret, tunc omnis omnibus, ad Graecos conversa, aquam Proti porrigit; qui factus ex hospite gener, locum condendae urbis a socero accepit. Condita igitur Massilia est prope ostia Rhodani amnis, in remoto sinu, veluti in angulo maris. Sed Ligures incrementis urbis invidentes, Graecos assiduis bellis fatigabant. Qui pericula propulsando in tantum enituerunt, ut victis hostibus, in captivis agris multas colonias constituerent.

CAP. IV. Ab his igitur Galli, & usum vitae cultioris, deposita & mansuetata barbaria, & agrorum cultus, & urbes mœnibus cingere didicerunt. Tunc & legibus, non armis vivere, tunc & vitem putare, tunc olivam ferere consueverunt; adeoque magnus & hominibus & rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Graecia in Gallia emigrasse, sed Gallia in Graeciam translata videretur. Mortuo rege Nanno Segobrigiorum, a quo locus acceptus condendae urbis fuerat, cum regno filius ejus Comanus successisset, affirmat Ligur quidam, quandoque Massiliam exitio finitimis populis futuram, opprimendamque in ipso ortu, ne mox validior ipsum obrueret. Subnectit & illam fabulam; canem aliquando

flee. Wherefore they apply to the king of the Segobrigii, Nannus by name, in whose country they were desirous to build a city, desiring his friendship. By chance the king was busy that day, in preparations for the wedding of his daughter Gypsis; whom, according to the fashion of the nation, he was going to give in marriage to a son-in-law to be chosen at the feast. Wherefore as all the pretenders were invited to the wedding, the Graecian strangers are invited too to the feast. Then the young lady being brought in, and being ordered by her father to deliver water to him whom she chose for her husband; overlooking all the rest, and turning to the Greeks, she delivers the water to Proti; who being now of a guest become the king's son-in-law, received from his father-in-law a place for the building of a city; and accordingly Massilia was built nigh the mouth of the river Rhone, upon a retired bay, as it were in a corner of the sea. But the Ligurians envying the growth of the city wearied the Greeks with continual wars; who by repelling the dangers, grew considerable to that degree, that conquering their enemies, they plant several colonies in the lands they took.

CHAP. IV. From them therefore the Gauls learnt both the use of a more polite way of life, their former barbarity being laid aside and corrected, and the tillage of lands, and the inclosure of cities within walls. Then they became accustomed to live by laws, not arms; to prune vines, and plant olives: and so bright a face was put both upon men and things, that Greece seemed not to have been removed into Gaul, but Gaul seemed transplanted into Greece. When Nannus king of the Segobrigians was dead, from whom the ground had been received for building a city, his son Comanus having succeeded him in the kingdom, a certain Ligurian assures him, that Massilia would be some time the ruin of the neighbouring nations, and ought to be suppressed in its rise, lest when stronger, it should master him. He adds likewise that fable; that a bitch, formerly big with puppy, begged a place of a par-

partu gravidam locum a pastore precario petisse, in quo pareret; quo obtento, iterato petisse ut sibi educare eodem in loco catulos liceret; ad postremum adultis catulis, fultam domestico præfidio, proprietatem loci sibi vindicasse. Non aliter Massilienses, qui nunc inquilini videantur, quandoq; dominos regionum futuros. His incitatus rex insidias Massiliensibus extruit. Itaq; solenni Floraliarum die multos fortes ac strenuos viros hospitii jure in urbem misit; plures sirpeis latentes, frondibusq; supertectos induci vehiculis jubet; & ipse cum exercitu in proximis montibus delitescit, ut quum nocte a prædictis apertæ portæ forent, tempestive ad insidia adesset; urbemq; somno ac vino sepultam armatis invaderet. Sed has insidias mulier quædam, regis cognata, prodidit, quæ adulterare cum Græco adolescente solita, in amplexu juvenis, miserata formæ ejus, insidias aperuit, *periculumq; declinare* jubet. Ille rem statim ad magistratus defert; atq; ita patefactis insidiis, cuncti Ligures comprehenduntur, latentesq; de sirpeis protrahuntur. Quibus omnibus interfectis, insidianti regi insidiæ tenduntur. Cæsa sunt cum ipso rege hostium septem millia. Exinde Massilienses festis diebus portas claudere, vigilias agere, stationem in muris observare, peregrinos recognoscere, curas habere, ac veluti bellum habeant sic urbem pacis temporibus custodire. Adeo illic bene instituta non temporum necessitate, sed recte faciendi consuetudine, servantur.

C A P. V. Post hæc magna illis cum Liguribus, magna cum Gallis fuere bella; quæ res & rubis gloriam auxit, & virtutem

shepherd, wherein to bring forth her whelps, which being obtained, she again desired she might have leave to bring up her whelps in the same place: at last, when her whelps were grown up, relying upon her own domestic security, she claimed the property of the place to herself. No otherwise would the Massilians, who now seemed tenants, become some time or other master of the country. The king being pushed on by this, lays a plot for the Massilians. Accordingly upon the solemn day of the Floralia, he sent a great many stout clever men, under the right of hospitality into the city. He orders more to be carried in waggons, lurking under rush covers, and overlaid with branches; and he himself lurks with his army in the neighbouring mountains; that when the gates should be opened by the forementioned men in the night, he might be present in due time for the execution of his project, and with his armed troops fall upon the city buried in sleep and wine. But a certain woman, a relation of the king's, who used to whore with a Græcian youth, in the embraces of her spark betrayed the plot, in pity of his comeliness, and bids him avoid the danger. He immediately carries the matter to the magistrates; and thus the plot being discovered, all the Ligurians are seized, and the lurkers are dragged out of their rush covers. All which being slain, a plot is laid for the plotting king. Seven thousand of the enemies are slain with the king himself. Ever after the Massilians upon holydays shut their gates, kept watch, and set a guard upon the walls, examined strangers, took all possible care, and guarded their city in times of peace, as if they had a war upon their hands. Thus what was well appointed at first, is still kept up, not by the necessity of the times, but by a custom of doing well.

CHAP. V. After these things, they had great wars with the Ligurians, great wars with the Gauls; which thing both increased the glory of the city, and ren-

Græ-

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Græcorum, multiplicata victoria, celebrem inter finitimos reddidit. Carthaginensium quoque exercitus, cum bellum captis piscatorum navibus ortum esset, sæpe fuderunt, pacemque victis dederunt. Cum Hispanis amicitiam junxerunt; cum Romanis prope ab initio conditæ urbis fœdus summa fide custodierunt, auxiliisque in omnibus bellis industriæ socios juverunt. Quæ res illis & virium fiduciam auxit, & pacem ab hostibus præstitit. Cum igitur Massilia fama rerum gestarum, & abundantia opum, & virium gloria virente, floreret, repente finitimi populi, ad nomen Massiliensium delendum, veluti ad commune extinguendum incendium, concurrunt. Dux consensu omnium Catumandus regulus eligitur, qui cum magno exercitu lectissimorum virorum urbem hostium obsideret, per quietem speciatæ torvæ mulieris, quæ se deam dicebat, exterritus, ultro pacem cum Massiliensibus fecit, petitoque ut intrare illi urbem, & deos eorum adorare liceret, cum in arcem Minervæ venisset, conspecto in porticibus simulacro deæ, quam per quietem viderat, repente exclamat, *illam esse, quæ se nocte exterruisset; illam, quæ recedere ab obsidione jussisset.* Gratulatusque Massiliensibus, quod animadverteret eos ad curam deorum immortalium pertinere, torquæ aureo donata dea, in perpetuam amicitiam cum Massiliensibus junxit. Parta pace, & securitate fundata, revertentes a Delphis Massiliensium legati, quomissi munera Apollini tulerant, audierunt urbem Romanam a Gallis captam, incensamque. Quam rem domi nuntiatam publico funere Massilienses prosequuti sunt; aurumque & argentum publicum

dered the bravery of the Greeks by their multiplied victories, famous among their neighbours. They oftentimes routed the army of the Carthaginians too, where a war broke out by the taking of their fishing vessels, and granted peace to the conquered. They made an alliance with the Spaniards, and kept with the utmost integrity the league concluded with the Romans almost soon after the building of the city; and assisted their allies very vigorously in all their wars with auxiliary forces. Which thing raised their confidence in their own strength, and procured them peace from their enemies. Wherefore when Massilia was now flourishing in the fame of its exploits, and the abundance of its wealth, and the glory of its strength, on a sudden the neighbouring people run together to destroy the very name of the Massilians, as it were to put out a common fire. A petty prince, called Catumandus, is chosen general by the consent of them all, who, as he was besieging the enemies city with a great army of chosen men, being terrified in his sleep with the appearance of a grim woman, who said she was a goddess, very forwardly made a peace with the Massilians; and having desired that he might have leave to enter the city and adore their gods, when he was come into the citadel of Minerva, upon seeing the statue of the goddess in the piazzas, whom he had seen in his sleep, he cried out, that was her that had frightened him in the night; that was her who had ordered him to withdraw from the siege. And having congratulated the Massilians, because he perceived they belonged to the care of the immortal gods; and having presented the goddess with a gold chain, he made an alliance for ever with the Massilians. Thus a peace being effected, and their security established, the deputies of the Massilians returning from Delphi, whither they had been sent to carry presents, heard that the city Rome had been taken by the Gauls, and burnt. Which things being told at home, the Massilians lamented with the mourning of a public funeral, and contributed their gold and silver, both publick and private, to make

T

priva-

privatumque contulerunt, ad explendum pondus Gallis, a quibus redemptam pacem cognoverant. Ob quod meritum & immunitas illis decreta, & locus spectaculorum in senatu datus, & sœdus æquo jure percussum. In postremo libro, Trogus majores suos a Vocontiiis originem ducere; avum suum Trogum Pompejum, fertoriano bello civitatem a Cn. Pompejo percepisse dicit; patrum Mithridatico bello turmas equitum sub eodem Pompejo duxisse, patrum quoque sub Cajo Cæsare militasse, epistolarumque & legationum, simul & annuli curam habuisse.

up the sum to the Gauls, from whom they knew a peace had been purchased. For which service afterwards an immunity from all taxes was enacted for them; and a place in the theatre assigned them with the senate, and a treaty concluded upon equal terms. In the last book, Trogus says, that his ancestors derive their original from the Vocontii, and that his grandfather Trogus Pompeius received the freedom of the city Rome from Cn. Pompeius in the senatorian war; and that his uncle led some troops of horse in the Mithridatick war under the same Pompey; that his father too served under C. Cæsar, and had the charge of his letters, messages, and rings.

LIBER XLIV.

BREVIARIUM CAPITUM.

1. *Hispaniæ nomen, situs, fertilitas, amnes, claustra, forma, salubritas.*
2. *Hispanorum mores: primus dux Viriatus.*
3. *Equarum Lusitanicarum fabula. Gallæciorum origo, divitiæ, & miranda.*
4. *Habidis Gallæciæ & finitimarum regionum principis, historia, seu fabulosa narratio, & prudens administratio. Geryonis, qui triplex fabulis dictus, regnum.*
5. *Carthaginienfium imperium. Præclari eorundem duces violenta morte perunt. Hispanos domat Cæsar Augustus.*

CAPUT I.

HISPANIA sicuti Europæ terminos claudit, ita & hujus operis finis futura est. Hanc veteras ab Ibero amne primum Iberiam, postea ab Hispano Hispaniam cognominaverunt. Hæc inter Africam & Galliam posita, oceani freto, & Pyrenæis montibus clauditur. Sicut minor utraq; terra, ita utraq; fertilior. Nam neque ut Africa violente Sole torretur, neque ut Gallia, assiduis ventis fatigatur; sed media inter utramque; hinc tem-

AS Spain closes the limits of Europe, so will it be the end of this work. The ancients called this at first Iberia from the river Iberus, afterwards Hispania from one Hispanus. This country being situated betwixt Africa and Gaul, is bounded by the streights of the ocean, and the Pyrenæan mountains. As it is less than each country, so is it more fruitful. For it is neither burnt up by a scorching sun, like Africa, nor disturbed with continual winds, like Gaul; but being in the middle betwixt both, it is rendered fruitful in all manner of fruits of the earth by

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perato calore, inde felicibus & tempestivis imbribus in omnia frugum genere sæcunda est; adeo ut non ipsis tantum incolis, verum etiam Italiæ, ubique; Romanæ cunctarum rerum abundantiam sufficiat. Hinc enim non frumenti tantum magna copia est, verum & vini, mellis, oleique; Nec ferri solum materia præcipua est, sed & equorum perniciæ greges. Nec summæ tantum terræ laudanda bona, verum & abstrusorum metallorum felices divitiæ. Jam lini, spartique; vis ingens; minii certe nulla feracior terra. In hac cursus annuum non torrentes rapidique; ut nocent, sed lenes, & vineis campisque irrigui, æstuariisque; Oceani affatim piscosi, plerique; etiam divites auro, quod in balucibus vehunt. Uno tantum Pyrenæi montis dorso adhærit Galliæ; reliquis partibus undique in orbem mari cingitur. Forma terræ prope quadrata, nisi quod arctantibus freti littoribus in Pyrenæum coit. Porro Pyrenæi montis spatium sexcenta millia passuum efficit. Salubritas cæli per omnem Hispaniam æqualis, quæ aeris spiritus nulla paludum gravi nebula inficitur. Huc accedunt & marinæ auri undique versus assidui flatus, quibus omnem provinciam penetrantibus, eventilato terrestri spiritu, præcipua hominibus sanitas redditur.

CAP. II. Corpora hominum ad inedia laborumque; animi ad mortem parati. Dura omnibus & adstricta parcimonia. Bellum quam otium malunt; si extraneus deest, domi hostem quærunt: sæpe tormentis pro silentio rerum creditarum immortui; adeo illis fortior taciturnitatis cura, quam vitæ. Celebratur etiam bello Punico servi illius patientia, qui ultus dominum inter tor-

a moderate heat on one hand, and favourable and seasonable showers on the other; so that it supplies not only the inhabitants themselves, but likewise Italy and the city Rome with abundance of all things. For from hence comes likewise not only a great plenty of corn, but of wine too, honey and oil. Nor is their iron only extraordinary, but their breed of horses swift. Nor are the good things of the surface of the earth only to be commended, but the riches out of their metals hid in the bowels of the earth very considerable. Then here is great plenty of linen and hemp; and certainly no country is more plentiful in vermillion. In this country the courses of rivers are not violent and rapid to do mischief, but gentle, and such as water the vineyards and plains; and well furnished with fish, by means of the marshes from the ocean, most of them fraught with gold, which they carry in their sands. It adheres to Gaul by one continued ridge of the Pyrenæan mountain; it is encompassed on all parts round by the sea. The figure of the country is almost square; but that it inclines inward on the Pyrenæan by the sea shores. The length of the Pyrenæan mountain makes six hundred miles. The wholesomeness of the air is equal thro' all Spain, because it is infected with no heavy fog from your fens. To this are added two continual breezes of a sea-air on all sides, which penetrating the whole province, and the terrestrial exhalations being blown off, extraordinary health is thereby procured to the inhabitants.

CHAP. II. *The bodies of the people are well fitted for the enduring of want and fatigue, and their minds for death. They are all used to a hard and penurious frugality. They chuse war rather than peace; if a foreign enemy be wanting, they seek an enemy at home; they often die under the rack, to conceal things entrusted to them; so much more resolute is their concern for their taciturnity than life. The patience too of a slave in the Carthaginian war is much celebrated, who having re-*

menta risu exultavit, serenaque lætitia crudelitatem torquentium vicit. Velocitas genti pernix; iniquies animus; plurimis militares equi, & arma, sanguine ipforum cariora. Nullus in festis dies epularum apparatus. Aqua calida lavari, post secundum bellum Punicum a Romanis didiceret. In tanta seculorum serie, nullus illis dux magnus præter Viriatum fuit; qui annis decem Romanos varia victoria fatigavit; adeo feris propiora quam hominibus, ingenia gerunt. Quem ipsum non iudicio populi electum, sed ut cavendi scientem, declinandorumque periculorum peritum secuti sunt. Cujus ea virtus continentiaque fuit, ut, cum consulares exercitus frequenter vicerit, tantis rebus gestis, non armorum, non vestis cultum, non denique victum mutaverit; sed in eo habitu, quo primum bellare cœpit, perseveraverit; ut quivis gregarius miles, ipso imperatore opulentior videretur.

CAP. III. In Lusitanis juxta fluvium Tagum vento equas foetus concipere multi auctores prodidere; quæ fabulæ ex equarum fecunditate & gregum multitudine natæ sunt; qui tanti in Gallæcia & Lusitania, ac tam pernices visuntur, ut non immerito vento ipso concepti videantur. Gallæci autem Græcum sibi originem asserunt. Siquidem post finem Trojani belli, Teucrum morte Ajacis fratris invisum patri Telamoni, cum non reciperetur in regnum, Cyprum concessisse, atque ibi urbem nomine antiquæ patriæ Salaminam condidisse. Inde accepta opinione paternæ mortis patriam repetisse. Sed quum ab Eurysace Ajacis filio accessu prohiberetur, Hispaniæ littoribus appulsum, loca,

venge his master, rejoiced in the midst of torture, and with a serene chearfulness baffled the cruelty of his tormentors. The swiftness of the nation is extraordinary; their minds restless and with many their war-horses and their arms are more valuable than their blood. They have no preparation of good cheer for their festival days. They learnt to bathe in warm water from the Romans, after the second Carthaginian war. In so long a series of ages they had no great general, besides Variatus; who wearied the Romans for ten years together with various success; they have tempers so much nearer those of wild beasts than men. Which very general they followed, not as chose by the judgement of the people. but as dextrous at being upon his guard, and in the declining of danger. Whose virtue and moderation was such, that tho' he frequently overthrew consular armies, yet after the performance of so great exploit, he neither changed the fashion of his arms, nor cloaths, nor in fine his diet; but persisted in the habit in which he first begun to make war, that any common soldier seemed more wealthy than the general himself.

CHAP. III. Many authors have writ, that mares, among the Lusitanians, nigh the river Tagus, conceive foals by the wind; which stories have risen from the fertility of the mares, and the numerosness of the breed, which are found so numerous in Gallæcia and Lusitania, and so swift, that they seem not without reason to be conceived by the wind. The Gallæcians claim to themselves a Greek original. For after the conclusion of the Trojan war, they tell you, that Teucer being odious to his father Telamon, on account of the death of his brother Ajax, and being not admitted into his kingdom, withdrew to Cyprus; and they built a city called Salamis, from the name of his ancient native country. And that after that receiving the news of his father's death, he returned again to his own country. But being hindered from approaching it by Eurysaces Ajax's son, arriving upon the coasts
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ubi nunc est Carthago nova, occupasse; inde Gallæciam transfisse, & positis sedibus genti nomen dedisse. Gallæciæ autem portio Amphilochi dicuntur. Regio cum æris ac plumbi uberri-
ma, tum & mino, quod etiam vicini flumini nomen dedit; auro quoque ditissima, adeo ut etiam aratro frequenter glebas aureas excindat. In hujus gentis finibus facer mons est, quem ferro violari nefas habetur; sed si quando fulgure terra proscissa est, quæ in his locis assidua res est, detectum aurum velut dei munus colligere permittitur. Fœminæ res domesticas agrorumque culturas administrant; ipsi armis & rapinis serviunt. Præcipua his quidem ferri materia, sed aqua ipso ferro violentior; quippe temperamento ejus, ferrum acius redditur; nec ullum apud eos telum probatur, quod non aut Bilbili fluvio, aut Chalybe tingatur. Unde etiam Chalybes, fluvii hujus finitimi appellati, ferro cæteris præstare dicuntur.

CAP. IV. Saltus vero Tartesiorum, in quibus Titanas bellum adversus deos gessisse proditur, incolere Cunetes: quorum rex vetustissimus Gargoris mellis colligendi usum primus invenit. Huic cum ex filia stupro nepos provenisset, pudore flagitii, variis generibus mortis extingui parvulum voluit; sed per omnes casus fortuna quadam servatus, ad postremum ad regnum tot periculorum miseratione pervenit. Primum omnium cum eum exponi jussisset, & post dies ad corpus expositum requirendum misisset, inventus est vario ferarum lacte nutritus. Deinde relatum domum tramite angusto, per quem armenta commeare consueverant, projici jubet; crudelis prorsus, qui proculcari nepotem, quam

of Spain, possessed himself of those parts, where now new Carthage is; and from thence passed over into Gallæcia, and fixing his habitation there, gave name to the nation. Now a part of Gallæcia is called Amphilochi. The country is both very fruitful in lead and brass, as also in vermilion, which has given name to a river. It's very rich in gold too, so that they oftentimes with the plow tear up golden sods. In the country of this nation, there is a sacred mountain, which it is counted a heinous crime to open with an iron tool; but if at any time the earth is tore with lightning, which is a very common thing in those parts, it is allowed to pick up the gold thus uncovered, as a present from a god. The women manage the household affairs, and the tillage of the ground; they mind only their arms and plunder. Their iron is extraordinary, but their water is stronger than the iron itself, for the iron is rendered more keen by its temper; nor is a weapon approved of among them, which is not tempered in the river Bilbilis, or Chalybes; from whence the borderers upon this river are called Chalybes, and are said to exceed all others in iron.

CHAP. V. The Cunetes inhabited the forests of the Tartesians, in which it is said the Titans waged war against the gods, whose most ancient king Gargoris first invented the practice of gathering honey. As he had a grandson who came by the gallantry of his daughter, out of shame for her transgressions he sought to have the little one destroyed various ways; but being preserved, through all hazards, by some kind fortune, he came at last to the kingdom, from a compassionate regard had to so many dangers run through. First of all having ordered him to be exposed, and after some days sent to seek the body of the exposed infant, he is found nursed with the milk of various wild beasts. After that being brought home, he ordered him to be thrown into a narrow road, through which herds of cattle used to pass; cruel indeed, who chose rather to have his grandson trampled to death, than dispatched by simplicity

simplici morte interfici maluit. Ibi quoque cum inviolatus esset, nec alimentis egeret, canibus primo j. junis, & multorum dierum abstinentia cruciatis, mox etiam suis objecit. Itaque cum non solum non neceretur, verum etiam quarundam uberibus aleretur; ad ultimum in Oceanum abjici jussit. Tum plane manifesto quodam numine inter furentes æstus, ac reciprocantes undas, velut nave non fluctu veheretur, leni salo in littore exponitur; nec multo post cervo affuit, quæ ubera parvula offerret. Inde denique conversatione nutricis eximia puero pernicitas fuit, interque cervorum greges diu montes saltusque haud inferior velocitate peragravit. Ad postremum laqueo captus, regi dono datus est. Tunc & lineamentorum similitudine, & notis corporis quæ inustæ parvulo fuerant, nepos agnitus. Admiratione deinde tot casuum periculorumque; ab eodem successor regi destinatur. Nomen illi impositum Habidis, qui ut regnum accepit, tante magnitudinis fuit; ut non frustra deorum majestate tot periculis ereptus videretur; quippe barbarum populum legibus junxit, & boves primus aratro domari, frumenta que sulco, quærere docuit; & ex agrestis cibominiora vesci, odio eorum quæ ipse passus fuerat, homines coegit. Hujus casus fabulosi viderentur, nisi & Romanorum conditores lupa nutrita, & Cyrus rex Persarum cane alitus proderetur. Ab hoc & ministeria servilia populo interdicta, & plebs in septem urbes divisa. Mortuo Habide regnum per multa secula a successoribus ejus retentum est. In alia parte Hispaniæ, & quæ ex insulis constat, regnum penes Geryonem fuit. In hac tanta pabuli lætitia est, ut nisi absti-

an easy death. As he was unhurt there too and did not want food, he threw him first to hungry dogs, that had been tormented with hunger for several days; and after that to swine. Wherefore as he was not only unhurt, but likewise nursed with the teats of some of them; at last he ordered him to be thrown into the ocean. Then indeed by a visible interposition of some god, as if he had been carried in a ship not upon a wave, amidst the raging tides, and the rowling surges, he is put ashore by the good-natured sea; and not long after a doe came, that offered its dugs to the little one. Thence finally, by the conversation of his nurse, the boy had a swiftness extraordinary; and a long time ranged the mountains and forests among herds of deer, not inferior to them in swiftness. At last being caught in a snare he was presented to the king. He was discovered to be his grandson by the likeness of his features, and the marks of his body, which had been made in him when little by burning. And then from an admiration of so many odd chances and dangers, he is appointed by the same his successor in the kingdom. The name of Habis was given him; who, as soon as he received the kingdom, was a person of so much greatness, that he did not seem in vain delivered by the power of the gods from so many dangers; for he united the barbarous people by laws, and first taught them to break their oxen for the plough, and to reap crops; and forced men, instead of their wild diet, to feed upon more agreeable food, from a hatred of those things which he himself had suffered. The odd chances of this prince might seem fabulous, but that the founders of the Romans are said to have been nursed by a she wolf, and Cyrus, king of the Persians, nourished by a bitch. By him too all servile offices were forbid the people, and the commonalty were disposed of into seven cities. After Habis was dead, the kingdom was kept for several ages by his successors. In another part of Spain, and which consists of islands, the sovereign power was in the hands of Geryon. In this there is such plenty of
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mentia interpellata sagina fuerit, pecora rumpantur. Inde deniq; armenta Geryonis, quæ illis temporibus solæ opes habebantur, tantæ famæ fuere, ut Herculem ex Asia prædæ magnitudine illexerint. Porro Geryonem ipsum non triplicis naturæ, ut fabulis proditur, fuisse ferunt; sed tres fratres tantæ concordiæ & extitisse, ut uno animo omnes regi viderentur; nec bellum Herculi sua sponte intulisse, sed cum armenta sua rapi vidissent, amissa bello repitisse.

CAP. V. Post regna deinde Hispaniæ primi Carthaginienses imperium provinciæ occupavere. Nam cum Gaditania Tyro, unde & Carthaginiensibus origo est, sacra Herculis, per quietem jussi, in Hispaniam transtulissent urbemq; ibi condidissent, invidentibus incrementis novæ urbis finitimis Hispaniæ populis, ac propterea Gaditanos bello laceffentibus, auxilium consanguineis Carthaginienses misere. Ibi felici expeditione & Gaditanos ab injuria vindicaverunt, & majorem partem provinciæ imperio suo adjecerunt. Postea quoque hortantibus primæ expeditionis auspiciis, Hamilcarem imperatorem cum magna manu ad occupandam provinciam misere: qui, magnus rebus gestis, dum fortunam inconsultius sequitur, in insidias deductus, occiditur. In hujus locum gener ipsius Hasdrubal mittitur; qui & ipse a servo Hispani cujusdam, ulciscente domini injustam necem, interfectus est. Major utroq; Annibal imperator, Hamilcaris filius, succedit. Siquidem utriusq; res gestas supergressus, universam Hispaniam domuit. Inde Romanis illato bello, Italiam per annos

grass, that unless the feeding of the cattle be interrupted by forbearance, they burst. From thence finally were the flocks of Geryon, which in those times were accounted the only riches, in so much fame, that they tempted Hercules from Asia by the greatness of the prize. Moreover they say, that Geryon himself was a man of three bodies, as it is asserted in the fables, but that there were three brothers of so much unanimity, that they all seemed to be governed by one soul; and that they did on their own motion make war upon Hercules; but when they saw their herds seized, endeavoured to recover what they had lost, by war.

CHAP. V. The Carthaginians first seized the dominion of the province. For when the Gaditani, being ordered so in a dream, had removed the holy things of Hercules from Tyre, from whence likewise the Carthaginians have their original, into Spain, and had built a city there; the neighbouring people of Spain envying the growth of the new city, and therefore attacking the Gaditani by a war, the Carthaginians sent them assistance as their relations. There by a successful expedition, they both delivered the Gaditani from the injury designed them, and added the greatest part of the province to their empire. Afterwards too, the luck of their first expedition encouraging them, they sent Hamilcar as general with a great army, to seize the province, who having performed great exploits, whilst he pursues his fortune too inconsiderately, he is drawn into an ambush and slain. His son-in-law Asdrubal is sent in his room, who himself too was slain by a slave of a certain Spaniard, revenging the unjust death of his master. Annibal the son of Hamilcar, a general greater than either of them, succeeds him. For he outdid the exploits of both, and conquered all Spain. After that making war upon the Romans, he harraressed Italy sixteen years together with various calamities; whilst in the mean time the Romans sending the Scipio's into Spain, first drove the Carthaginians out of the

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sexdecim variis cladibus fatigavit, cum interea Romani, missis in Hispaniam Scipionibus, primo Pœnas provincia expulerunt: postea cum ipsis Hispanis gravia bella gefferunt. Nec prius perdomita provincia, jugum Hispani accipere potuerant, quam Cæsar Augustus, perdomito orbe, victricia ad eos arma transtulit, populumq; barbarum ac ferum, legibus ad cultiorem vitæ usum traductum, in formam provinciae redegit.

province; and afterwards carried on terrible wars with the Spaniards themselves. Nor could the Spaniards be brought to receive the yoke by the reduction of the province, before Augustus Cæsar, after he had conquered the world, carried his victorious arms to them, and reduced the barbarous and savage people, after they had been brought by good laws to a more polite way of life, into the form of a province.

F I N I S.



